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**Dissonant Heritage
as a Learning Resource**

Learning about Socialism in the Regional Museums in Serbia

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Declaration

I, Katarina Živanović confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Katarina Živanović". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first name and last name clearly distinguishable.

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to analyse the capacity of the public regional museums in Serbia as to become a part of the lifelong learning environment of their communities. Their relation to heritage of Socialism is a lacmus of their capacity to change and take a place of the emancipatory subject of the society. Instead, by staying submissive to the daily politics they had to revoke even the basis of their professionalism and stay caught in an uncommunicative, traditional institutional discourse. They become proponents of heritage injustice and not capable to be centers of lifelong learning.

Design/methodology/approach – The arguments of the paper are based on a comprehensive analysis of both primary and secondary sources.

Findings – The results of the research shows that, deciding to take part in the historical revisionist processes dictated by the post-socialist Serbia, museums lost their position in the community. Due to to the effects of the prolonged (and violent) process of transition and the complexity of the transition itself (including economy, politics, ideology, boundaries of the country), the analysis have to go to the basics – to include both, the key aspects of profession and ethics of museology.

Originality/value – This study focuses on the public regional museums as the places of informal learning about recent past/conflictual history in Serbia. It suggests that museums – revoking their capacity for critical thinking – become dissonant themselves. Thus, during this process, the museums became absolute, ingoring the needs of the community.

Keywords: Dissonant Heritage, (Regional) Museums, Lifelong Learning, Disinheritance, Heritage of Socialism, Post-transion in Serbia.

Paper type: Empirical research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	3
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	6
1.1. Terminology	8
1.2. Topic and Purpose of the research	12
1.3. Potential significance of the research and findings	13
1.4. Framework of the research	14
1.5. Limitations of the Research	17
1.6. Structure of the work	18
CHAPTER 2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	20
2.1. Overall approach	20
2.2. Gathering of the data	21
2.3. Methodology for data analysis	29
CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	32
3.1. Heritage as a process of the negotiation of conflicts	32
3.2. Political and ideological position of the ‘new museum’	37
3.3. The process of learning	41
3.4. Museums as environments for/of life long learning	44
3.5. The role of the museum object / museum collections	47
CHAPTER 4. CONFLICTUAL DISCOURSES OF SOCIALISM IN SERBIA	50
4.1. Anti-socialist discourse	50
4.2. Affirmative discourse	70
CHAPTER 5. DISCOURSES OF REGIONAL MUSEUMS IN SERBIA	82
5.1. Roots: Yugoslav Socialist Museum	84
5.2. Discourse of the institution – institutional discourse	104
5.3. Discourse of collecting and preservation	116
5.4. Scientific function	121
5.5. The communication discourse (presentation, animation)	122
5.6. Museums and visitors	144
5.7. Theories of knowledge and different approaches to the learning processes	145
5.8. Overview of the findings from the Regional museums research	149
CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION	158
6.1. Regional museums in Serbia and learning about the period of Socialism	161
6.2. Which is the museums’ Language of Freedom?	167
6.3. Can heritage professionals mediate dissonance?	169
6.4. Museum identity, role and social value	171

BIBLIOGRAPHY

175

APPENDIX 1	Survey questionnaire, Interview structure / questions
APPENDIX 2	List of the museums included in the research (on CD)
APPENDIX 3	Overview of the media survey (on CD)
APPENDIX 4	Graphs and Charts (review of collected data) (on CD)
APPENDIX 5	Constructivist learning theories applied to museums

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

'Every society has had a relationship with its past, even those which have chosen to ignore it' (Harvey, 2001:320).

"Heritage is dissonant – it is a constitutive social process that on the one hand is about regulating and legitimizing, and on the other hand is about working out, contesting and challenging a range of cultural and social identities, sense of place, collective memories, values and meanings that prevail in the present and can be passed to the future." (L. Smith, 2006:82)

Although education as a crucial museum function has been recognized as long as there have been public museums, this function took on a completely new context with redefinition of its role initiated by the new museology. This 'cultural turn'¹ was based on the critical approach to culture, policies of identity, and paradigms of representation and interpretation, questioning the concept of neutrality of the traditional museums (and heritage as its wider concept). It was believed that, as a starting point, museums have to stand for culture as "constitutive rather than reflective" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:41) aspect of our lives, to acknowledge their participation into the complex power relations in society and their contribution to historical (and contemporary) inequalities.

Today, we expect museums to represent what operational definition of ICOM states – and more. The attention is focused on conceptualizing their "service of society and its development" (ICOM) whereby their potential as the centres for life-long learning through exploration of ideas and experiences becomes pivotal.² Recognizing its power in constructing social relations (through narratives created by all and each aspect of its work), its political function (the role of their perception of heritage in re-constructing identities) and the complexity of the process of communication (with visitors, wider community, founders, even employees of the museum) contemporary museum has to clearly define its socio-political goals. In order to stimulate museums to embrace their role as „the reform apparatus" (Bennett, 2003:45) theoreticians are encouraging museum to be a catalyst and partner in social change, giving active contribution towards the development of the society of social justice, tolerance and cultural democracy; to open controversial and sensitive topics,

¹ Chaney, 1994; Easthope and McGowan, 2004.

² As it will be elaborated our roots in conceptualizing the role of the museums are based on the premises of the new museology: museum as a social institution, operated as a grass-roots organization, attentive to: lifelong learning, development of the (local) community, raising issues related to everyday life; extensive participatory practices / little institutionalization, decentralization, participation and mediation; teamwork based on equal rights; interdisciplinarity; cooperation with local/regional organizations; continuous evaluation etc. (see the chapter 3.2.)

to devote greater attention to what was and what is marginalized and problematic in the construction of heritage; to encourage a critical mind, independent and objective research, and expression of different opinions; to make its resources entirely open and accessible to the community; to contextualize and deconstruct the myth about itself as the (sole) holder of the truth about the past. All this empowers museum as a learning environment, which includes (and is open to) variety of feelings, strengthens its cultural and social capital (its reflecting on and participating in future processes in their communities - in real and cyber space). Museums shall, as well, develop their capacities for variety of partnerships (including and those now, unrepresented), on equal basis, and become “museums of the people not only museums for the people” (Bennett, 1988: 64).

Our analysis, though, cannot be neutral, i.e. the discourse of our work will imply our ideology. Therefore we must declare it at the very beginning. Our examination is based on the concepts of freedom and human rights; on cosmopolitanism, pluralism and diversity; equality, inclusion, dialogue; and against all attempts to disable or restrict them in any way. In supporting paradigms of democracy in general, we base our arguments in favouring the platform of the Left directed to the criticism of the domination of the liberal capital and revision of the values of Socialism, i.e. on denial of identification of the Communist and Fascism ideology. Thus we thought of Yugoslavia and Socialism as “ideological concept, political phenomena and social practice” (Manojlović Pintar, 2014: 387) that was the ‘instruments of modernisation’³, and “the most significant emancipating achievement on the Western Balkans.” (Manojlović Pintar, 2014: 387)⁴. This included, among other things, an unparalleled attempt to provide the right of wider part of the community to participate into the political life⁵, ‘socially engaged and affirmative ideas, that bore huge mobilization potential, ideological concepts that encouraged big cultural, humanistic and civilisation achievements, new platforms of social unity continually changed and built.’ (Manojlović Pintar, 2014: 387). With stating this, we do not want to minimize the mistakes (even crimes) of the Yugoslav Partisans

³ Buden, 2015, <http://rs.n1info.com/a96476/Svet/Region/Buden-Srbija-se-predstavlja-kao-dobri-decko-oko-izbeglica.html>

⁴Period of Socialism in Yugoslavia was not compact. In general we can say that modernization processes in socialist Yugoslavia included free education (mass population was educated), medical care free of charge, industrialization (created many employment opportunities), most of the employed were given apartments; women had equal rights; communist party was tolerant toward fractions (they disagreed even more than the political parties of different orientation in current Serbia); the employed (including peasants) were enabled to use vacation by favorable prices; state of the labor rights and welfare state were at the level inconceivable from today's perspective etc.

⁵ Balunović, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pQGH4IVF2pg>

movement and its political and military leaders during the war, immediately upon liberation and during the existence of SFRY, but to emphasize the necessity of its settling into the wider historical context.⁶

1.1. Terminology

We are basing our arguments on understanding of **culture** as a way of life (Raymond Williams), steered by the power relations in society; “the social production and reproduction of sense, meaning and consciousness” (O’Sullivan et al., 1994:68), which, vice versa, “shapes our perspectives or judgments about how the world works” (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:42).

Within this general outline **heritage** is considered as social and cultural process of today, which reflects the discourses of the dominant social, political, economic, religious or ethnic communities and groups, even of individuals. By selecting resources from the past those ‘powers’ not only shape our contemporary lives (forming / validating identities) and influence the future, but, as well, legitimize themselves through the process (by the power of heritage itself).⁷

The concept of **Authorized heritage discourse** (“discourse granting the power to other conceptualizations of identity and social and cultural experiences”, Smith, 2006, 297) is the most present in our understanding of the process related to the formation of **national heritage** and **national identity** such as **subaltern heritage discourses** (work the same way as Authorized heritage discourse but withholding power), **sub-national identities** (identities in position to dominant heritage narrative, Smith, 2006:236), **heritage communities** (groups that value specific aspects of cultural heritage, not necessarily in accordance with nationalizing and other received identities, and are publicly active in that respect), **‘disinheritance’** (process of heritage creation disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially - Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996:21).

⁶ Consequences of the political repression such were killings of the war-opposition after the unfair trials or, even without the trials (among war villains and Fascist collaborationists innocent were killed as well, mostly in the period Sep 1944 – Feb 1945), imprisonment of those who did not share values of Socialism, or were opposing to the politics of the Communist Party - even if pronounced guilty only by the bias testimony of the unfriendly neighbors (public court processes, Goli Otok and other prisons), forceful marginalization of private ownership etc. Some historians claim that number of people killed by Socialist regime in Yugoslavia was up to 56000 (see the data on the website of the project “U ime naroda”, <http://newsite.uimenaroda.net/cr/>).

⁷ In The Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (“the Faro Convention”) the political/ ideological source/outcome of the heritage as a process is neutralized by the formulation such as “*Cultural heritage* is a group of resources *inherited* from the past which *people* identify, independently of ownership, as a *reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions*. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time.”, Heritage and beyond, 2008:xy

The concept that we believed while embarking on our research, and that will encompass all above, is that of *dissonance in heritage* – tension immanent to the very creation of heritage, to the ‘moment’ of interpretation by someone, with the intention to create a message, with incorporated value i.e. to create meaning ‘allocated’ to specific (in) material heritage and the past it represents (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996). Since the interpretation is rather re-interpretation and is, most probably, happening simultaneously with other re-interpretations, the consensus rarely happens i.e. the dissonance occurs. “Heritage is dissonant”, concludes Smith (2006:82) “it is a constitutive social process that on the one hand is about regulating and legitimizing, and on the other hand is about working out, contesting and challenging a range of cultural and social identities, sense of place, collective memories, values and meanings that prevail in the present and can be passed to the future.”

Analysing the heritage process and the role of the museums from the point of view of the community development *Paula Assunção Dos Santos* concludes that the *museological intervention / work of museology* have two main characteristic: generating community/cultural dynamics which responds to the notion of empowerment⁸ and making resources accessible⁹.

As stated already *museums* are communication platforms promoting specific narratives (of those with power) to a potentially large audience (of the ‘less fortunate’). For our analysis of the crucial importance is the argument of Hooper-Greenhill that museum, through its displays of artefacts and the visual and textual narratives, has a power to produce and reproduce meanings that *work towards constructing specific social formations* (2007: 41). To approach this issue we had to understand the aims and goals (missions and visions) of the museums we were analysing. The first obstacle was nominal incompatibility that (as will be presented in the results of the research) is often used as a ‘shelter’ for unclear priorities in the museums work. For that reason we will present here the basic characteristics of the museum that we selected for our research and explain the terminology we chose for naming them.

⁸ “Emancipation is understood as state in which individuals (and the community as a whole) are able to visualize, understand and master problems, becoming main actors in the shaping of their future and not only passive receptors. It encompasses identity building, self-esteem, self-confidence and confidence in others, self-awareness, consciousness-raising, mobilization, self-initiative and self-determination, imagination and creativity, capacity building, co-operation, communitarian consciousness, social cohesion, internal co-operation”. *Paula Assunção Dos Santos*, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2009/29:202.

⁹ Making resources accessible is contextualized as defined by *Paula Assunção Dos Santos*: “to put people in touch with their heritage, valorise and preserve them; so that these can be understood, used and transformed by development actors along the process. Once resources also comprise the human aspect, it is possible to say that by generating dynamics museology also aims to make human resources accessible.” (*Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2009/29:204).

Museums included in our research – according to administration criteria – are public museums, or precisely, those established by the local government and (mainly) financed from the local tax. According to the type of objects they collect and ‘protect’, museums that we took into consideration are multidisciplinary i.e. general, encyclopaedic museums¹⁰ with the complex collections. According to scheme by Edson and Dean, who classify the museums around three main axes: art, history and science¹¹, and based on the contents of the museums’ collections, we are inclined to think about them as of ‘heritage centres’ whose axis is rather history than science and art.

Museums in Knjaževac, Aleksinac and Jagodina are named native / homeland museums (“zavičajni muzeji”). Going back to the time of their foundation, in order to understand better the contents of this term, we consulted 1949 brochure “Basic Instructions on organization and work of the homeland museums”¹² (to be referred to as ‘the Manual’ in the following text), and 1960 report by Dr Verena Han at the follow-up meeting of the Committee for regional museums of ICOM (19 September 1960, Belgrade¹³). As the main factor for distinction of museums the authors of the Manual took territory i.e. “terrain and people from which and by whom they collect the material, i.e. where they want, primarily, to fulfil museums educational function.”¹⁴ (1949:5). Those provincial, regional and local museums (in comparison with central museums) – although mutually different by their structure and function – were related, being, primarily, cultural, educational institutions (and only then scientific). They are so-called complex museums (of general or complex type), as they include and equally treat different collections, for instance archaeological and historic, ethnographic, collection of natural history and other special collections (ibid: 6-10). Han describes homeland museums as “complex regional museums that treat nature within the totality of the historical development of the region” (journal ‘Muzeji’, 1961/14:37). Based on all of those aspects, homeland museums are

¹⁰ “Van Mensch links the criteria for the determining the museum typology to the following four parameters of integrated methodology of museology: museum object, museological functions, museological institutions and society. According to the museum object criteria Van Mensch suggested the following classification: multidisciplinary (general and encyclopedic) museums; specialized museums; interdisciplinary museums; art museums and museums of applied arts; archeological museums and history museums; ethnography museums and cultural anthropology museums; natural history museums and artificial anthropology museums; museums of science and technology.” (acc.: I. Maroević, 1993). The analyzed museums match the category of “multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary museums” by (acc.: A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009:42,43)

¹¹ Gary Edson i David Dean, *The Handbook for Museums*, 2nd edition, 1996, London, Routledge, 1996: 8 (according to: A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 44.)

¹² Panić-Surep, Dr Mil. S. Filipović and Đ. Mano-Zisi Eds.

¹³ Term provincial museums (provincijski muzeji) can also be found in the text ‘Reorganizacija naših muzeja’ (journal ‘Muzeji’, 1949/3-4: 3) where museum of Vojvodina is given as an example.

¹⁴ As other factors author names character of the collections and models of display.

equivalents of museums contemporary classified as regional: ICOM makes no distinction between “Local Museums” and “Regional Museums”, using the term “regional” for all museum with “relevant contents from a region, smaller than the territory of a state - district, landscape, town or village”¹⁵.

We were also considering the possibility of using the term “social” and “community” museum¹⁶, to reflect the opinion expressed by the interviewees during research, that the museums they work in are museums for mass population¹⁷. As well most of the museums we included in our research (in Kikinda, Zrenjanin, Čačak, Zaječar, Leskovac, Valjevo, Kraljevo, Užice and Aleksandrovac) integrate in their names determinant ‘peoples museum’ / ‘museum of the people’ (‘narodni muzej’). However, since term ‘community museum’ is mostly used for ethnographic museums, and ‘narodni muzej’ refers to the level of community participation which, as we think, no museum in Serbia achieved (they can’t even confirm their status as museums ‘for the people’), we concluded that their use would be inadequate.

Starting from the formal names of the museums in question we were considering museums concepts that would reflect that – from imaginary museum (A. Malraux, 1996), museum of community (H. De Varine, 1993), the participatory museum (N. Simon, 2010), to the museum forum (H. Belting, in P. Weibel and A. Buddensieg (ed.), 2007), critical museum (P. Pjotrovski, 2013). In all these concepts we found some of the characteristics of the homeland and peoples museums as explained in literature from the period of their foundation¹⁸.

After these analyses we decided to use the term “**regional museums**”, in order to indicate not only the territoriality of the analysed museums (city, municipality, relatively small region) but also their geographical position (in smaller Serbian towns that could be considered as centres of smaller regions), structure of their collections (complex museums) and our understanding of their basic purpose of existence: strong relationship to its locality, providing meaning to the community and giving advantage

¹⁵ ICOM body “ICOM International Committee for Regional Museums (ICR)” bore the name “Committee for Local Museums” during the first decades of its existence (see www.network.icom.museum/icr/about-icr/history). For the definition of the Regional museum see Statutes of the International Committee for Regional Museums (ICR) www.network.icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/minisites/icr/pdf/Statutes_approvedSept_2012.pdf.

¹⁶ Van Mensch, P. *Museology and Management: Enemies or Friends?*, 2003:7-8. Retrieved May 22, 2014, from http://www.icom-portugal.org/multimedia/File/V%20Jornadas/rwa_publ_pvm_2004_1.pdf; De Varine, H. (1993) *Tomorrow's community museums*, Retrieved May 22, 2014, from <http://www.assembly.coe.int/Museum/ForumEuroMusee/Conferences/tomorrow.htm>.

¹⁷ Here we use term from I. Maroević (1993:80) considering it as accurate expression of what was stated by different research participants.

¹⁸ See the chapter ‘Socialist Museum’ for more details.

to “multi-thematic approach, where different components of social life are presented.” (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009:44)

Instead of the expression ‘museum education’ we will be using ‘***museum learning***’, within a post-modern concept of learning processes as a basic human attribute, highly individual¹⁹, “continuous, as natural as breathing, and not always specifically educational” (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:9). By this we would like to emphasize the experience of learners - on both, what they learn and how they learn it, the responsibility of the museums to prioritize visitors experience to organisational convenience, and, the potential museums have in contributing to the development of learning society. We are understanding the process of learning as constructivist, experiential, performative; “process of the interactions between three – ever changing – contexts: an individual's personal, sociocultural, and physical contexts” (Falk and Dierking, 2000:xy) through which we become ourselves (our identities made, again and again) and make sense of the world. As stated in the definition of learning developed by the UK Campaign for Learning (for the Inspiring Learning for All initiative, 1999)²⁰ it “may involve increase in or deepening of skills, knowledge, understanding, values, feelings, attitudes and the capacity to reflect. Effective learning leads to change, development and the desire to learn more.”²¹

1.2. Topic and Purpose of the research

The topic of our research was the ‘role of the regional museums in learning about the period of socialism in Serbia’. By formulating it we articulated our expectation that museums can make contribution towards both – process of heritage making related to conflicting issues from the past and process of learning about recent history.

The research was aimed to question the discourse of the public museums as institutions of the state: their representation of the state’s power vs. possibility to become place of civil intervention, ethical and professional standards of those employed in Serbian museums, capacity of the museums to deal with the topics that provoke severe divisions in society. We were hoping to find at least a small sign that regional museums in Serbia can offer the reference for those disenfranchised or

¹⁹ “Because we are all different, each of us will process knowledge and produce meaning in a different way.” (Soto, 1994:75).

²⁰ The Campaign for Learning is a national charity: www.campaign-for-learning.org.uk/ (accessed 22 January 2007).

²¹ As in Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:31; Gibbs, Sani, Thompson, 2007:8/9; Bellamy and Oppenheim eds, 2009: 14,

marginalised from dominant national identity, as well as to introduce different ways of learning and make their place as promoter and facilitator of life-long learning.

Our intention was to explore the role of regional museums in construction of the dominant discourse on a specific ‘topic’ from the recent, conflicting past (the period of Socialism). As stated, this is to be achieved through an analysis of the museums performance in the field of museum learning – the crucial function of the the contemporary museums. On the following pages we will display and analyse the data gathered through our des and filed research regarding the external/contextual and internal aspects of the work of the regional museums in Serbia; social, ideological, political, economic, museological dimensions of the issue in question, its links to the policy and practice of the museums in Serbia.

Being interested in the issues of social control in museums our ultimate goal was to detect the presence (absence?) of the oppressive discursive practices regarding the period of Socialism including the ways in which “authorized heritage discourse works to grant or withhold power to other conceptualizations of identity and social and cultural experiences”. (Smith, 2006:297)

We observed different aspects of the phenomenon of dissonance of the heritage of Socialism in Serbia and analysed which relations influence its exclusion/presence within the practices of the regional museums. We have tried to better understand the transformative potentials of the particular social arrangements and configurations i.e. the intersections between public cultural discourse and that of (working stuff in) the museums.

Our aim is to shed light and to provide explanations, in order to inform about potential change.

1.3. Potential significance of the research and findings

We expect this thesis to contribute to practices of the regional museum in the field of the dissonant heritage. We can see this study contributing in “generating a degree of informed enthusiasm for particularly challenging and important area of *museums (added by K.Ž.) work*”. (Robson, 2011:5)

Research should give clearer picture on the regional museums in Serbia, as resources for lifelong learning, it will help to recognize the capacities and obstacles in

realization of the museums such function and the context allowing controversial social/historical issues to find their way in the museum's educational work.

The results are going to be relevant to the museum curators, museums departments for education, scholars, policymakers, practitioners etc. This research is going to inform the concerns of contemporary, socially engaged museums practice.

1.4. Framework of the research

Our study is based on our experiential knowledge and a specific exploratory research implemented in the period 2013-2015. We have considered the factors / variables influencing our field of research as economic, political, professional, social, socio-demographical. External factors are segmented as international/global and local. Regarding the global context we have considered socio-political situation in the world, position of museums and their role in the process of learning. Context in Serbia is outlined through socio-political situation, cultural needs, cultural habits, (public cultural consumption, cultural practices) and cultural offer in Serbia. Internal factors we have considered are the complex resources of the museums.

At the very beginning of research the possibility of identification of relationship and differences of analysed topic in Serbia and ex-Yugoslav republics and other ex-Communist countries is taken into account. After researching the terrain and after analysing the literature, we concluded that, besides similarities in general, there are even more differences between Serbia and other ex-Yugoslav and ex-Communist countries, resulting from the characteristics of the transitional period in Serbia and its situation since.

Context of Socialist Yugoslavia was different experience compared to the Communism in other countries of Former Eastern Europe, USSR etc²². Its peculiarity in the public, out of the ex-Yugoslav territories, is not observed, but it is drowned into determinant of totality of 'one Communism'. This can be seen, points out Manojlović Pinter (2014:387) as part of the restoration processes which "question and deny social progress in socialistic countries after the World War II", and processes in the second half of the 20th century through which ex-socialist and ex/communist spaces are dehistoricised (Buden, 2015, <http://rs.n1info.com/a96476/Svet/Region/Buden->

²² Social and political processes in Yugoslavia during the World War II (anti-fascist war and socialist revolution), after 1945 (separation from Cominform and political authority of Soviet Union in 1948) and during existence of socialist country (openness to the East, West and to the Third World countries, liberalization) were different than in other countries of Eastern bloc.

Srbija-se-predstavlja-kao-dobri-decko-okolo-izbeglica.html). After the break up of Yugoslavia Serbia entered into the period of transition (if we understood this process in a broader way this process is not yet completed). Specificity of this turbulent period, made the discourse of museums-in-transition in Serbia, specific as well.

After analysing the state of Serbian museums we decided to direct our research toward regional museums. Treatment of regional museums gave us possibility of more productive connection of theoretical postulates that we advocate (important role of the museum in the life of local community – new museology, sociomuseology²³) and practical circumstances: policy of the founders in the time of the emergence of the museums that we examine and their contemporary conceptions.

We have decided that the core of our research will be related to the ~~public~~, state owned museums, main reason being the generalizability of the findings. Deciding on them would give the wider sample of the similar institutions to base research on (while, say, national museums or the museums in big cities give specific examples – such museums being one of the kind in Serbia).

Our consideration of regional museums is related to the **period from 2007**, and in relation to the verification of the independent status of the Republic of Serbia in 2006.²⁴ Our analysis does not examine further territorial transformations of Serbia (one-sided secession of Kosovo proclaimed in 2008) since they did not crucially affect the parameters of the work of the museums that we explore (it intertwined in the general corpus of social, political and economic instabilities).

We additionally directed our field of research to the discourses produced by *permanent exhibitions* in regional museums in Serbia. Public exhibition expresses the certain idea, represents medium for transmitting the desirable message to the public and it is ‘reflection of local and national memory’ (Freeman Tilden, 1957), mirrors the concern about heritage and democratisation of the museum’s work. *Permanent exhibition* represents the most complex form of a museum presentive communication. In addition to defining the museum physiognomy through its integrated message (I.

²³ Based on the theory of New Museology local museums are seen as the most transparent examples of the social function of the museums. The stated role orients the new museum to the local conditions and specific interests and needs of the local community. Museum rising from the local community can be successful “only if it follows on-goings in its surrounding and reacts in due time on changes” (Flac and Lederer, 2002:22/23). In such way it “serves the society and its development and is open towards the whole population.” (Martinović, Journal ‘Kultura’, 144/2014:70) Museums being focused on the micro and meso levels is one of the essential factors of the Pedagogy of liberation approach. (see Dos Santos, Cadernos de Sociomuseologia, 2009/29:205).

²⁴ After the dislvement of Socialist Yugoslavia Serbia formed a federa state with Montenegro (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia since 1992 and State Union of Serbia and Montenegro from 2003). Montenegrins expressed theiwh wish for the independence on the referendum in May 2006. National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia acknowledged the independence of Serbia on June 5, 2006. In political and legal terms Serbia was recognized as a successor of former socialist and federal Yugoslavia.

Maroević, 1993) – reflecting the museum's overall content and the state of its scientific interpretation (Z. Z. Stránský, 1970b) – with an approach in which it represents the collection, permanent exhibition also points to the collecting policy of a museum. It is expected that the most specified factors of its duration are changing the collection's content and changing the social environment of a museum, i.e. changing the museum's discourse.²⁵ The factor of durability of these exhibitions enables detection of eventual changes in narrative during the longer period (although contemporary permanent exhibitions²⁶ are conceived as mobile and flexible – as work in progress, subjected to modification and development).

Permanent museum exhibitions are classified as complex (encyclopedic) and thematic. "Complex exhibitions through the use of the most diverse exhibition materials present several "themed stories" from various periods, with topics arranged mostly applying chronological principle. Thematic exhibitions present, more or less chronologically limited historic themes (process, person, event...), and in practice they appear in two forms, as a museum indoor exhibits and open air ones." (V. Krivošev, I. Damnjanović, *American Journal of Tourism Management*, 2014/3/1B) Although we will analyze the existence of permanent exhibitions only from the position of the presence of topics from the period of Socialism, permanent complex exhibitions will be analyzed as entities mirroring the complex museum discourse.

For the discourse analysis of complex permanent exhibitions we used the criteria as defined by P. van Mensch (1992)²⁷: according to the basic types of exhibiting (taxonomic, narrative and situational); according to the style criteria (aesthetic, evocative and didactic/educational exhibitions); according to the exhibiting technique (static and dynamic exhibitions). Like all others, these classifications should not be taken as definite, since the aforementioned characteristics often manifest themselves simultaneously and in different combinations within the same exhibition (and most definitely within different exhibitions in one museum). The interpretation of the theory of knowledge and/or understanding of nature of learning

²⁵ The modern approach to permanent exhibitions points to the relativity of their duration in such 'given' frames, i.e. to the flexibility of the content itself and the form of its expression.

²⁶ Its permanence is theoretically and practically limited: in majority of cases it will change under the influence of the of theoretical inputs / the change of museological concepts, with change of the collections' contents, and above all with change of circumstances in the society (owing to the role of 'state' museums within creation of national identity).

²⁷ "In the museum communication Van Mensch puts attention to the physical context, i.e. to the structural identity of a museum exhibition. According to him, an exhibition is born from a mutual interaction of "idea" (conceptual identity) and "matter" ("matter" includes space, primary and secondary museographic materials...). Conceptual identity refers to the purpose of the exhibition, strategy (organization of the materials), style (the general atmosphere in which the communication takes place) and the exhibiting technique. (P. van Mensch, 1992)." acc. J. Milutinović, 2003:81

(psychological theory of learning) which is an essential part of educational work²⁸ of the analyzed museums was based on the analysis of their current exhibitions (central to the analysis is the complex permanent nature) and other aspects of museum work.²⁹

1.5. Limitations of the Research

Although using the methodological approach of triangulation (data about the practices of the museums gathered through survey questionnaires, testimonials/memories gathered through interviews – from different actors, different documentary sources), we could not exclude many threats immanent to the chosen methodology: subjectivity of the informants, influence of the socio-political factors, possibilities of discrepancies and disagreements between the different sources.³⁰ Therefore, our main limitations are based on the capacity to enlarge sample (if needed) and to ‘triangulate’ to the very detail of the data gathered through the interviews (in some segments of data collection we had to rely on memory³¹ of the informants – only).

If any, we were rather seeking for the *internal generalizability* (Robson, xy:160), sometimes referred to as *analytic generalization*: the generalizability of conclusions within the setting studied. The insecurity in one of the data sources came from the fact that some data collected gave different inputs than when generated by the other researcher³².

Since our insight is based on the conversations with the museologists it is not to be expected that we will specially elaborate on topics (although during our research we have in detailed read theory and research results from those fields/topics) such as: visitors studies (museum visitor learning, experience, visitors categorizations, research strategies and techniques within this field etc.) and knowledge producing

²⁸ According to G. E. Hein belief (1998:25) that ‘certain positions within the interpretation of knowledge and understanding of the nature of learning are the basis for selecting the pedagogical strategies, i.e. the outline of the plan for the execution of the pedagogical activities.’ (G. E. Hein, 1998:25) acc. J. Milutinović, 2003: 96)

²⁹ Hein, show how adopting certain theories of knowledge and psychological theories of learning reflects on the organization of museum exhibitions and educational functionality of a museum.

³⁰ Robson reminds us that since interviews and documents can be contradictory, two observers may disagree about what has happened (Robson, xy:158).

³¹ “Memory is a complex engagement of the past with the potential to be both a utopian space of free expression and the truth, or a dystopian nightmare of denial, partiality and longing” (Radstone 2000:5). “It is the challenge of empirical cultural studies in order to make sense of the mediation between these two possibilities as they are enacted every day in peoples’ lives” (Keightley in Pickering, 2008:190).

³² Research by Martinović and Jokić (2009:13) shows that 72% of included museums had the long term plan of exhibition activities. Our research got completely opposite findings – that hardly any museum has the strategic plan and that operational plans, namely plan of exhibitions and infrastructural work, are made on the annual basis.

processes (factors of learning / memorizing / remembering, measures of learning, motivation and learning to name some).

1.6. Structure of the work

Chapter 1 - Introduction: Explanation of the focus of the case study (e.g. problem, issue, policy option, topic of evaluation).

Chapter 2 - Research Design and Methodology

The ‘natural history of the inquiry’ (Erickson, 1986): Overall approach to Research Design and Methodology, different aspects of data gathering (Initial phase of the research, Contextual research within the Museums in Serbia, Core corpus research - the multiple/comparative case study), desk research including the overview of the parameters that decided on the final participants in the case studies and format of the data analysis

Chapter 3 - Theoretical context

In order to reach analytical apparatus that will help us in the analysis of the role of the museum within the community of non-transparent state policy, economic instability, tumultuous political storms, we reached for a dialogue between different perspectives: heritology, museology, theory of learning. We will give the overview of the theoretical grounds for contextualizing the discourse of heritage in relation to conflictual issues in society, political and ideological position of the ‘new museum’, nature of learning, museums as environments for/of life long learning (and the relevance of the museum object/museum collections within that process).

Chapter 4 – Conflictual discourse of Socialism in Serbia

In this part we are giving the arguments for the conflicting discourses of Socialism in Serbia – as a reason for the dissonance related to the heritage of Socialism. Since our topic relates to dissonance of socialism as a potential learning resource we are trying to analyze its capacity: for conflict or a dialogue in a concrete community, today. “Serbian” relation to history, historical revisionism, nostalgia for Socialism and socialist Yugoslavia, practices of socialist heritage protection and preservation outside public museums, as characteristic aspects of the ‘internal’

processes, as well as European and international Authorized Heritage Discourse are aspects incorporated in this analysis. We are simplifying the ‘historical’ division to transitional discourse of the Museums in Serbia (1989 – 2006/07) and museums post-transition discourse (since 2007); showing the role of the oppositional memory of the community. We are also giving the basic data on the public education system in the autonomous Republic of Serbia and its relation to the period of Socialism.

Chapter 5 – Discourses of regional museums in Serbia

We are analyzing the discourse of the regional museums in Serbia through its institutional and museological components as being inseparable from regional museums as the environments for learning. Institutional discourse components which we took into account are: scope of work, mission, topic relation to the founder, museums management, planning and evaluation, infrastructure. Within the museological function(s) of the Regional museums in Serbia we were analyzing conservation and protection practices, scientific function, discourse of presentation / communication / animation (exhibitions – permanent and temporary, different formats of animation, publications additional museum services). All this includes the ‘component’ of their relation to Socialism. Since that relation is, mostly, relation of exclusion, absence, and silence, we were looking wider into museums’ practice to better understand the roots for such situation. This chapter starts with the analyses of the roots of the contemporary regional museums – Yugoslav Socialist museum.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion: Our research boiled down to the question

Can Museums help us understand the world around us? (Čolak-Antić in Martinović, 2009:60). We are ‘going back’ to the political work of the museums, impossibility of the discourse of ‘objectivity’ and ‘neutrality’, consequences of the work of regional museums as described in the previous chapters. We are, as well, looking for productive theoretical and operational models in ‘doing heritage’ and ‘operating museums’ arguing for the utopian approach being productive and, potentially, mobilizing. We find that position of the regional public museum in Serbia regarding learning about the period of Socialism is the paradigm of their capacity to change.

CHAPTE 2

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

“Attend to contemporary issues by all means, and insist on the impossibility of understanding the past except within the present, but do not imagine you can think about the present or the past wholly on contemporary grounds, only on what seems urgently relevant now, and finally, always, always, historicise.” Michael Pickering, Research Methods for Cultural Studies, Edinburgh University Press, 2008:14

2.1. Overall approach

Our research was designed to provide data about the museums performance in the cross-section of museum learning and heritage of Socialism and give us the biggest trustworthiness. We have focused on ‘investigating cultural producers’ (Davis, 2008:53) – perspective of the museums/museologists³³ – while desk research provided us with data to better understand other partners / stakeholders in the life of the museums (museum visitors, museum community, representatives of the founders, decision makers, private collectors, artists, online activists etc.).

Our research study can be classified in the tradition of “naturalistic” paradigms (George E. Hein, 1998) and its characteristics can be described with set of terms such as qualitative, holistic, subjective, real-world based, naturalistic (vs. experimental), soft, exploratory, understanding, contextual, responsive (vs. deterministic, synthetic. In the footsteps of Huper-Grinhil we were connecting hermeneutic philosophy and constructivist theory of learning, developing our arguments regarding learning in the museum within constructivistic or humanistic-developmental paradigm.

Relying on the freedom given by the eclectic methodologies we were using different methods of empirical investigation in the different phases of the research. Building “a defensible corpus of material for use in discourse analysis” (Pickering, 2008:11), we were using the knowledge gained through lived experience, data gathered during qualitative in-depth interviews, going back and forth from those data to theory, “from text to context or back and forth between them” (ibid.) etc.

³³ Research was done based only on the perspective of the museums. If the opportunity occurs, being able to conduct the research with the museum visitors and the local community would give the valuable comparative data.

Throughout the process we were staying aware, and not being shy of implications of the personal values and ideology.

Aiming to fulfil studies exploratory purpose³⁴ and faced with the ‘dispersed’ body of data with numerous variables and their different combinations, we employed the flexible qualitative research design strategy with heuristic bricolage approach. This approach allowed us not only to use different conceptual and practical resources to solve specific problems during the research (to use whatever tools and materials are at hand to complete a project, Levi-Strauss, 1968; to identify complementary theoretical platforms in heritology, museology, memory policies etc.), but to benefit from a dialogue between the different perspectives (‘to expand and deepen, rather than simply confirm, one’s understanding.’, Greene, 2007).

Being aware of the limitations of the qualitative research, besides elaborate work on the core corpus design, we were insisting on the data triangulation throughout all research phases (using multiple sources, as well as, more than one method of data collecting). Since gathering complete documentation about the work of the museums was quite difficult³⁵ the (cultural) evidence provided by memory became pivotal source of information (interviews with different individuals and groups, were checked, as much as possible, against other documentary sources³⁶, and other informants - from the same social category or one contrasting it³⁷). The point was to establish the validity, reliability and generalisability of the findings.

2.2. Gathering of the data

2.2.1. Initial phase of the research

Our research strategy was based on the *background research* realized during our practical museum work in year 2012. Experience has been our primary resource, providing evidence of and giving insight into everyday practice of the museums in

³⁴ We had reserves not being sure in our capacity to reach the emancipatory/empowering purpose of such a research profile. We were aware that, if successful, our findings and conclusions will be reflected on rather than followed by ‘action’ or ‘change’.

³⁵ Hardly any museum could produce a complete ‘data package’: Statute, Founding act, Strategic plan, documents relevant for the formation of the permanent exhibition, documents related to the communicational and educational strategy (even if only notes from the employees meetings, or the decision regarding employment of the exhibition guide or pedagogue, his/hers working contract etc.). The best experience was the collaboration with the ‘Zavičajni muzej Knjaževac’, while director of the museum in Prijepolje even refused to provide the Statute claiming that the document is business secret and could be disclosed only by the founder (Municipality of Prijepolje).

³⁶ Happened so that on the museums web presentations, within their printed materials and documents we were able to find information that were not mentioned by the museum directors and employees.

³⁷ Pur strategy was to ask directors or curators of one museum about the work of the other museum, as well as talking to employees on different positions within certain museum.

Serbia. This real-world observation was based on the purposive sampling and conducted through the immersion of the researcher in the setting of the selected organization (the Museum of Yugoslav History, Belgrade).

During this ‘action research’ we were using the unstructured interviews and participant observation. This first-hand fieldwork had a strong participatory evaluation component³⁸. Based on the inductive logic, the single, pilot, case study was realized through unstructured / informal approach. Face to face (one-on-one, as well as in the group) in-depth unstructured interviews were combined with covert (~~participants~~) observation and sampling institutional data archives. Although the participants observation is not recommended (Robson finds it “at odds with the principle of informed consent“, 2011:316) we highly benefited from this “non-reactive, unobtrusive method of data collection” (ibid). This initial phase of the research provided inputs for the situation analysis, was the base for articulating research question of the study, and helped “the development of a more structured instruments” (Robson, 2011:296) for the main data collection / the core regional museums-based research.

2.2.2. Contextual research within the Museums in Serbia

We found the data on 174 museums³⁹. Thematic museums that do not refer to the period of Socialism in Serbia were not taken into account (the purposive ‘corpus construction’) and we proceeded our research in 94 museums.

These data enabled us to build a solid base for understanding the context / document the guardianship of the heritage of Socialism by the museums in Serbia, and build the argument for deciding on the corpus for the following in-depth research about the topic of our thesis. Therefore we created a survey implemented through semi-structured questionnaire, distributed by e-mail to the ninety-four selected museums. The questionnaire was composed of 22 questions in 6 clusters: general informations about the museum, documents steering the work of the museum, structure of the collections – in general and the material related to the period of

³⁸ From a time distance we can realize that the aspects of the *empowerment evaluation* did not get the fundamental long-term impact but did effect certain aspects of the Museum’s practice. The biggets effect was on the personal level with some MYH employees.

³⁹ Lists of the museums registered in Serbia could be found on the following web sites: <http://www.zaprokul.org.rs/Muzeji/Search.aspx> and <http://muzejirade.com/muzeji/>, <http://muzejirade.com/muzeji/> and <http://www.e-kultura.net>

Socialism, activities of the museum from 1989 to 2013 related to the topic of Socialism, educative programs (in general and related to the period of Socialism), potentials regarding the educational activities related to the period of Socialism. This structure of the questionnaire allowed us to get the relevant data about the presence of the period of Socialism in the work of the museums (in their collections, in their permanent or temporary exhibitions, within other programs, in their 'educational programs') as well as their general orientation towards the role of the museum as an environment for learning and the period of Socialism – in their past, current and future work.

In the communication that lasted for almost 2 years we have managed to collect the answers from 69 museums. Although planned to be filled in independently by museums and returned by email in ca. 30% the process was realized through voice-to-voice (over the phone) or face-to-face interactions in order for questionnaires to be filled. From the remaining museums, 16 are still claiming they will fill in the questionnaires, 6 never responded and for 3 proper contacts were additionally found.

2.2.3. Core corpus research - the multiple/comparative case study

Parameters used for designing the corpus for the core research / the case study were provided through our contextual research accompanied by the published findings from the research of the cultural needs and habits in Serbia. We have applied a combination of the following factors in choosing the museum for the multiple/comparative case study:

Parameter 1 – Ownership, financing and management

Most of the museums in Serbia are owned by the state (in ownership of municipalities 23%, of towns 16%, of the state 46%) and assets for their work are provided dominantly by the founder, i.e. they come from some authority level (more than 65-95% from municipality, town or state budget).⁴⁰ Founder/the state realizes the greatest rights in management: management and supervisory boards are nominated and elected by individual political parties or coalitions that have the same authority as founders of the institutions.

⁴⁰ Own income is marginal source of financing. It participates with less than 5% in annual budget of the institution. "Donations" are marginal sources of financing of app. every third museum (27%). Xy:xy

Parameter 2 – The typology of the museums

Published research show that the audience is most prone to art museums (42,0%), then to historical, city museums and ‘peoples museum’ or ‘homeland’ museums (24,3%), and archaeological museums (22,6%)⁴¹. Research made by Krivošejev in the period 2006-2008⁴² shows that the most of the 150⁴³ museums in Serbia are municipal museums (some of them with expanded jurisdiction to several surrounding municipalities). Those aspects pointed us towards regional museums (incorporating city/municipal museums, ‘peoples’ museum, ‘homeland’ museums).

Parameter 3 – Existence of the permanent exhibition made after 2006/2007

Observing the structure of overall work of the museums, as one of the factors within the selection of research core corpus we decided to consider existence of the permanent exhibition as their most visible communication platform. As stated, it reflects the overall politics of the museum, the museum’s integral message – it is indicator of the museum’s collecting policy as well as of its scientific perspective of the phenomena that the museum is dealing with. Having said that, we considered the existence of the permanent exhibition – arising after proclamation of Serbian independence – to be the most obvious indicator of the museum’s relation to the historical period which is the subject of our research. We decided to take year 2007 as the starting year in historical context. It was not realistic to expect from conservative and nonflexible institutions as museums are to deal with the period of Socialism during political and economic transition of the country. However, when the state became independent⁴⁴ it was expected that the museum media will be used to communicate its new identity (as well in relation to Socialist Yugoslavia).

Parameter 4 – Geographic position

Statistically, Serbia is divided in 5 regions: region of Belgrade, Vojvodina, Central and West Serbia, South and East Serbia, and Metohija. Although previous

⁴¹ Deeper analysis of data gives rather stereotypical picture: women mostly go to art museums (66,4%), while men (86,5%) chose military museums i.e. museums covering national history, history of wars and similar at the first place. (Martinović, 2009: 15)

⁴² V. Krivošejev, Museums, management, tourism: Towards contemporary museum, from theory to practice, Valjevo, Narodni muzej Valjevo and NIP Obrazovni informator, 2012. Also in Krivošejev and Damjanović - The American Journal of Tourism Management (2014)

⁴³ Total of 150 disregarded dependent departments and museum collections and galleries without funds as separate units.

⁴⁴ Serbia became an independent state in 2006 for the first time since 1918. Serbia was a founding member of Kingdom of Yugoslavia (established after the First World War) and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, established after the Second World War.

studies concluded that those regions do not differ in their interest in the work of museums (regardless to disproportion in the scope of factual presence/ absence of cultural events, in cultural needs and habits of the citizens)⁴⁵ we decided to involve the museums in bigger towns of four regions* and, in as many different districts as possible (total of 24 districts). While selecting the towns / museums, priority was given to those museums in which some previous research had been done, in order to be able to build our analysis incorporating those findings as well.

*Kosovo and Metohija were not included in this research because there were no referent data for this region that could help in contextualization. That territory, although formally, from the official perspective of the state administration, considered as part of the Republic of Serbia, was not the subject of any research in the field of culture and work of the museums that this researcher was able to find.

Desk research and the *background research* offered additional parameters that can be used for future clustering of the core corpus – if needed.

Findings by Martinović (2009) indicated the influence of *urbanization degree and the size of the settlement (Parameter 5)* to visits in the museum in Serbia: museums are the mostly visited by the citizens of Belgrade and of towns with more than 51.000 citizens. Since our intention was to include museums that, theoretically, have more chance to attract visitors, we took those findings into account.

Jokić's (2010:48) findings show that in smaller museums⁴⁶ in Serbia criterions for programs selection are clearer and the employees are, in higher percentage, familiar with the stream of the museum program realization on which they are not directly engaged. This oriented us to the analysis of the *Size of the museum (Parameter 6)* as the factor which facilitates /complicates the process of getting the reliable data (in smaller museums, according to these findings, the process is supposed to be easier).

Taking into account the research topic we thought of the *content of the collection and collecting policy / completion of the museum`s collections (Parameter*

⁴⁵ Citizens of South and Eastern Serbia seldom go to the museums – percentage of the people who do not visit museums is 60% in Belgrade, 61% in Šumadija 62,5% in Vojvodina up to 74,6% and in South and Eastern Serbia; visits 25,4% in South and Eastern Serbia, 37,5 in Vojvodina, 38,9 in Šumadija and West Serbia, 40% in Belgrade (Cvetičanin, Milankov, 2011:70, graph 110).

⁴⁶ During the interviews the curators and the directors were particularly sensitive to 'categorization based on size'. Although during the conversation they stated that the reason for their potential work shortcomings was the scantiness of resources. This confirms that "questions about museology (...) even when applied in a general way to all museums, must be processed with regard to the size of an institution. The problems, as well as means used to solve them, are in direct relation with this factor." (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 45)

7) as well as their *learning policy* (Parameter 8) to be of the importance as well. This included different variables: the strategic and program orientation of the museums, dynamics and structure of other museum programs (apart from permanent exhibitions) concerned with the period of Socialism, structure of the museum team, availability of the space – just to name some.

We consider that 17 museums that were selected on the base of those parameters are typical of the regional museums throughout Serbia. They are: Peoples Museum of Kikinda (Narodni muzej Kikinda), The City Museum in Sombor (Gradski muzej Sombor), Peoples Museum of Zrenjanin (Narodni muzej Zrenjanin), The Museum of Krajina (Muzej Krajine, Negotin), Peoples Museum of Zaječar (Narodni muzej Zaječar), Homeland Museum Knjaževac (Zavičajni muzej Knjaževac), Homeland Museum Aleksinac (Zavičajni muzej Aleksinac), Peoples Museum of Leskovac (Narodni muzej Leskovac), Homeland Museum Župe (Zavičajni muzej Župe, Aleksandrovac), Homeland Museum Jagodina (Zavičajni muzej Jagodina), Peoples Museum of Valjevo (Narodni muzej Valjevo), Peoples Museum of Kraljevo (Narodni muzej Kraljevo), Prijepolje Museum (Muzej u Prijepolju), Peoples Museum of Užice (Narodni muzej Užice), Peoples Museum of Aranđelovac (Narodni muzej Aranđelovac), Museum Ras (Muzej Ras, Novi Pazar), Peoples Museum of Čačak (Narodni muzej Čačak). One of them, Homeland Museum – Župe (Zavičajni muzej Župe) in Aleksandrovac, appeared not to be eligible due to the fact that on year 20xy it got the notice that it cannot be registered as the museum due to technical shortcoming (no proper depots, nonexistant documentation on the collection etc.).

To manage their in depth analyses the same research tools were used for all case studies. Methods of data collection within this corpus were:

- semi structured focused interviews performed according to the same structure / face-to-face, based on open questions, with use of the probes and prompts (some of the informants asked for, and were provided, the *questionnaires* prior to the interview). All interviews were documented by audio-taping;
- a *documentary analysis* through data archives / administrative records of the museums, archives;
- visits to the permanent exhibitions in the museum (alone or with the person assigned by the museum to guide the researcher).

The structure of the interviews was sequenced according to the guidance

formulated by Robson (2011:284, 285): introductory questions, warm-up questions, main body of interview, col-off, closure. The line of the questions varied, according to the cause of the interview in order to capitalize on the responses. We made sure that 'missed' topics were returned to, unless it seemed as they could cause the end of the conversation. Some questions were, occasionally, asked more than once during the interview in a different formulation with the intention of getting the response (when the interviewees avoided giving an answer) or to trying to clarify if the answer given the first time was precisely formulated and/or if we had understood it well. 'Risky' questions were, usually, asked relatively late in the sequence "so that, if the interviewee refuses to continue, less information is lost" (Robson, 2011:284-285). Sometimes, though, the interviews and the statements streams were leading us out of order and, we used the opportunity not to interrupt the natural conversation flow. In many situations the researcher was faced with the 'hand on the door' phenomenon. Occasionally in those situations interviewees gave some relevant information, although most was related to the interpersonal relations in the institution. Not all of them were documented the same ways as interviews.

Although the plea regarding the structure of the interviewees was the same for all the museums, the situation on-sight was different. When available in-depth interviews were held with the oldest curators employed in the chosen museums, considered the informants who could give us a historical depth; as well as with current director as the representative of the management of the museum. In museums where such a person is employed the interview was conducted with the pedagogue or a museum guide. Relevant were the conversations with other curators – historians, ethnologists etc. In most of the museums we have spoken with the directors at the beginning.

Interviews conducted were the source of the hard facts about the operations of the museum as well as stories representing the social world of the interviewee and the museum.⁴⁷ Analysing those narratives brought us closer to in-depth understanding of the processes in the museums and in their community, and their consequences on policies of the museum (that were, research showed, newly formalized).

Three situations were atypical but of a great impact on the researcher: the group conversation that spontaneously happened in the museum in Sombor (started as

⁴⁷ "Stories are central to the ways in which people make sense of their experience and interpret the social world. In everyday life and popular culture, we are continually engaged in narratives of one kind or another. They link us together socially and allow us to bring past and present into relative coherence." (Michael Pickering, *Research Methods for Cultural Studies*, 2008: 6.)

one-on-one interview in the museum inner courtyard / garden it grew to the conversation with more than 8 curators, and was similar to the nominal group discussion), the interview with the director of the museum of Prijeopolje (conducted at the bench in the park in Belgrade) and the conversation with the founder and long-time director of the museum in Leskovac (now retired). In Arandelovac we had group conversations with the director and all employees (total of three) followed by informal one-on-one conversation with the pedagogue who is the former director of the museum.

2.2.4. Desk research

Core corpus research (our primary research) was complemented with the research in the literature within different disciplines (including but not being limited to heritage/heritology, museology, museography, education, which “allow us to find out what is known about the topic; what is seen as problematic; the approaches that have been taken; etc.” (Robson, 2011:66). The aspect carried through this (secondary) research considered the public discourses on Socialism, in Serbia, as well. In order to realize if the topics related to the period of Socialism are found relevant by the society (or not) – we followed the textual data published on-line:

- The in-detail online survey was conducted in the period from August 1st to October 1st 2014 based on the keyword “SFRJ”. This period was selected with the intention of getting the sample of public discourse, through the content published online, during the period that was supposed to provide the impartial context i.e. it should be a period when the topic of socialism was not favoured: chosen period was without any historical dates or public events related to the history of Serbia that could instigate / ignite public presence of the topics related to the period of Socialism.
- Wider sample was gathered in the period from March 14 until the end of October of 2014, based on daily sample without applied filter i.e. based on thematic similarity. In this period, the corpus was formed based on degree of data visibility: followed those that had the greatest on-line visibility (linked and liked on Facebook).
- The survey of the instruments of the dominant heritage discourse – both international (the UNESCO World Heritage list) and local (namely lists of the

localities and objects protected by the Institutes for Protection of Cultural Monuments in Serbia) – and their discourse regarding the heritage of Socialism (for the research in international realm we have looked at the wider category of the communist regimes).

2.3. Methodology for data analysis

Our theoretical starting point was that of *new museology* which, which gave us a ground for wider interpretations⁴⁸. We even consulted more contemporary theoretical models such as socio-museology and social learning/ pedagogy of liberation, searching for the theoretical models that could offer discourse relevant for data analysis considering Serbian context. Although the existing theoretical platforms proved not to be completely adequate, their combination provided the material for the analysis of core corpus and offered potential platforms for change of the status that we found.

Principals of our data analysis are founded on the notion that museums work in country ‘in transition’ and community without consensus is two folded: ‘created’ in a context (social, political, ideological, legal, economical etc.); and, even more, influenced by the policies and ideologies of individuals (‘platforms’ of those directly implementing / influencing processes in the museums - curators, directors, board members – as well as audience and community members). Since we are, in essence, researching the intersection of public discourse, ideology, and power, we took a critical perspective geared toward examining the subtle ways in which unequal power relations maintain and reproduce heritage discourses. We were dealing with combinations of visual and written texts, influencing not only our theory but our feelings and emotions (~~experience being sensory as well as socially embedded~~).

To grasp this complexity and to focus on important concepts, their presence/absence, and devise ways in which they can be analysed, we employed a combination of approaches to qualitative analysis.

- Qualitative content analysis through the thematic coding approach – similarities (*similarity relations*) and differences (*contiguity relations*) being the basis for

⁴⁸ Although theory of new museology is not strictly organized, there are more and more cases where its postulates have been applied on preservation of dissonant heritage, claims Milica Božić Marojević, example being the publishing of the *Sociomuseology*, Lisboa: ULHT. (Dr Angelina Milosavljević Ault ed., Journal ‘Kultura’, 144/2014:47)

categorization. (Robson, 2011:469)

- Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) as the practice of constant comparison (we examined the records after each session of data collection, documented our ideas regarding them within memos, elaborated and compared memos, occasionally writing additional memos).
- Analysing public and internal discourse of the museum: spoken, written, visual. Taking into account that each aspect of the museum visit influences the creation of meaning and the performance of the museum as context for learning apart from analysing interviews, documents, theoretical texts, we will analyse all information - written and spoken – included in the museum communication (information from the direction pointers, printed / audio / personal guides, to the texts at the permanent exhibition). In this process we are treating memory of the interviewees as a topic as well as a tool for acquiring relevant information. We will try to unveil both “embedded institutional and contextual meanings”. (Pink, in M. Pickering, 2008:133)
- Since our intention is to research the correlation between specific social problem and other social events and practices with the practice of the museums, and to capture the interconnections among discourse, power, and organization of the community, we introduced some aspects of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) based on the analysis of hegemonic discursive practices within particular social domains, most notably politics⁴⁹. We will look into related social practices that reproduce ideologies, based on the understanding of the cognition being socially rooted and encompassing shared group norms, beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies. Detecting the context of marginalization and, even, of systematic oppression, by the privileged elites, we found them useful for analysing a network of practices in museology, political and public discourse, education etc. and to describe their concrete institutional framework within museums.
- Q methodology was used to help us reveal the (human) subjectivity involved in the contexts we are researching (judgment of the museum employees / research informants regarding the work of the museums related to the period of Socialism, their interpretation of their role in the work of the museum and in the community, their perceptions of the role in the museums, their political / social / ideological

⁴⁹ “Discourse constitutes an important arena because beliefs and norms are largely disseminated and reproduced through public means of communication, all of which are controlled by the elite. Through their privileged access to outlets of public discourse, elites play an instrumental role in the shaping of public opinion and the production and maintenance of discriminatory and biased beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies.” (Given *ed.*, 2008:146)

attitudes etc.). It gave us the tools to “denote the volume of common communicability with regard to topic” (Given *ed.*, 2008:699).

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Heritage 'is not given; it is made' (Harvey, 2001:336)

The capacity to control the heritage process that defines and gives meaning to constructions of identity – including the experiences of place and the practices of remembering – is an integral element of the heritage process itself. (Smith, 2006:298)

Initial theoretical concept within the consideration of the chosen topic, as indicated in the very title of our work, is the discourse of dissonant cultural heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). To support our dialectical approach (Greene, 2007) to qualitative research⁵⁰, we were, though, using wider theoretical concepts (the contemporary heritage studies, critical study of the museums, new museology; cognitive theoretical conceptions of learning, development and education; concept of transitional justice) favoring the values of the 'democratization of culture'⁵¹.

3.1. Heritage as a process of the negotiation of (cultural and social) conflicts⁵²

While examining the ways in which individuals, communities, and nations use discourse about the past to create their identities, numerous theoreticians have recognized heritage as one of modernity's most powerful forces⁵³. Contemporary theory underlines the following characteristics of the heritage as multilayered performance:

- heritage being subject to contestation (neither fixed nor stable), continually recreated and negotiated i.e. the meaning(s) of heritage can be altered;
- heritage as the value-laden concept⁵⁴, related to processes of economic and cultural commodification (Smith, 2006:12; Harvey, 2001:327; J. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, 1996:6, 9, etc.);
- heritage as a legitimizing discourse and resource - highly politicized⁵⁵ and exclusive⁵⁶, process relying on needs / wishes of elites, and "a medium of official

⁵⁰ Our base was critical realism (a combination of ontological realism and epistemological constructivism) with insights from additional diverse philosophical positions, including pragmatism and postmodernism.

⁵¹ A platform based on the need to broaden those 'actively participating in cultural life, either as creators or as recipients' (Mannheim 1956:30) and as 'shared sense of entitlement to participate in cultural activities' (Hilliard, 2006:6).

⁵² One of the aspects of heritage process articulated by Smith (2006:295)

⁵³ Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000; Harvey, 2001; Appadurai, 2001; Ashworth and Graham, 2005; L. Smith, 2006; Graham and Howard, 2008 etc.

⁵⁴ Values being intrinsic, institutional, instrumental, economic; and influencing decisions about what to protect or preserve as the testimonials of the past and/or of history – through the process of heritage.

⁵⁵ Bodnar (1992:15), Buckley (1998:14), McDowell (2008:37), among others.

⁵⁶ L. Smith (2006:38/39), Harvey (2008:25).

communication between governors and governed” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996:16);

- heritage being present-centered (intrinsically reflective of the relationship of ‘today’ with the past)⁵⁷;

- heritage being experiential / performative / situational / relational social constructions, stimulus being – ideology, politics, religion, ethnicity, class, wealth, gender, personal history etc.;

- heritage as a process of creation/ constructing and maintaining - of (new) memories, values, identities / identity politics etc.

Notion of heritage encompasses more ‘administrative and technical’ practices, as well: the management and conservation protocols; techniques and procedures that heritage managers, archaeologists, architects, museum curators and other experts undertake; as well as economic and/or leisure practices.

Inaugurated in response to the specific needs of actual or potential users’ notion of heritage is not based on a free choice.

Bound up in the (conscious or unconscious) construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of memories and identities, heritage creates and maintains certain social and cultural values and meanings. “The ability to control heritage is about controlling the processes of remembering; being able to represent and validate a sense of place, memory, identity of the community; to negotiate cultural change and the ways in which communities may choose to align with other communities” (Smith, 2006:295,298), to determine and influence the dominant narrative of the nation, to manage the past as a resource of conflict⁵⁸. Without control over this process, or a sense of active agency in it, warns Smith, “individuals and communities become subjected to received notions and ideas about who they are or should be” (2006:298).

Divisions in society, as sources for heritage dissonance, can be but are not limited to⁵⁹: political ideology (we would contextualize it as overarching all other divisions), financial interest (priority of the interest of big capital within the liberal capitalism could be regarded as such), cultural/ethnic divisions (relevant for us regarding heritage as a tool of national homogenization), controversy over class

⁵⁷ Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Lowenthal, 1998; L. Smith, 2006; Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, 2007, Moore/Whelan ed. (2007:123), Graham and Howard ed. (2008); Harvey (2008:21).

⁵⁸ Due to the constant changes in the social milieus – including changes in entity and in “the deployment of resources of power and prestige” (Smith, 2006:53) etc. – new communities and new interpretation centers of power are established. This process, makes the ‘national body’ (Nora, 1989) unstable, even causing the real-world conflict.

⁵⁹ See: Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996:72.

(social dimension of heritage dissonance relevant for contextualizing heritage of Socialism as the heritage of the workers class). Dominance gained is accommodated through perpetual process of heritage-in-making. Assembling of pre selected (and continuously re-selected) resources from the past results in “reinforcement, co-existence or conflict of different interpretations” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996:8-13)⁶⁰.

Nation building, being the most prominent use of heritage as a tool of societal homogenization (conscious or unconscious re/de-construction of memories and identities) is the most dramatic process of the heritage production. The notion of national heritage is created through establishing of the (new) Authoritative Heritage Discourse, a process that recognizes and legitimizes heritage and, therefore, varies over time. It is institutionalized “within a range of national and international organizations, (...) through codes of practice - such as state-sanctioned heritage management and conservation practices, and/or through the research attentions of experts such as archaeologists, historians, historical architects.” (Smith, 2006:50, 28)⁶¹ By analogy with the idea of cognitive dissonance drawn from psychology (heritage as a process that attempt to reduce dissonance and move towards consonance) Authorized Heritage Discourse can be contextualized as one of the processes that aims to “reducing the social, cultural or historical conflicts about the meaning, value or nature of heritage, or more broadly the past” (Smith, 2006:31)⁶² by producing the discourse of unquestionable authority and redressing essential dissonances into technical questions of heritage management.

⁶⁰ Difference in heritage perceptions, and, therefore lack of agreement and consistency can be the outcome of different contexts: from “antipathy or ignorance between human groups” to legitimizing power by memorialization. Different uses of heritage (the use of heritage as a cultural, political or economic resource relates to different area of policy involving different individual producers who employ different methods and relate to consumers that each have “different expectations and requirements of the resource and are using it in different ways” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996:34.); different aspirations of the recipients within transition of the ‘message’ (Contradictory transmissions, A failure in transmission, Obsolete transmission, Undesirable transmission); selectivity of the process of heritage verification (memorialization conditioned by many cultural, social and political pretexts - by race, class, ideology, a particular gender perspective - extended by state agencies – reinforced by the institutional discourse), to mention some.

⁶¹ The AHD establishes and sanctions a top-down relationship between experts, heritage site and ‘visitor’ in which non-expert are being required to assimilate expert values (Smith, 2006:34, 104). It constructs heritage as something that is “engaged with passively” (*ibid.* 31) and validates set of practices and performances in the way that ignores / alienates / devalues / undermines / obscures / excludes a range of other social and cultural experiences / alternative and subaltern ideas about ‘heritage’ / the historical, cultural and social experiences of a range of groups, the multi-vocality of many heritage values and meanings, non-traditional conceptions of heritage, “non-universal” forms of identity, a diversity of sub-national cultural and social experiences. Through this the AHD constrains and limits critique (Smith, 2006). “Heritage in the AHD context is almost inevitably about the ‘good’ things, events and cultural expressions that lend credence to a sense of cultural and communal pride in identity.” (Smith, 2006:58). We will use the word ‘authorized’ to indicate what constitutes whether a particular object or memory (Smith, namely, discusses this discourse in the relation to sites) will be qualified as heritage or not.

⁶² She detects a set of dominant characteristics of this, as she sees it, “self-referential, discourse about heritage: the ‘authorized heritage discourse’ privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artifact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgment, social consensus and nation building” (Smith, 2006:11).

General intentions to ‘change’ transitional conditions are characterized “primarily by the disintegration of the characteristics of the preceding system, rather than by a coherent vision of what should follow” (Stanilov, in Stanilov Ed, 2007: 21). Through the periods of ideological repositioning population is subjected to rewriting of its history and reinterpretation of its heritage. “An existing or aspirant power elite” (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996:47) does not “touch on issues of memory politics directly” (Dragičević Šešić, in Milohnić and Nada Švob-Đokić eds, 2011:xy), but the interpretation of heritage which does not conform to (new) dominant values may be ignored, suppressed; heritage misplaced, misused or destroyed (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996:52,54,57,92). ‘Transitional powers’ are using some or all (simultaneously or in different phases of the transitional period) of following instruments to “change collective memories and re-shape collective identity” (...) the creation or representation of certain types of narrative (financing of film production, repertory theatres, translations, museum collections, etc.); the renaming of institutions, streets and squares, parks and bridges, etc.; the creation of new types of festivities, awards, celebrations, “homage” policies, etc.; the re-appropriation of institutions, sites or even the destruction of “dangerous” memories; a policy towards memory spaces, burial sites (mausoleums, graveyards, etc.) and monument building or removing.” (Dragičević Šešić, in Milohnić and Nada Švob-Đokić eds, 2011:32). That causes “the psychological disorientation (...), a confusion of incompletely adjusted heritage messages” (J. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth or Smith: 87) and people as individuals, and as members of groups, may be ‘exposed to’ heritage injustice⁶³ - disadvantaged, discriminated, dispossessed and ultimately disinherited. Findings of Gwosdz and Murzyn (2003:191) are summarizing the evolution of attitudes towards cultural heritage in the so-called Western and Northern Territories in Poland after 1945. Although the research was not done in Serbia we find the conclusions relevant in our field of research (reference to German could be replaced with ‘Socialist’):

Phase	Material heritage Uses of heritage	Perception of heritage Values attached to it
I. Hostility, destruction	Removing German symbolism, irresponsible usage, devastation	Hostility, strangeness, inadaptability
II. Adaptation, partial assimilation	Caring for heritage because of its utility value, usage	Indifference, getting used to, slow familiarization

⁶³ Heritage (in)justice is perpetual process: while attempting to correct “perceived misinterpretation or undesirable disinheritance” another heritage in a different area is reinforced (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996: 92), (art) objects are deprived of their political or social connotation (Giese, 1979 as in Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996:48).

III. Acceptance, internalization, assimilation, reconstruction	Care, initiatives leading to preservation and recreation of heritage	Identification with the heritage in question, recognizing it as a part of identity, curiosity about the past, wish to rediscover the lost heritage
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Nature of heritage, being perpetually ‘subversive’, even when allowing the dominance of a certain narrative (and, allowing to be managed in a way that allows community to avoid dramatic conflicts) does not allow for the (heritage of the) replaced ideologies to be absolutely distinguished. At best, the meaning of remaining heritage is suppressed, which makes it a continuous treat to the new dominant ideology. It may, even “contribute to the precipitate collapse of the successors” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996: 87) and “destabilize national, and major regional, political units” (ibid. 274). Even heritage planning when based on the support for “the preservation and enhancement of social and regional variety” can result in “regional political separatism in opposition to existing national heritage” (ibid: 58-59). This takes us to the concepts of preventing conflict as potential result of the dissonance in heritage. Authors underline that, in planning for a heritage that is inter-generationally sustainable (problem of 'relict heritage'), “different social groups in one society are capable of preventing their heritages to lead to conflict” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996: 30). It can be based upon “mutual indifference, tolerant acceptance as of necessity⁶⁴, or a mutuality of esteem leading to mutual association and participation” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996: 30.) (Phase II. and III. in Gwosdz and Murzyn).

The aspects of heritage process especially significant for our research are specially related to the oppositional capacity of heritage - related to concepts of *counter-memories* (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003:170), *subaltern discourses*, *the right to heritage* and *heritage communities*.

Counter-memories are versions of the national past that are “transmitted between close friends and family members and spread to the wider society through unofficial networks” (Boym, 2001:61) and, therefore, seen by the anxious (new) ‘power’ as a potential treat.

⁶⁴ It “depends not upon a mutual understanding nor mutual participation, neither of which is required, but upon a mutual acceptance of the necessity for an equal contribution to be made by each group to the wider society,” xy:31.

Subaltern discourses (directly related to multi-vocality of heritage) are understood as “discourses standing outside of the dominant discourse and challenging heritage based on nationalizing stories” (Smith, 2006:35/36).⁶⁵

The right to heritage is based on heritage being considered as the individual cultural right (The Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, Article 1.b.) linked to the right to participate in cultural life, and, through that, correlated with all other human rights.⁶⁶

Individual exercises her/his right to heritage alone or in association with others – within *heritage communities*. Heritage communities are being aware of the responsibilities within this process and, therefore, respectful to other group members, individuals outside the group, as well as to other heritage communities.

While concerned with the ‘big heritage’ and with the present expansion of Internet and online communication tool (blogs, podcasts and digital archives such as myspace.com and youtube.com) as well as affordable tools and gadgets for documenting (audio, photo and video) we shall specially attend to what Harvey names “small heritage” (in Graham and Howard, 2008:33). Although we find this term too prejudicial (“small vs. big – small could imply less important, less relevant) we are mentioning it to make a note on “heritages that do not always have to take the form of overt resistance to officialdom” and “that will form the basis of the material, the thoughts, practices and plans that we pass on to the next generation.”⁶⁷

3.2. Political and ideological position of the ‘new museum’

The exercise of citizenship only takes place when the individual knows the reality in which he or she is inserted, the preserved memory, the present day events, understanding the transformations and seeking a new way of doing. (Judite Santos Primo, Cadernos de Sociomuseologia, 2007/27:85)

Only committed involvement and critical distance can bring to reality the idea of the "new" museum as an educational instrument in the service of social development. (Hauenschild, 1988)

New museology discourse “never developed a precise museological model” (Michel Roy, 1987:8) but “stayed essentially cultural and political”⁶⁸ (Hauenschild,

⁶⁵ For references on a growing literature expressing a necessity of the community participation in heritage management and conservation work see L. Smith, 2006:35 Governments (British Labor Government ‘outreach programs’, the United States, Australia etc.) inaugurated policies for greater community participation “often expressed as community outreach or social and cultural inclusion” (L. Smith, 2006:35).

⁶⁶ In the Declaration on Cultural Rights – Fribourg Declaration (www.droitsculturels.org), World human development report: cultural liberty in a diversified world, UNDP (2004:1), Patrice Meyer-Bisch, On the “right to heritage” – The innovative approach of Articles 1 and 2 of the Faro Convention in Heritage and beyond, 2008.

⁶⁷ Xy:xy

⁶⁸ “New museology understands political activity as clear attitude about current problems and creation of public opinion.” (Angelina Milosavljević Ault, Nova muzeologija kao činjenica savremenosti, Journal Kultura, 144/2014:17).

1988:xy).⁶⁹ Though this is, as Milosavljević Ault notices (2014:15), basis for the most serious criticism of the new museology, in our analytical apparatus and ideological view it represents the key aspect. We believe, namely (we will paraphrase Žižek⁷⁰), that there is neither heritage without ideology nor museum without social (and political) agenda. Therefore, *ideas and practice of critical museum studies*⁷¹ (started in 1960s) – uphold of the contents that are critical regarding social problems and traditional discourses of institutions and policies – are natural discourse of the idea about institutions of heritage as centers of democratization of society through critical dialogue. In this context, in discourse of heritage institutions, are included also “issues of representation of gender, class, minorities and marginalized cultures, anticolonial subversion, revision of metanarratives and prevailing discourses of (museum) institutions, postmodern self-reflexivity of institutions and interactive museography.” (Lorente, J. P., xy: 243.)

The concept of the new museum became more visible in its Anglo-Saxon incarnation of the 1970s⁷² and *New Museology* was completely elaborated till the mid-1980s and during 90s⁷³. This “British” new museology differentiates from the “Latin”, namely, in approach to social development. The British version keeps the museum as an central(ized) heritage institution (both facilitator and initiator) that focuses on including its community. The Latin version of New Museology is favoring grassroots-initiatives and museums that either arise because of these initiatives, or facilitate wishes, ideas or projects by persons or communities.⁷⁴ Latin principles and following experiences were capitalized through the conceptualization of sociomuseology, a field of research and practice, under favor of the term ‘integral and

⁶⁹ Critical towards the novelty of the concept of New museology, in her analysis of the work of the concrete ‘new’ museums, Hauenschild (1988) concludes that only elements of their practice that vary little from the practice of modernized traditional museums can be characterized as relatively problem-free (the objective of building identity, the fundamental principle of territoriality, the theme-centered approach and the task of communication). Hauenschild makes a long list of problematic elements of new museology (<http://museumstudies.si.edu/claims2000.htm>).

⁷⁰ Žižek states that ideology is everything around us, our whole life, and claims that there is no idyllic space out of ideology.

⁷¹ Critical museology is theory which criticizes the traditional museology and its basic principles as product of society in which they are created, e.i. “being defined with historical, political and economic context in which museologists are drawn in.” Lorente, J. P. (2012, Vol. 27, No. 3: 243-245).

⁷² Roots of ‘new’ museum are in three parallel developments that occurred simultaneously but independent of one another in separate social contexts: neighborhood museums in the United States in the 1950s, integral museums in Latin America, particularly in Mexico, and eco-museums in France and Quebec in 1970s. The same term uses Peter Vergo in 1989, in collection of works *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books), which critically views social and political role of the museum and which made the term popular in Anglo-Saxon world. Since then the term has been widely used with reference to critical practice in museums, which involves work with communities. New ideas and new principles of modern museology are presented in publication *Key Concepts of Museology* (ed. André Desvallées and François Mairesse), published by ICOM, 2009.

⁷³ Judite Santos Primo, To think museology today, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2007/27:84 and Paula Assunção dos Santos, Details in Introduction: To understand New Museology in the 21st Century, *Sociomuseology III - Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2010/37:6.

⁷⁴ Paula Assunção dos Santos, Introduction: To understand New Museology in the 21st Century, *Sociomuseology III - Cadernos de Sociomuseologia* 2010/37:7 and Davida de Hond, Sebastiaan van der Lans, and Marjolein van der Vlies With contribution of Freek van Kessel, Mercedes Montes de Oca Navarro, Societal development and the traditional museum: Applying New Museology to a different context, *Sociomuseology III - Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2010/37:71.

integrated heritage` (promoted by Dutch theoretician Peter van Mensch⁷⁵). Its essence is “the valorization of Man as participating subject, critical and aware of reality” (Judite Santos Primo, 2007:89), and, consequently, a culture of solidarity and inclusion of larger number of actors into the work of museums⁷⁶.

Nowadays, although museums are still considered as institutions whose aim is cultural rather than social⁷⁷, Assunção dos Santos claims that new museology is still relevant as “a progressive initiative that strives for community empowerment and local development (control of their future) by means of work with heritage.” (2010:8)

As an action-oriented concept (Hauenschild) the ‘new museum’ has been realized in different ways in various social contexts, based on the following elements: Coping with everyday life, Social development, Continuous education; Extensive, radical public orientation and Territoriality; centrality of the Theme (theme being complex reality), Interdisciplinary approach, using Past as a tool for understanding present-day situation; Collection, Documentation, Research, Conservation, Mediation and Evaluation; minimal (little) institutionalization, Financing through local resources, Decentralization, Participation / equal rights based on Teamwork and Cooperation with local/regional organizations (Hauenschild). In other words, every public museum should be considered as a social institution, social learning space (Dierking, 2013:203), grounded in the needs of society, with individual as a focus of the concern. Its discourse shall be based on principles of liberation/decentralization and participation ⁷⁸ (operationalized through education, animation, communication, political engagement, and valorization)⁷⁹. Such museum shall refer from “acting as an extended arm of the government”, abolishing “the selective emphasis of only positive elements from the past”, and “never bring about something for which the community is not ready” (Hauenschild, 2010).⁸⁰

In general, the "new" museum's promises are a long way from being

⁷⁵ Bio-bibliography of Peter van Mensch can be found at: <http://www.menschmuseology.com/publications/peter-van-mensch/>.

⁷⁶ Important gateways for the expansion of the idea of sociomuseology are the Lusófona University of Humanities and Technology (ULHT) in Portugal, MINOM International, the Brazilian Institute of Museums and the Reinwardt Academy (www.reinwardtacademy.nl), faculty of Cultural Heritage of the Amsterdam School of the Arts. (Introduction: To understand New Museology in the 21st Century Paula Assunção dos Santos, Sociomuseology III - Cadernos de Sociomuseologia, 2010/37: 8). Details of ULHT their research are published in collection in Sociomuseology III: To Understand New Museology in the XXI Century, eds. Assunção, P. and Primo, J. (2010).

⁷⁷ “It is still a small number of museums that are trying to involve the community into their projects. The education and leisure roles of the museum are more recognized than its social potential. Besides that, most of the museums seem not to recognize or ignore their social function” (M. Lamas, Sociomuseology III - Cadernos de Sociomuseologia, 2010/37: 50).

⁷⁸ She understands participation as an ideological concept: the museologists explicitly stating their values and interests while being aware of the constellation within the community thus creating the platform for dialogue.

⁷⁹ See: Paula Assunção Dos Santos, Cadernos de Sociomuseologia 2010/37.

⁸⁰ If such an initiative would be taken by the museum, Hauenschild claims that the project would, most probably, encounter “misunderstanding, ignorance and, at worst, out-and-out rejection (...) it will be totally useless to the population”.

fulfilled⁸¹, but, the concept itself created a change – in some aspects of the practice of traditional museums (communication with the audience/community, project opened for the community participation / museums open up to certain point to the community initiatives, museums initiating difficult issues, etc.) and got institutionalized within documents of international influence. For example, many of the values promoted by the new museology are incorporated in the ICOM Cultural Diversity Charter (by ICOM Cross Cultural Task Force)⁸² and in ICOM definition of museums⁸³, Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society is based on the ideas of new heritage⁸⁴.

What is the most important for our analytical approach is the aspect of new museology that insists on museum determining “its political and ideological position” and, based on that, its notion of “social development”⁸⁵, as well as the ways to achieve it (Hauenschild). Within such discourse contributing to the local context implies “*offering materials and information about alternatives to existing situation (...)* connecting the local to the global and vice-versa.”⁸⁶ One of the referential models, closest to our point of view, is the concept of *critical museum* developed by Polish art historian Piotr Piotrowski (developed from Belting's idea of museum-forum). In his concept museum validates its local character when trying “to make a frame for political discussion” and by acquiring “the role of global forum (suppressing local and national importance)”. (Piotrowski 2012:53) Its activity in public sphere, self-criticism and change of the area of interest, requires the active citizens who create democratic process and (re)conceptualize public museum by “overtaking control on rituals influencing institutional structures” (Piotrowski 2012:29). Piotrowski finds that

⁸¹ Due to our topic of research and the fact that we were analyzing the work of the regional museums in Serbia we have to underline Hauenschild (1988:xy) finding that many modern local and regional museums (among others) “follow ideas similar to those of new museology”. This is going to be relevant especially when we lay down the practices of the Museum in Serbia during the period of Socialism – being that most of the regional museums were opened and structured in that period (although this was before the theory of new museology was formulated).

⁸² The 25th General Assembly of the International Council of Museums meeting on November 12, 2010 in Shanghai adopted the following set of principles as the ICOM Cultural Diversity Charter: Diversity, Participatory Democracy, Cooperation and Coordination, Peace and Community Building, Innovation and Inspiration, Capacity building, productive diversity, Standard Setting, Sustainability and Climate Change, Digital Domain.

⁸³ “A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development...” is the beginning of the definition of the museum in the ICOM Statutes (<http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/> 1995:2).

⁸⁴ Heritage and beyond, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg Cedex, 2008.

⁸⁵ Dos Santos (2009:xy) uses the term *social development* defining it as liberation/decentralization implying that this principle regards “the respect for the difference, equality and liberation from hegemonic models - the liberation from the depriving economic models of the neo-liberalism; they refer to a process of decentralization in development, where alternative endogenous solutions replace the adoption of external models and parameters of success.”

⁸⁶ As stated by Assunção Dos Santos (2009:xy): The forging of a global networking and the emergence of a “worldwide civil society” is the answer on common problems that appear interconnected in the globalized world (e.g. issues on social justice, human rights, etc.).

apolitical orientation of a public institution has a political character i.e. passivity of the museum is the way of realization of certain political attitudes.

Aspects of the present time that also must be taken into consideration are related to the dispersion of heritage of Yugoslav Socialism beyond the territory of one state in context of the platforms for communication created by the new media. There we take in consideration Assunção Dos Santos concept of future of museology being in “its interference in the macro-level, mainly by extending its political and advocate role” (*Dos Santos*, 2009:231). This approach requires understanding community as individuals connected by “the notion of belonging (...) independent from geographical proximity.” (Adolfo Samyn, 2001 as in *Assunção Dos Santos*, 2009:186)

3.3. The process of learning

Museums are considered as spaces of learning since the public museum first emerged during the mid to late nineteenth century. And, while contemporary educational theorists vary in the detail of their explanations of learning, they all agree on the basic breadth of learning as “fundamentally human”⁸⁷: “we learn many different kinds of things, throughout our lives, in different circumstances” (xy:xy). Experientially rich public environments like museums are expected to offer alternatives to formal educational settings.

We started from the point that each museum needs a plan for how to fulfill its ‘promise to learning’ / how to implement chosen pedagogic strategy (and activity plan as a consequence of it) based on cognitive theories (what is supposed to be learned) and theories of learning (how to learn). In absence of systematic approach to the theoretical postulates of learning, exhibitions, programs and general atmosphere in the museum will produce contradictory messages, which “may result in bewilderment of the visitors and unused educational potentials of the museum,” concludes J. Milutinović (2003:92).

Providing the most comprehensive theory on “how visitors can both use their previous beliefs and knowledge to construct new meanings and how they can actively carry out this process” (Hein, 1998:154),⁸⁸ we have identified constructivism,

⁸⁷ John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, *Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, 2000, Hooper-Greenhill, 2007.

⁸⁸ “We shall acknowledge that in our modern professional and scientific literature from the field of pedagogy and museology – in relation to researches about theoretical bases almost there are no works” (J. Milutinović, 2003:18), so that we relied on the

alongside with cognitive theoretical concepts of humanistic pedagogy (they emphasize importance of the motivating surrounding and importance of innovation), as theoretical platforms that have a great influence on better fulfillment of the learning capacities of the museums and broad application within formation of museum programs. In the Appendix 3 we will summarize those recommendations.

Proponents of constructivist point of view⁸⁹ do not negate existence of reality, but believe that in a great deal the world is our own creation. Epistemological orientation to constructivism is based on participative cognition (D. Stojnov, 1998): knowledge is constructed, made, acquired, within the social context, with active participation; with direct experience (it understands certain social practice, not only direct learning)⁹⁰. In this process individuals select, transform and elaborate available information. “Learning is understood as holistic and contextualized – it comprises all aspects of cognitive, emotional, physical, social and cultural development of the learner, whereby his physical, personal and social circumstances form the process of learning” (*J. Milutinović, 2003:169*). The important aspect of the constructivist education is that the conclusions reached by the learner are *not* validated by whether or not they conform to some external standard of truth, but “whether they “make sense” within the constructed reality of the learner” (Hein, 1998: 34).

Another theory of learning that we have considered and that was in the foundations of New Museology was based on the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire - on postulates of social learning and the pedagogy of liberation. “Freire understands education as the practice of liberty and builds the theory of the Dialogical and Problem-posing Education based on collaboration, union by liberation, cultural synthesis, dialogue, creativity, critical reflection, the denial of repressive education, horizontal relationship of the educator-educatee.” (Santos Primo, *Cadernos de*

production of the foreign authors: Edited by Kirsten Gibbs, Margherita Sani, Jane Thompson, *Lifelong Learning in Museums - A European Handbook*; Cecilia Rodéhn, *Museum Education, Practical Pedagogy and Performance*; Candlin, Fiona and O'Brien, Margaret (2001) *Lifelong learning in museums: a critical appraisal*. In: Jones, David J. and Normie, Gerald (eds.) 2001 - *A Spatial Odyssey*. Nottingham: Continuing Education Press, pp. 176-186., Downloaded from: <http://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/754/>; Henrik Zipsane, *Lifelong learning through heritage and art*, 5138P LIFELONG-A/rev.qxd 11/6/08 13:13; John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, *Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, 2000; *Muzeologija – istorija, razvoj, današnji izazovi* - Andre Gob, Noemi Druge, Clio, Beograd, 2009; G. E. Hein, E. Hooper-Greenhill, J. H. Falk, L. D. Dierking, E. Matusova, B. Rogoff, A. Giordan. We do see the challenge in the fact that the way of those findings from different cultures / societies still have to be ‘localized’ considering the transitional character of the Serbian society.

⁸⁹ D. Stojnov (2001: 42) proposes four basic postulates for all courses in constructivist meta-theory: *relativism* (truth becomes problematic idea, so that nothing is possible to name as objective fact); *relationism* (epistemological view is supported in relation to ontological primacy of relations over internal essence); *potentialism* (emphasis is on processes, not on lines and structures) and *participation* (human being is seen as proactive being, who with learning about the world learns about himself).

⁹⁰ “The belief that all genuine education comes from experience does not mean that all experiences are genuinely or equally educative (...) in order to be educative, experiences must be not only “hands-on” but also “minds-on.” Second, it is not sufficient for experiences to be “lively, vivid, and ‘interesting’”; they must also be organized to be educative”. (George E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 2)

Based on the mentioned theories, one should expect learning to be a set of complex interrelated (idiosyncratic and unpredictable) multi-dimensional processes (a combination of emotional, physical, and mental action) resulting in a diverse and multi-faceted range of outcomes.

Learning involves (and results in the construction of) personal and collective identity and the search for personal and group relevance (explanations and knowledge which appear meaningful to learners as long as they are useful or until they become superseded by new meanings).

Learning is highly personal: based on individual's self-motivations and expectations; strongly influenced by an individual's past knowledge, interests and beliefs; desire to both select and control his/her own learning (choice and control); a rich, emotion-laden experience (particularly when intrinsically motivated).

Learning is influenced by sociocultural factors - not only inextricably bound to the cultural and historical context in which learning occurs but requires an appropriate context within which one is to express her/his point of view (interactions with ones social group and, potentially, with others, outside of it).

Learning is 'performative' – participative process where bodies, minds and emotions are actively engaged, and where the multiple processes of meaning-making occur almost without conscious will (therefore "learning can be irregular and patchy"⁹², can occur "during times of intense focus, but also during periods when the brain is unfocused and therefore open to new ideas").

Although not being always positive, learning is emotionally satisfying and personally rewarding; incorporating enjoyment (we learn better and remember more if we are motivated through enjoyment).

Learning is a "situated" process in which learners, linked to the physical context, should see themselves as producers rather than consumers of knowledge – get immersed in a story by tacit as well as verbal experience, by print and images, sound, photographs, body shape, pictures, websites, charts and models.

Learning continues throughout life as formal, non-formal, informal (more at Gibbs, Sani, Thompson, xy: 8). ⁹³

⁹¹ For more on *Critical consciousness, Pedagogy of liberation, and The dialogical educational action* see Assunção Dos Santos, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2009/29:205).

⁹² This is what Howard Gardner refers to as 'the unschooled mind'. See: Gardner, 1991.

⁹³ Within this context a potential of heritage learning can be recognized within eight key competences identified by European

Due to our topic of research we will refer to process of learning within the Sociocultural Context in few more words⁹⁴. “Who we are, what we are, and how we behave are products of the sociocultural context in which we are immersed” (Falk and Dierking)⁹⁵ and, therefore, knowledge is not the same for all individuals, neither is it a process that occurs in isolation. Within the process of learning one strives to become a member of a sustained community – one (or more) of numerous “communities of learners” or “communities of practice” defined by the shared knowledge and experience. Within this framework, any attempt to make sense out of learning requires an effort to understand the sociocultural context at both the micro and macro levels⁹⁶. This aspect of learning influences the concepts such as social exclusion and intercultural learning.

“Social exclusion takes many forms and is usually contextualized as direct or indirect action involving whole groups as well as specific individuals, and being rooted in the economic inequalities of social class, race, gender and different physical and geographical dimensions (disability, physical impairment; territory, distance and isolation)”⁹⁷. Intercultural learning is relevant for us as a concept related to people from the same ethnic group belonging to different cultural groups or sub-groups.⁹⁸

3.4. Museums as environments for/of life long learning

Museum environment proved to be the learning ‘medium’ for different generations, persons of different social, educational background, for a variety of cognitive skills. Learning in museums, in its broadest sense, is “a by-product of the

Commission which are in relation with the platforms by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and UNESCO (Eurydice, 2000; OECD 2001, 2005; EU 2001, 2004, 2005): communication in the mother tongue; communication in another language; basic competences in maths, science and technology; digital competence; learning to learn; interpersonal and civic competences; entrepreneurship; cultural expression (H. Zipsane, Lifelong learning through heritage and art, Retrieved June 11, 2014 from <http://nckultur.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/ZIPSANE-HENRIK-12-LIFELONG-LEARNING-THROUGH-HERITAGE-AND-ART....2007.pdf>, pp. 178).

⁹⁴ “On the basis of brief review of some contemporary approaches to learning in museums, it is obvious that socio-cultural theory has wide application on huge span of differences within informal context of learning. According to this approach, basics of learning and education understands communication between the participants of education and wider social surrounding”. J. Milutinović, 2003:141.

⁹⁵ Falk and Dierking 1995; Schauble, Leinhardt, and Martin 1998. As well as in *Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, 2000: “Being social animals, much of what people learn is mediated through conversation, gestures, emotions, the observation of others, and the use of culturally and historically constructed tools, signs, and symbol systems, as well as the cultural and historical overlays of societal beliefs, values, and norms. All of these have a sociocultural foundation.”

⁹⁶ “At the micro level the sociocultural context influences the number and types of social interactions in which people engage, consequently affecting perception and the processing of information. At the macro level the sociocultural context shapes the meaning that is made of the perceptions and concepts formulated by the individual and the community.” Falk and Dierking, *Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, 2000.

⁹⁷ Kirsten Gibbs, Margherita Sani, Jane Thompson, *Lifelong Learning in Museums - A European Handbook*, 2004: 84.

⁹⁸ More at: Kirsten Gibbs, Margherita Sani, Jane Thompson, *Lifelong Learning in Museums - A European Handbook*, 2004:77,78.

free interaction of leisure oriented visitors with exhibitions and their surroundings”⁹⁹: engaged in building and supporting personal identity (findings of Dr. John H. Falk ¹⁰⁰) museum visitors embark on “a learning-oriented entertainment experience”¹⁰¹ expecting “an enjoyable, foregrounding play and desire”.¹⁰²

As cultural mediators to the identity museums have a value if the content is recognized by visitor-as-learner as ‘personal’ (visitors use museum in the way that is personally important to them). Non-recognition and non-identification, though, leaves the individual in a state of non-subjectivity and lack of agency (Weedon, 2004:7), and museums are in danger of “facilitating learning which is hurtful and destructive”. (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:193)

Constructivist approach to learning in museums¹⁰³ sees museums as the followers of spontaneous needs and interests of visitors,¹⁰⁴ and emphasizes their activities (encourages free expression and creativity, underlining the importance of independent revelation). Museum creates rich and rewarding environments in which learning can take place.

Analyzing main approaches to learning in museums (any combination that may be in use at the same time) Gibbs, Sani and Thompson are separating the constructivist from the Social Constructivist approach (2007:23). When museum adopts a constructivist approach, the focus is on the learner and the institution becomes a forum with many different kinds of learning experiences for different visitors. Learners bring their own perspectives, values and experiences, while museum educators shall provide different kinds of learning opportunities through different exhibition styles, learning styles and levels of engagement. Museum staff can achieve this only if it works in teams¹⁰⁵ and integrates visitor’s knowledge in all aspects of the museums work¹⁰⁶. For the Social Constructivist approach visitors are interpreters who have the right to negotiate/construct social, cultural, historical and political knowledge according to their own identity and position in society (class, gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, and so on). The context is assumed to be

⁹⁹ Dr. Chandler Screven, Museums and informal education, 1993 in the CMS Bulletin Vol. 1 No. 1., <http://infed.org/archives/e-texts/screven-museums.htm>

¹⁰⁰ In: Brændholt Lundgaard & Thorek Jensen, 2013:112.

¹⁰¹ John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning, 2000.

¹⁰² Usher *et al.*, 1997: 17.

¹⁰³ Scheme of the pedagogical theories (G. E. Hein, 1998:25).

¹⁰⁴ John Falk and Lynn Dierking’s studies and research show that the motivation for a museum visit is decisive for the users’ actual activity at the museum and for what they gain from a visit. This means that motivation determines the users’ learning behavior and user identity.

¹⁰⁵ Those teams should not be limited to the resources of the museums but involve experts from different fields, even from those less ‘expected’, that do not work in the museum – use community, in the widest sense, as its resource.

¹⁰⁶ Here we distinct the members of the community (including those who are not museum visitors) and those who visit museums.

more important than the exhibit or the content. Knowledge is regarded as fluid in that it is created out of struggle and conflict and is subject to constant change and re-negotiation.

Within these general theoretical foundations of learning in the museum we would specially underline concept of the post-museum by Hooper-Greenhill. She grounds the inventiveness of the contemporary museum “in its capacity to answer to the conditions of post-modernity” (2007:1): “creative in re-imagining and reworking of the identity; new approach to the audiences based on more sophisticated understanding the complex relationships between culture, communication, learning and identity; promoting of a more egalitarian and just society; acceptance that culture works to represent, reproduce and constitute self-identities and entailing a sense of social and ethical responsibility; museum in which education will become much more fully integrated into museum practice.” (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:190)

Falk and Dierking (1998) opt for the use of term *informal* in the context of museum as the place of learning, and for the term *free choice* in the context of type of learning in the museums.¹⁰⁷ Learning in museums is voluntary and self-directed; potentially more open-ended, more unpredictable and more susceptible to multiple diverse responses (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:4). Research conducted by Deborah Perry (1989) as part of her doctoral work at Indiana University discovered that six motivational variables played major roles in museum learning: curiosity, challenge, play, the need to feel in control and confident about their environment, the interpersonal need to communicate with others.

The outcomes are intangible museum experiences (based on sets of subjective values “whether consciously held or not”¹⁰⁸) that can spark powerful reactions¹⁰⁹, and can be so strong that are recalled and reused for a long time¹¹⁰. In the museum people ‘gain knowledge and understanding, improve skills; enjoy the experience, get inspired and creative (interest and curiosity, self-confidence and motivation to pursue future learning and life choices); develop attitudes and values’ (maybe “Five Generic

¹⁰⁷ Formal, non-formal and informal education, are, in developed countries equal forms of education connected within the lifelong learning. These terms emerged for the first time in the 50s of the 20th century, and are in the frequent use since the 70s.

¹⁰⁸ Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996:27.

¹⁰⁹ Golding, 2009; Silverman, 2010; Skartveit & Goodnow, 2010; Svanberg, 2010; HauptmanWahlgren, 2010; Cecilia Rodéhn Museum Education, Practical Pedagogy and Performance ((Retrieved on August 20, 2014 from http://www.esera.org/media/esera2013/cecilia_rodehn_7feb2014.pdf)) are listing some of those: curiosity, surprise, nostalgia, pleasure, pride, increased self-esteem etc.; as well as encourage critical thinking and active participation, offer new ways of engagement with the subject matter.

¹¹⁰ Also articulated as the “Museum experience cycle” (Dr. John H. Falk in Lundgaard & Jensen, 2013:120), Falk and Dierking (1995:20-21) and Gibbs, Sani and Thompson (2007: 34); Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:165.

Learning Outcomes”, Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:13). Visits to museum instigate Action, Behavior, and Progression; promote cultural, community and familial identity, as well as social interaction and communication (Community empowerment); can, even, contribute to improving health and well-being (“Five Generic Learning Outcomes”, Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:13).¹¹¹

We must not neglect (this we have already mentioned in the previous course of the work) existence of unpopular museum practices, result of which are not positive outcomes but, on the contrary, they provoke mutual distrust and hostility (A. Bauer, 1971). Ones we most frequently witnessed during our research are passive position of museums toward visitors, reduced only to opening of the exhibiting space, or complex and complicated concept of exhibition¹¹².

In order to connect to the aspects of museum learning we found relevant while doing on/sight research, we have to remind ourselves on the role of curators and museum leadership. Within classical museum setting interpretation is the exclusive right of the curator¹¹³ which provides them with the position of undisputed power and authority. Since curators do refer to the leadership of the museum, if the leadership would commit to developing cultural learning, curators would champion the role and potential of learning¹¹⁴.

3.5. The role of the museum object / museum collections

“Having seen something ‘for real’, children (and adults) are better able to understand it.” (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:127)

In this sub/chapter we try to lay the ground for the argument about the importance of the museum collections (considering current museum status and models of operation¹¹⁵) for the work of museums in general and its role as the

¹¹¹ “Most visitors to museums, have their own agendas for learning (some of which are very unfocused and undeveloped) and they make their own judgments about the success or otherwise of their visit”. (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:32). We shall not forget extremely short period of time (especially if compared with some other cultural contents) that person is exposing her/himself to the museum experience.

¹¹² Hain claims that this would cause “awe, but not understanding” (G. E. Hein, 1998:150).

¹¹³ Bellamy and Oppenheim recognize typical behaviors within this position of power: the Intransigent, the Pragmatist, a Believer. The Intransigent curator “Pays lip service to cultural learning but has no interest in it.” The political Pragmatist is a curator “not hostile to cultural learning but his true concerns are curatorial.” Curator- Believer is “deeply committed to his organization’s capacity to change people’s lives and futures; deeply committed to building new audiences and to creating memorable and transformative experiences for young people,” Bellamy and Oppenheim ed., 2009:47.

¹¹⁴ Much has been written of the three types of cultural value: intrinsic, instrumental and institutional (see: Holden 2006). And about (among many others) three types of leadership model: situational, action-centered and transformational (Adair, www.johnadair.co.uk/published.html) that could be considered as museum leadership styles as well.

¹¹⁵ Working with museum collections is the predominant model of functioning of the exhibitions in the museums we have analyzed - museums focused on the meanings constructed from their collections.

medium for learning.¹¹⁶ Using stronger words by Bellamy and Oppenheim¹¹⁷ it is considered that “Museum collections help us all to locate ourselves in the world and understand each other’s individual and collective identities. Collections are expressions of the identity of a community at all levels.” If we branch into the new museology “only objects that have meaning for the collective memory are considered as part of the heritage. Their recognition is activity of a region’s population, whose memory determines heritage supposed to be preserved”.¹¹⁸ As a ‘result’ of such a process “the social subject, creator of policy, is not only the man but also the thing, and at the same time, the man and the thing make a kind of collective that becomes a social subject, active in public sphere, at the same platform with politicians” (Piotrowski, 2012:47).

What is even more important for us than the theoretical perspectives are the findings from the audience research. Dr. John H. Falk reports that asked what they remembered about the visit to museum – ‘rate exhibits’ was the most frequent answer¹¹⁹. Hooper-Greenhill testify that teachers understood how their pupils would come to know what something was like through looking at ‘it’ and comparing ‘it’ with something else¹²⁰. Dufresne-Tassé (1988) found that “museum experience starts with the object’: visitors perceive an object, then actively imagine it, then ask questions about it, and then reason and verify their conclusions (based on what they already know and feel)”¹²¹.

“The decision to acquire and display a museum object is both philosophical and political” (Hudson, 1987:114). Those who are creating museum collections are motivated by contemporary values and needs, and criteria they apply (interpretation within the act of formation of collections and within the selection of material for

¹¹⁶ We have started the reading from the list given by the Hooper-Greenhill in *Museums and interpretative communities*, 1999, p. 1: Silverman, L. Visitor meaning-making in museums for a new age, *Curator*, 38 (3), 161-170, 1995; Falk, J., Moussouri, T. and Coulson, D. The effect of visitors agendas on museum learning, *Curator*, 41 (2), 107-120, June 1998; Worts, D. Extending the frame: forging a new partnership with the public, *Art in museums - new research in museum studies*, 5, 164-191, 1995.

¹¹⁷ Kate Bellamy and Carey Oppenheim, Eds., *Learning to Live - Museums, young people and education*, Institute for Public Policy Research and National Museum Directors' Conference 2009:22.

¹¹⁸ Hauenschild, A. Claims and Reality of New Museology. <http://museumstudies.si.edu/claims2000.htm>; Stevenson, S. (1987) Balancing the Scales: Old Views and a New Muse, *Muse*, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 30-33.

¹¹⁹ His conclusions are based on the qualitative analyses of the museum recollection transcripts of 22 persons who had visited an interactive science center roughly six months previously. Memories fell into 10 categories: exhibits, social, personal, setting information, previous visits, feelings/emotions, temporal agendas, interactive nature of the experience, interview participation, visiting the gift shop/café (Dr. John H. Falk, 2013:108).

¹²⁰ Due to children limited experience museums showing ‘for real’ what they have only read about or seen in pictures is an important factor for their development of abstract concepts and comprehension (...) Teachers perspective was that museums act as powerful teaching tools because of the materiality of collections and the physical qualities of objects and specimens, combined with the tangibility of the museum experience and the opportunity to access information and feelings through the senses (...) Pupils stated that being able to witness, observe and touch made it easier to absorb facts and information (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 127, 137, 145).

¹²¹ As in Janet Gail Donald, *The Measurement of Learning in the Museum*, Canadian Journal of Education, (1991:376).

public programs) are central “for legitimation of the museum institution.”¹²² Recognition of and active preservers of cultures (those vanishing especially), and not just passive collectors of cultural artifacts, is the aspect of the curatorial ethics extremely important at the times of transition when cultural components are disappearing for a variety of reasons.

Meaning of the object is multilayered and its interpretation would enable the investigation of what Bennett calls ‘pasts beyond memory’, and Hooper-Greenhill refers to as “pasts that could no longer be called up by living people“ (2007:194).¹²³ The meaning assigned to the object varies with factors such as time and place, individual and group, gender and generation, political ideology or ethnic and national background. This process implies difficulty and can, as well, incorporate / provoke dissonance. Therefore “the meaning or content of every artefact must be discussed in relation to its context.”¹²⁴

By the Serbian law (Law on cultural heritage, Official Gazette /Službeni glasnik/ of the Republic of Serbia No. 71/1994) cultural institution in charge of the protection of cultural heritage protects artistic-historical work (Article 74). According to Article 23 of the same Law, artistic-historical work (part of the wider concept of ‘movable cultural heritage’), incorporates object / group of objects, that independently or together “have special importance related to the knowledge of historical, cultural, scientific and technical development (...) regardless of when and where they originated and whether they are situated in institutions for protection or out of them“. Therefore, we conclude that there are no formal obstacles for collecting recent history. There are no formal value systems that would exclude objects between 30 and 70 years old. But, when the object is missing from the collection, when certain physical testimonial is not recognized as heritage (and other documents referring to certain time are not collected as well, or, even if collected, they cannot ‘replace’ the function of the object) museum is consciously revoking the opportunity to “conjure up the original historical context of the object”¹²⁵, and current visitors (and those in the generations to come) will not be able to be exposed / dialogue with testimonials of the significant historical period.

¹²² Bojana Spasojević, Muzej kao legitimacijski diskurs, Muzeji 2009/2:41.

¹²³ About the interpretation of museum objects in Jelena Pavličić. Baština i teorijski modeli razumevanja: bogatstvo akumulacije – snaga imaginacije.

¹²⁴ Eva Silvén & Anders Björklund, Detecting Difficulty, introduction chapter to the book Difficult matters, objects and Narratives that Disturb and Affect, xy: 253.

¹²⁵ Simić, M., Xy: 40.

CHAPTER 4

CONFLICTUAL DISCOURSES OF SOCIALISM IN SERBIA

It is hard to predict the future, but even harder to predict history (Rouvinski 2007: 235).

Decent people can only pile the remainders and pay lively honor to their past life (Ugrešić, in Novačić, 2009).

Official politics can hardly influence individual and family memories, but it may and it is obliged to democratically shape collective meanings and evaluate past events. Thus, necessary task of each democratic historical policy is to achieve consensus about key historical events which make possible foundation of basic values that democratic political order lies upon. (Cipek, as in Bosto, 2009:164)

Knowing history is important for people in Serbia¹²⁶, but its understanding is based, believes historian Dubravka Stojanović, ‘on the system of myths and stereotypes for more than two decades (...) on prejudices and delusions about “our position“ in the present and past times’¹²⁷ (this perception is related also to the highly educated members of the community, emphasizes Stojanović). When we talk about Socialism, situation is identical, and positions are rather uncompromising. Two dominant and opposed views on this period are the one that refers to the socialistic past as an alternative for actual state policy (in this corpus it is Yugo-nostalgia and leftist platforms) and the other – anti-communist, the official discourse of the state – described by theoreticians as revisionism, anti-antifascism, totalitarian paradigm etc. Until now there is no platform that can bring these two positions to the dialogue. Their conflict escalates with each revision of history and, we believe, results in dissonance of heritage related to this period.

4.1. Anti-socialist discourse

4.1.1. Historical revisionism

Breakdown of Real socialism (failure of Eurocommunism and French socialism) is globally understood as definitive historical defeat of Communism¹²⁸. Socialism was put in the bag of failed ideas that deserve to be consigned to the

¹²⁶ “As for the question ‘Are you interested in history?’ , many answers were negative. The answer ‘not particularly’ was given by 59,8% examinees, and ‘not at all’ by 11,6%, among which majority were the young. That, in total, makes 71,4% of those who are not interested in history. (...) If we sum up the percentage of those who consider that they have no knowledge about history, 72,8% think their knowledge about history is ‘not particular’ , 8,4% have no knowledge at all, while 17,7% have positive opinion about their knowledge from history” (Radina Vučetić, *Neprosvećena prošlost* in *Novosti iz prošlosti*, 2010:35).

¹²⁷ Dubravka Stojanović, *U ogledalu "drugih"*, in *Novosti iz prošlosti*, 2010:30.

¹²⁸ In (among others) Petrović ed., 2014: 5; Bosteels (interview), March 2013, <http://thechannelhouse.org/2013/03/06/traversing-the-heresies-an-interview-with-bruno-bosteels/> and Pulig, 2015, <http://www.portalnovosti.com/lijevo-i-ljevicarsko>

dustbin of history; Marxism is removed as a dominant consciousness of the epoch¹²⁹. Post communism becomes a global situation (Boris Buden¹³⁰) – state in which there is no alternative for political, ideological and social order of neoliberal capitalism (state called by Kuljić¹³¹ ‘non-alternative neoliberalism’ and ‘end of politics’). Situation in Serbia, in this context, during last 35 years, manifested all characteristics of “great changes of epochal consciousness from the end of the 20th century: general turn to the right, normalization of capitalism, restoration of religion and conservatism, and demonization of Socialism”¹³². It included destruction of historical form of the social state¹³³ and disappearance of the labor class that was known to us from the 70s of the 20th century¹³⁴ (“class society without class war”¹³⁵). Prolonged search for new values in Serbia – process which some theoreticians still call transition¹³⁶ – however, is only ‘shelter’ for the lack of courage (political interest) by those in power to step out publicly with the set of values that they promote¹³⁷. Since the break up of Yugoslavia, besides all mutual ~~ideoloških~~ differences it had a common denominator in anti-socialism: capitalism (in its modern – neoliberal form), (ethno)nationalism, anti-communism¹³⁸, antisocialism¹³⁹, anti-Yugoslavism¹⁴⁰, anti-antifascism (nationalization of the antifascist movement¹⁴¹). State apparatus, without transparent

¹²⁹ Reading of Marxism did not stop. “There was a so-called “political turn” within deconstruction (Derrida published *Specters of Marx*. Michel Henry and others in Europe also wrote in this vein), and, also, a revival of Italian Marxism (the posthumous writings of Althusser made a big splash, bringing in questions of a hidden tradition of “aleatory materialism,” so one could have Marxism and materialism). It is more about reliving the confusion: the “fusion” or coming together of a variety of socialist, communist, utopian, anarchist, and anarcho-syndicalist understandings of the politics of equality (in its most generic terms).” Bosteels, 2013, <http://thecharnelhouse.org/2013/03/06/traversing-the-heresies-an-interview-with-bruno-bosteels/>

¹³⁰ Buden, <http://www.6yka.com/novost/33545/boris-buden-hrvatska-u-evropi-nikada-nece-imati-moc-kakvu-je-imala-u-bivsoj-jugoslaviji>, 2013.

¹³¹ Kuljić, in Petrović ed, 2014:70).

¹³² Kuljić, *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 2005/1-3:10.

¹³³ Social state understand as “concept of society which takes care for its members, striving, in the epoch of industrial modernism to make life tolerable to the majority (...) concept on the basis of which western countries too established social ideology in the period of historical communism”, Buden, <http://www.6yka.com/novost/33545/boris-buden-hrvatska-u-evropi-nikada-nece-imati-moc-kakvu-je-imala-u-bivsoj-jugoslaviji>, 2013.

¹³⁴ Buden, <http://www.6yka.com/novost/33545/boris-buden-hrvatska-u-evropi-nikada-nece-imati-moc-kakvu-je-imala-u-bivsoj-jugoslaviji>, 2013.

¹³⁵ Kuljić, in Milo Petrović ed, 2014:75.

¹³⁶ Speakers at the conference *Contribution to the criticism of the actual economic politics in Serbia (Doprinos kritici aktuelne ekonomske politike u Srbiji)* held in December 2014, concluded that Serbia finalized transition in 2000s and from that time system functions in the same way as it will function in the future – as peripheral economy. (Retrieved on January 19, 2014 from <http://pe.org.rs/vesti/izvestaji/izvestaj-sa-konferencije-doprinos-kritici-aktuelne-ekonomske-politike-u-srbiji/>).

¹³⁷ Dubravka Stojanović believes that main obstructions to the reforms necessary for Serbia are elites that “think deeper reform of the state, economy, society, will endanger their interests. They do not see their interest in development of the whole society”, (<http://www.mijatlakicevic.com/zavera-elita-protiv-srbije/>, 2015).

¹³⁸ Historians, among other things, do not agree about the question of establishment of the Communist movement in Serbia, and number of Partisan units in Serbia, and criticize each other on the account of “ideological forgery and rape of the history” (ed. Despotović, Šljukić, Gavrilović, Perica, Velikonja, 2010:26/27).

¹³⁹ Complete past of the Socialist project reduces to the cliché about “lead times”, monotonous tones of grey and boring everyday life of the society under absolute control of totalitarian Communist party (Kršić, 2013).

¹⁴⁰ “After it destruction of Yugoslavia as country of the people who lived there, nationalism destroyed and changed the past: in their revised histories there is no Yugoslavia as the subject, there is no country attacked and occupied by the fascist forces, there are only (inter)national and internal-national conflicts. Even if Yugoslavia is sometimes mentioned it is seen and (dis)qualified strictly from the nationalistic perspective, as (pra)source and culprit of all national calamities and frustrations” (Petrović, 2014:9).

¹⁴¹ See: Stojanović, in Bosto, Cipek ed, 2009:266; Stojanović and Milošević, <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/istoricari-oparadi-falsifikovanje-istorije/26642124.html>, 2014.

political program, introduced huge changes of dominant ideological-political premises, finding ‘arguments’ for their priorities in the past¹⁴². “Anti-totalitarianism suppressed anticapitalism, antifascism was nationalized, and anti-antisocialism disappeared.” (Kuljić, *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 2005/1–3:11, www.csi-platforma.org); “class policy is changed for the policy of national unity (Class replaced with Nation)” (Simović in Veselinović, Atanacković, Klarić ed, 2011:232,233). This process, aiming to finally form the national state (national, ethnic and religious homogeneity) completely, believes Oliver Frljić, “excluded class discourse”¹⁴³. (The awakening of the left in the structure of the post-cold war era affected the most the change in attitude towards World War II – so that foundations of socialism¹⁴⁴ would be destroyed e.g. towards fascism “so that potential criticism of nationalism and chauvinism would be minimized”¹⁴⁵ and nationalism legitimized as the only, Serbian, antifascism.¹⁴⁶)

Mechanisms of ideologization of the state priorities are realized and institutionalized with the process of historical revisionism¹⁴⁷ (“state history revisions”, as Radanović¹⁴⁸ calls it) which ‘followed’ world trend of institutionalization of the communist demonization i.e. discreditation of the socialistic idea. Resolutions of the Council of Europe¹⁴⁹, followed by conclusions about criminal and totalitarian character of Communism of different parliaments in Europe; attitude toward Fascism “as a measure for relation toward the disappeared Socialism” (Kuljić, in Petrović ed, 2014:71, 75) were only additional motivation for passing in Serbia the law which normalized nationalism and degraded Partisan movement and communist

¹⁴² New authorities in Serbia found their historical roots “in prewar Kingdom (which, after revisionistic intervention appears like exemplary democratic legal state and the ideal role model”, Petrović, 2014), “among collaborationist forces, which lead them (Serbian authorities and other revisionists, added by K.I. from anticommunism to anti-antifascism.” (Stojanović, 2013, pescanik.net/2013/09/vinovnici-i-zrtve-u-srpskim-udzbencima-istorije).

¹⁴³ Oliver Frljić, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2BKx_yeWGCw, 2014.

¹⁴⁴ About World War II as a field of history revision see: Stojanović, 2013, pescanik.net/2013/09/vinovnici-i-zrtve-u-srpskim-udzbencima-istorije

¹⁴⁵ Kuljić, *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 2005/1–3:7.

¹⁴⁶ There are also more versions of antifascism, states Kuljić: “liberal, i.e. colonial, defensive vernacular antifascism, communist ideological antifascism, more general leftist antifascism ... and ideologically versatile modern antifascism in the center of which is criticism of holocaust as the racist industrial destruction of people. (...) Communistic antifascism is interpreted as enforced, while national antifascism and general antitotalitarianism are seemingly authentic.” (Kuljić, *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 2005/1-3:11).

¹⁴⁷ “More frequent manifestation of historical-revisionistic tendencies in Yugoslav and Serbian society appears even during second half of the 80s in the 20th century, and its full expression happens after year 1990. Term revisionism here relates to the ‘revision of history and decisions in the past (...) based not on scientifically confirmed facts but on interpretations.” (Govedarica, 2012.:234).

¹⁴⁸ Radmanović. M, 2011:300.

¹⁴⁹ Resolution 1096 – about removal of heritage of ex-communist totalitarian systems, was adopted by parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe on 27 June 1996, and resolution 1481 – about international conviction of crimes of totalitarian communist orders (regimes) on 25 January 2006. “There was not bigger opposition to the resolution [1481]” states Kuljić, “since ex state socialistic elites turned to capitalistic competing mafia, and leftist intelligence turned to the right a long while ago“, Kuljić, *Teme*, 2008/2:415.

antifascism as sources of multinational, autonomous, Yugoslav Socialism¹⁵⁰. Named as “national reconciliation in Serbdom”¹⁵¹ i.e. restitution and enhancement of ‘new-but-old’ Serbian state¹⁵² the process was generated / realized through official discourse of academic historiography, Serbian Orthodox church, state media, educational system, through policies of public space. History was changed (historical-revisionist tendencies in historiography – revisionist historiography¹⁵³ e.i. “bases of critical and heuristic professional methods of historical science were falling down”¹⁵⁴), according to Pešić and Rosandić¹⁵⁵, for the sake of daily political interests; adding of black books of Communism “became the norm” (Kršić, 2013:2) and resulted in exaggerated number of victims¹⁵⁶; textbooks also changed (in the first place textbooks of history, geography and, to some extent of native language)¹⁵⁷ as well as curriculums; state holidays were changed¹⁵⁸. Vision of Serbian people as victims (victims of Yugoslav community, as well), fear from “the other“ (Yugoslav socialist being one of ‘others’) and imaginary sense of danger “closed“ Serbian society and are even today intensely present in public discourse¹⁵⁹. In public space these changes were manifested through annihilation and appropriation strategies of the

¹⁵⁰ National assembly of the Republic of Serbia adopted on 21 December 2004 Law on amendments to the Law on rights of soldiers, military invalids and members of their families, and in 2006 Law on equation of rights of partisan and level-country soldiers and Law on rehabilitation, with which it proclaimed Chetnik movement (Yugoslav army in the Homeland) as liberating (antifascist, added by KŽ) and thereby with equal status and rights with those of the members of the Partisan movement. Members of Quisling formation were legally rehabilitated. (Petrović: 2014:8,9.). This process is still active under somewhat different circumstances but in the same direction. (On 5 December 2011 Law on rehabilitation was changed; In 2014 Superior court in Belgrade rehabilitated commandant of the Yugoslav army in the Homeland, general Dragoljub Mihailović and gave him back civil rights taken in 1946 – added K.Ž.). Additionally, two state commissions were formed (in 2009) for revision of historical events that happened at the end and immediately after the World War II in Serbia: State commission for the analysis of executional circumstances in case of general Dragoljub-Draža Mihailovića and State commission for secret tombs of those who were killed from September 1944. See also: Govedarica, 2012:177; Milošević, <http://vimeo.com/109096288>, 2014.

¹⁵¹ Milošević (<http://vimeo.com/109096288>, 2014) speaks about historical path of development of relation toward antifascism from 90s till today. See also: Radanović, in Veselinović, Atanacković, Klarić eds, 2011:279.

¹⁵² Affirming conservative ideas, required continuity with the policy before World War II and with practice of anticommunist forces during World War II. (*Vladimir Marković*, Političko nasleđe antifašizma, p. 140). Historian Dubravka Sekulić characterizes that concept as “antiliberal, antipluralistic, egalitarian, populist, national, nationalistic, royalistic, antieuropean, antiwestern in its substance, russophile.” (Stojanović, <http://vimeo.com/109096288>, 2014).

¹⁵³ Historian Srđan Milošević this relation of historiography evaluates as “non-historic perception and forgery of history” (2014, <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/istoricari-o-paradi-falsifikovanje-istorije/26642124.html> and <http://vimeo.com/109096288>). Kuljić concludes that revisionistic historiography “served to defend new nationalistic objectives” (2002:7–8).

¹⁵⁴ Bešlin, in Politička upotreba prošlosti, 2013 :93,94. Historical revisionism in postyugoslav region (Istorijski revizionizam na postjugoslovenskom prostoru. Retrieved on January 22, 2014, from <http://www.rosalux.rs/en/artikl.php?id=175> and Stojanović (2014:33), Retrieved on July 22, 2014 from <http://www.cpi.hr/download/links/hr/7008.pdf>.

¹⁵⁵ Pešić, Rosandić (ed.), Ratništvo, patriotizam, patrijarhalnost, Belgrade, 1994.

¹⁵⁶ “Aim of the campaign of ‘revelation of the truth’ about oppressiveness of the regime after liberation (which Petrović finds unreal in exaggeration of victims) does not mean filling the blank space of afterwar historiography and correction of proved and provable injustice, but dangerous modification of history which, being not founded on historical facts, above all serves for non-scientific objectives”, Petrović, 2014:10.

¹⁵⁷ “Logic which antiyugoslavism and anticommunism turns into anti-antifascism passed into textbooks before it appeared in scientific historiography, which is not the typical way.” (Agičić, Najbar-Agičić, in Bosto, Cipek, Milosavljević ed., 2008:163). On this topic see in: Radanović, <http://lemondediplomatique.hr/ekonomija-groba/>; Vasić, *Vreme*, 2002/614:1. For analysis of Serbian history textbooks published at the beginning of 90s of the last century see: Stojanović, <http://www.cpi.hr/download/links/hr/7008.pdf>, 2014; Kuljić, *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 2005/1–3:7).

¹⁵⁸ “Abolished were all holidays constituted according to important dates and events from World War II and fight against Fascism which had constitutive and integrative character in former Serbia and Yugoslavia: Day of uprising against Fascism, Day of uprising in Serbia, Day of the Republic”, Petrović, 2014:8,9.

¹⁵⁹ Olga Manojlović Pinter, Rat i nemir, in Novosti iz prošlosti, 2010:103.

public spaces (changed/new colors representing the emblem of a nation, flags and names of the streets, squares, schools, casernes, cultural institutions, kindergartens; cities and institutions appeared and colonized the collective consciousness and collective memory¹⁶⁰) followed by the creation of new monuments (“to express the changes within national identity and values”¹⁶¹). Monuments which came out as symbols of Partisan battle during World War II appeared frowsy and some of them also were moved from the public space. Although on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia economic, cultural and even political relations were reestablished¹⁶², heritage from the period of Socialist Yugoslavia was presented “as obstacle for the wanted changes, Socialism as “lost time”, cause of a huge gap”¹⁶³, Socialism (and World War II) as the reason of all our problems of today. State institutions¹⁶⁴ and media¹⁶⁵ were also included in certain aspects of modification of history / public discourse of Socialism.

Consequences of revisionism and political discontinuity within Socialist Yugoslavia are visible in all life segments. Serbia has not been able to build institutions, to fortify rule of law, individual freedom, economic prosperity, social welfare¹⁶⁶; as one of ‘marginal Europeans’ (Boym, 2001:221) Serbia cannot fit into EU integration processes, while at the same time it cannot abandon them. (“Euroscepticism and antiwestern visions of Europe stand side-by-side with positive,

¹⁶⁰ National assembly of the Republic of Serbia voted on 24 July 1991 for “Recommendation for removal out of the names of towns, squares, streets, schools and cultural institutions – names of the persons responsible for great injustice done to the Serbian nation”. In corpus of “great injustice” of afterwar regime the document emphasizes: “breakdown of Serbia, in second half of the 60s, which as a consequence, along with other evils, had forced albanisation of Kosovo and Metohija, ancient center of Serbian stateship and spirituality”; “robbery of Serbian economy, by removal of its factories” and “for economic policy which worked against Serbia”. Assembly also recommended for “portraits and busts of those people to be removed from all public places”.

¹⁶¹ Švob-Đokić, Dragičević Šešić, in Milohnić ed, 2011:36, 37.

¹⁶² “...from trade, capital (investments in other ex-YU republics), through return of the former Yugoslav brands across the region (Kraš, Vegeta, Soko Štark, Gorenje...), attempts of publishers to share the market, ‘exchange’ of tourists, shared music scene; to fortunetellers, TV channels, reality programs with mix participants using the versions of a same/similar language” (Judah, 2009:9), CSOs and even institutions, and official ex-YU states collaborate, even Ministers of culture of Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia on 28 June in Macedonia handed to the director of UNESCO common nomination of “Medieval tombstones - stećaks” for the List of world heritage. (http://www.b92.net/kultura/vesti.php?nav_category=1087&yyyy=2014&mm=06&dd=28&nav_id=869236).

¹⁶³ Ildiko Erdei, 2012: 162.

¹⁶⁴ Eg. Radio-television of Serbia, as unique media authority, presented in mid of 2002 eight episodes of documentary tv series ‘Ravnogorska čitanka’ based upon the book ‘Ravnogorska istorijska čitanka’ (Belgrade, 2001), by Uglješa Krstić. Krstić interprets this tv series as “contribution to decommunisation of Serbian past” while the author of the text is highly critical. (Grujičić, Vreme, 2002/591: 12). See also: Radanović, in Petrović ed., 2014:146.

¹⁶⁵ “Newspapers competed in “revelation” of communist crimes during and after the war”, Petrović ed., 2014:8,9.

¹⁶⁶ Summarising developments in Serbian society after 2000, Zagorka Golubović concludes that “today Serbia is approaching ‘modern world’ in the way that it shares the same failures of democratic principles, but in more extreme form: in totally unfunctional market economy; in lack of democratic principles into new institutions; in inability to control organized crime and corruption; in complete absence of control of the financial capital; in non-efficacy of institutions for the protection of human and civil rights, especially the most deprived categories of population; in absence of control within media and organisations that produce hatred and intolerance” (Golubović 2012:87). We would like to add also an important presence of extreme right wing (Research by Center for Southeast Europe from Munich in 2009 revealed that within the Balkans Serbia and Croatia have the biggest number of Fascist and Neonazist followers - Ivanović, <http://www.vesti-online.com/Vesti/Tema-dana/431553/Odkomunizma-do-fasizma-1-Estetska-hirurgija-za-cetnike-i-ustase>, Vesti, 2014), decline of culture, reduction of workers’ rights and increase of employers’ rights, institutional interregnum; departure from the country by large number of young and educated people (On this topic see also: Balunović, 2015, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pQGH4IVF2pg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pQGH4IVF2pg;);; Mladenović, <http://www.mojnovisad.com/vesti/kokan-mladenovic-ovoliko-zlo-mora-biti-uguseno-u-krvi-90-te-su-dosle-na-naplatu-id2688.html>, 2015; Milić, 2008:3).

normative ideal of Europe equalized with policies, values and institutions of the European Union”, Erdei, 2012:233).

As we have already mentioned, one of the instruments for legitimization of new, state, historical narratives is educational system. “Traditional educational system is still dominant in Serbia. Within positivistic paradigm it is based on the idea that there are certain parts of knowledge, which should be transferred to each new generation. In that process pupil is relatively passive, and school is institution for transfer of knowledge by teachers to the pupils.” (Milutinović, 2003:89). Teaching tradition sees history as being uniformed and is focused on tranfering uniformed answers and interpretations preferred by the teacher, who, as our research shows, strives to follow ideological attitude favored by the dictated textbooks¹⁶⁷. Since textbooks are authorized by the state Ministry, it can only be concluded that they articulate position of the current authorities.

Although “textbooks alone are not responsible for national stereotypes as their revision cannot eliminate ethnocentric or nationalistic interpretations of the past” (Koulouri, in Koulouri ed., 2001:15) they are among the most important means of shaping national identity and historical awareness¹⁶⁸. Ideology changes – from Marxist to nationalistic – are omplemenyed within textbooks since the beginning of 90s (1991/1992). “With keeping in secret integrative ideas and Yugoslav project¹⁶⁹ Serbian past stays unexplained and incorrectly represented, and two-times formation of Yugoslavia in the 20th century, as well as its two bloody destrutions stay subject to political instrumentalisation”, states Stojanović.¹⁷⁰ (<http://www.cpi.hr/download/links/hr/7008.pdf>, 2014:38, 43).

Changes within textbooks are not equalized with the changes in actual teaching. In case of learning about the history of Socialism it is questionable how much the changes in the textbooks are relevant. Reason is quite banal. Namely,

¹⁶⁷ Insight into situation within the history teaching in schools we acquired through conversation with professors of history (non-structured interviews) during their visits to the Museum of Yugoslav history in 2012.

¹⁶⁸ In Serbia, according to findings by the Group for creative economy in 2013 there were about 80 publishers with licence for publishing the textbooks. Though it is not easy to obtain licence the stated number of publishers appeared within relatively short period of 10 years how much passed from demonopolisation of this sector (until that year right on textbooks publishing in Serbia had only the state Institute for textbook publishing and teaching aids, constituted in 1957.). Retrieved on April 15, 2015, from <http://www.kreativnaekonomija.net/izdavanje-udzbenika-srbiji-kulturni-prosvetitelji-raljama-institucionalnih-praznina/#more-6267>.

¹⁶⁹ Derogation of the importance of Yugoslav orientation was followed by excluding from the textbooks phenomena that marked desintegrational processes (...) students will not be able to properly contextualize informations that reminded. (Stojanović, <http://www.cpi.hr/download/links/hr/7008.pdf>, 2014:38).

¹⁷⁰ Within wider analysis of historical textbooks in Serbia Stojanović finds that the result of their discourse is “mythical, anti-historical perception of the period in which time does not flow, but is reduced to eternal presence or eternal return of the same” and “development of paranoid model of historical awareness that may provide solid base for hatred and contempt toward the neighbouring nations, whereby possibilities for further disagreements, conflicts and revenges stay permanently open.” (Stojanović, <http://www.cpi.hr/download/links/hr/7008.pdf>, 2014:38, 43).

besides the fact that teachers change their working habits pretty slowly, our research shows that most of the teachers do not teach at all lessons related to the period of Socialism. As for the curriculum, these lessons are supposed to be taught at the end of the eighth i.e. third /fourth grades of vocational high schools or gymnasiums. Since that is the end of final years of certain schooling cycles, professors then, as they say, endeavoring to make the end of the year easier for the students (they are followed by preparations for qualification exams for the next schooling phase) decide to omit this matter.

4.1.2. Formal education system in the post-socialist Serbia

Even 67% of research participants (research conducted in 2010, with adult Serbian citizens) said that most part of their knowledge about history comes from school¹⁷¹. If we compare this answer with the one which says that 82% of them are not familiar with history, then it may be concluded that most of them did not learn anything from history in school. Since we consider history being, both, topic and tool (“a broad set of resources for studying everyday cultures in the past and a broad set of techniques for thinking about historical experience and representation in the present.” M. Pickering, 2008:13) we consider those findings alarming and a sign that community has to find additional ‘tools’ for learning about history – in the best traditions of critical thinking.

Owing to “slow and hesitant reform process (which does not give opportunities to schools to organize activities using resources of their surrounding), absence of active communication between museums and schools (which would allow teachers insight into contents of the collections and show them the possibilities that they offer within the learning process); inability of teachers (who are not creators but only realizers of the program) to improve the learning process; absence of space in museums (needed for this type of cooperation); absence of material and financial resources for realisation of such programs,”¹⁷² potential of the museum as a partner of the institutions of formal education in Serbia is not recognized. In the course of communication, curators and directors of regional museums spoke about indifference

¹⁷¹ Sanja Patrović Todosijević, in: *Novosti iz prošlosti* 2010:64.

¹⁷² Vesna Milić (in the time of writing this text Mičić was responsible for educational programs in the Museum of contemporary art in Belgrade), *Muzejske zbirke kao udžbenici*, in: *Muzejske zbirke i izložbe kao resursi okruženja u nastavi*, 2008:8.

of the teachers, about complete preparation of school classes by the museum,s as eventual factor of any type of cooperation. (data from the research to be added)¹⁷³

If we would like to consider regional museums in Serbia as such resources we could only rely on a fragile notion of the current policy in the field of education in Serbia (we refer to it as ‘fragile’ due to many changes educational policy in Serbia had in the last 25 – years, and the context of Serbia where laws usually are not realized in practice, making us unsure how long the actual one is going to be supported).

Current school reform in Serbia is heading “to the direction that will enable teachers to accomplish their tasks more creatively and more independently, with using potentials of their surroundings.” (Vesna Milić, *Muzejske zbirke kao udžbenici*, in *Muzejske zbirke i izložbe kao resursi okruženja u nastavi*, 2008:7) Law on basics of education (62/03, 64/03, 58/04 I 62/04) anticipates for the school curriculum, besides obligatory and optional (civil education and religious studies), to have facultative part too, which includes subjects that would satisfy students’ interests according to schools’ capacities (Article 69) and their contents and activities (Article 73). “The idea is to make image of the school, i.e. something that we may call its “identity card”, on the basis of that facultative part. It would comprise subjects created by the school, contents of which may be challenging for students, as well as a differentiating sign of the school.” (Olivera Nožinić, *Istorija umetnosti u školskom programu X gimnazije “Mihajlo Pupin” u Beogradu*, in *Muzejske zbirke i izložbe kao resursi okruženja u nastavi*, 2008:8). In the given context and in circumstances of existing positions of museums in Serbia, museums stay unrecognized as partners in the process of learning by the institutions of formal education.

Additional aspects are concerning museums as resources for lifelong learning. Having in mind the data about the visitation of the Serbian museum, families, as well, do not see them in that context.

4.1.3. European and international Authorized Heritage Discourse

Although very often contextualized only through its economic position (heritage tourism as tool for sustainable development of the communities economic

¹⁷³ On invitation by National museum in Kragujevac, sent to more than 30 primary and secondary schools in Kragujevac, for organized students visits, at the price of 100 din per year, 10 din per exhibition, only one primary school responded. (Students do not want to go to museums even for the price of 10 dinars, 22.10.2015., <http://rs.n1info.com/a102609/Vesti/Kultura/Izlozbe-Kragujevac-Djaci-ne-zele-u-muzej-ni-za-10-dinara.html>)

rationalism and financial crises led museums to not being able to rely on state as stable and the only, sufficient, source of funding¹⁷⁴) the world of heritage and museums transcends the state policies by its political and ideological nature. Instrumentalized by the states, even when with the most progressive intentions (museums, among other institutions of culture, are “charged with working to deliver government agendas, and funding was made available for them to do so.” Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:8)¹⁷⁵ museums are relying on the legal solutions that have to be introduced by the state that would allow cultural professionals to resist “when politicians have the audacity to attempt to influence what is being supported and what is not.”¹⁷⁶ Heritage affairs at the highest level are largely conducted through agencies of the United Nations, in particular UNESCO, and other international bodies (ICOM - International Council of Museums, ICOMOS - International Council on Monuments and Sites) and regional institutions (the Council of Europe and the European Union), their limitations being “lack of common international vision, difficulty of enforcing international standards, 'Eurocentricity'” XY (xy:275/276).

UNESCO alone is criticized for “attributing itself the authority which is reinforced/operated through the connection/collaboration with the national governments of the member/signatures states” (L. Smith 2006:101)¹⁷⁷, “promoting concepts of ownership and property which assumes a right of possession” (Carman, 2005), for “the continuous discursive use of the phrase ‘the cultural significance’, which reduces the plurality of cultural values and meanings to the singular” (Waterton et al. 2006), “reinforcing the sense in which the cultural values associated with a place

¹⁷⁴ Diversifying sources of financing does make a work of the museum more demanding but, on the other hand, gives them a feeling of independency. Most institutions in Europe, America, Australia etc. live on a mix of public, corporate and individual support. Even in Germany, where culture has traditionally been seen as the responsibility of the state, the climate is getting harsher. The main museums in Berlin are now expected to raise at least 8.5% of their annual operating budget in ticket sales and sponsorship. Almost half of the budget of the museums goes to staff alone. Temples of delight, Economist, Dec 21st 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21591707-museums-world-over-are-doing-amazingly-well-says-fiammetta-rocco-can-they-keep#!>

¹⁷⁵ As the examples one can see how the Labour government policies in Britain, and particularly England, since 1997 insisting on central position of education in museums were developed and implemented (in Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Bellamy and Oppenheim eds, 2009; E.Hein, 1998: 9); policies of the Danish Agency for Culture focus on creating the framework for museums to continue to take on new roles in society including learning (Winther, Thorek Jensen, in Brøndholt Lundgaard and Thorek Jensen eds. 2013:5; Brøndholt Lundgaard, ibid:12; Thorek Jensen, ibid: 28); the work of the American Association of Museums' Task Force on Museum Education that in 1992 issued a landmark report *Excellence and Equity: Education and the Public Dimension of Museums* that affirmed ‘Museums perform their most fruitful public service by providing an educational experience in the broadest sense: by fostering the ability to live productively in a pluralistic society and to contribute to the resolution of the challenges we face as global citizens.’ (Hein,1998: 8,9). Even troubled South Africa, realized the role of the museums in the community and since 1990s developed the documents that have shifted the emphasis to the role of museums as agents of social change (Draft National Museums Policy, https://www.westerncape.gov.za/assets/departments/cultural-affairs-sport/draft_national_museum_policy.pdf:18/19)

¹⁷⁶ Friis Møller writes about ‘the arm’s length principle in UK that ensures the independence of arts and culture / professional knowledge, from political influence, developed as “the response to the use of art and culture in the totalitarian regimes of the 1930s and 40s culminating in World War II.” (in Brøndholt Lundgaard and Thorek Jensen eds, 2013:227)

¹⁷⁷ Convention and the World Heritage Committee assesses and determines their suitability for listing. The Committee is elected from the State Parties to the Convention, and representatives from organizations such as ICOMOS, and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) offer advice to the Committee.

or object can be captured and frozen” (Handler 2003:363) etc. The World Heritage List (operated by UNESCO since 1972) is a process of meaning making – it identifies and defines which heritage places are globally significant. It gives the legitimacy of Western European cultural narratives and values and “creates a cultural and discursive climate in which certain values and ideologies become universally important and meaningful in defining cultural development and change.” (L. Smith, 2006:99)¹⁷⁸. Although the World Heritage Committee launched the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List in 1994¹⁷⁹ in 2015 it still primarily legitimizes Western European (capitalist) notions of aesthetic and national identity as ‘important, for all the peoples of the world’ (preamble): of the 802 listed cultural sights 48 percent are located in European countries. The sites listed “tend to emphasize the tangibility of heritage and especially those that speak to grand narratives and elitist architecture, including cathedrals, castles and palaces, being over-represented.” (L. Smith, 2006, 98)¹⁸⁰. Not one of them is related to the period of Communism / Socialism. Australia's Sydney Opera House, a very new building (only opened in 1973), making it to World Heritage in 2007 (only meeting criteria (i) of the 6 points of the Cultural Heritage List) is a prove that the contemporary cultural heritage, even if exceptionally, can find its way to the List if complying with UNESCO-s authorized heritage discourse.

Within the building blocks of the (favorited) Western European identity we found that its relation to communism (and socialism) of a great significance. While some analysts would state that Europe is ‘first anticommunist and then antifascist’ (Filip Balunović), that its view on history is revisionist (Srđan Milošević,) we would go as far as stating that its demonization of Communism is a form of defense of the preferred ideology and economic system. Resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe underlines European anti-communist identity (in 1996 Resolution on measures to dismantle the heritage of former communist

¹⁷⁸ The global study carried out by ICOMOS, regarding the period from 1987 to 1993 and revealed that Europe, historic towns and religious monuments, Christianity, historical periods and ‘elitist’ architecture (in relation to vernacular) were over-represented on the World Heritage List; whereas, all living cultures, and especially ‘traditional cultures’, were underrepresented; concluding that reasons for the gaps fall into two main categories: structural – relating to the World Heritage nomination process, and to managing and protecting cultural properties; and qualitative – relating to the way properties are identified, assessed and evaluated. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/>

¹⁷⁹ In 1994, the World Heritage Committee launched the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List. Its aim is to ensure that the List reflects the world's cultural and natural diversity of outstanding universal value i.e. to diversify the World Heritage List and make it balanced and representative of the world's heritage. New categories for World Heritage sites have also been promoted: cultural landscapes, itineraries, industrial heritage, deserts, coastal-marine and small-island sites. The World Heritage Committee has recently decided to limit the number of nominations that can be presented by each State Party. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/>

¹⁸⁰ National narratives of certain countries are far more present than of the others: Italy with 51, Spain - 44, Germany -40 and France 41 listings.

totalitarian regimes¹⁸¹, in 2006 Resolution on need for condemnation of crimes in totalitarian communist regimes¹⁸²), while, for instance, verdict for “all forms of unjustified violence against people, done in the past, failed; colonial violence done for centuries did not have any formal condemnation (even not disapruval).”¹⁸³ Within official, contemporary discourse of European identity building communist totalitarianism is identified with totalitarianism of Nazism and Fascism¹⁸⁴, and seen as homogenous (socialism not recognized, communism in different countries not contextualized, in the public discourse contemporary politics of certain EU countries – say Sweden – not related to the values of socialism). Given the global geopolitical context and the dominance by the Western world in controlling communication and information systems, we can not except the acceptance of a revalorization of the values of socialism to happen any time in the near future, leaving the heritage of Socialism being even further from the ‘heritage consideration’ than those of ‘third world countries’. Understanding those heritage values as internationally institutionalized it becomes clearer where does Serbian state (Ministry of Culture as a signatory of international heritage related conventions) and, consequently, museums, find the reassurance for their relation to the cultural heritage of Socialism.¹⁸⁵

4.1.4. Transitional discourse of the Museums in Serbia (1989 – 2006/07)

Since the 80s, in most of the western world and in the more affluent parts of the developing world, museums become places of popular debate, centres of lifelong learning – a part of (newer wider) educational infrastructure (including schools, libraries, media, non-profits)¹⁸⁶, concerned with the actual life of the community, covering broadened range of subjects, where children go for sleepovers; museum

¹⁸¹ Resolution 1096 (1996) on measures to dismantle the heritage of former communist totalitarian systems, <http://assembly.coe.int/main.asp?Link=/documents/adoptedtext/ta96/eres1096.htm>

¹⁸² Resolution 1481 (2006) Need for international condemnation of crimes of totalitarian communist regimes, <http://assembly.coe.int/Mainf.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta06/Eres1481.htm>

¹⁸³ Srđan Milošević, in: Dr. Momir Samardžić, Mr. Milivoj Bešlin, Srđan Milošević eds., 2013:18

¹⁸⁴ For example the open call for the strand Europe for Citizens - European remembrance of the European Commission: “This strand supports activities inviting reflection on European cultural diversity and on common values. It aims to finance projects reflecting on causes of totalitarian regimes in Europe's modern history (especially, but not exclusively, Nazism that led to the Holocaust, Fascism, Stalinism and totalitarian communist regimes) and to commemorate the victims of their crimes.” http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/europe-for-citizens/strands/european-remembrance_en

¹⁸⁵ As the example one could use Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, Faro. It was ratified by Serbia in October 2005 (for details about the Convention see Heritage and beyond, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg Cedex, 2008). It is curious that none of the Conventions main concepts were understood as motivator for active protection and collection of the Cultural Heritage of Socialism. The only conclusion is that the heritage from this period, if not interpreted as anticommunist, can't be contextualized as European – and that it is well understood by the Serbian government.

¹⁸⁶ John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning, 2000.

education philosophies have been influenced by the deschooling movement,¹⁸⁷ and inspired by child-centred teaching philosophies and discovery learning strategies¹⁸⁸ (which have remained in use in museums long after they had been overturned in schools); their audience was growing due to “the rise of the share of people who are going on to higher education, governments that want their countries to be regarded as culturally sophisticated and a growing middle class (...), city fathers, urban planners, media, and rich people being championing them; young people recognized them as a source of something authentic and intriguing”¹⁸⁹. Although witnessing a rapid growth in interest in museum learning¹⁹⁰ some theoreticians are of the opinion that the unique educational potential of museums is still not realized. Extensive research conducted by Hooper-Greenhill shows that the barriers to the realisation of this power are “in aspects of museum culture that, even today, marginalises educational work”¹⁹¹.

Period of the most intensive changes of world museums towards the new museology and implementation of new findings related to learning and pedagogy in museums¹⁹² - was, for Serbia, period of political and economic failures, turbulences and instability (this process was initiated in the 80s of the last century). Serbia goes through the devastating transition period (changes of the ideology and economical system were happening during war, hyperinflation, decomposition of the country), quality of education is devalued, middle class destroyed; new authorities do not recognize importance of culture, and heritage for them is only political tool serving to maintain unique territory (protection of monastery in Kosovo).

Even after breaking of Socialist Yugoslavia museums in Serbia continue following trends in the society: in the nineties (period of global crisis in the country)

¹⁸⁷ Friere, 1972; Illich, 1973.

¹⁸⁸ Harrison, 1950, 1970; Marcouse, 1961; Winstanley, 1967.

¹⁸⁹ “Museums are doing amazingly well. Since adaptation of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of UNESCO in 2011 even the counter terrorism strategies recognised importance of museums and started funding exhibitions and projects to promote cross-cultural understanding.” Temples of delight, Economist, 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21591707-museums-world-over-are-doing-amazingly-well-says-fiammetta-rocco-can-they-keep#!>).

¹⁹⁰ “Due to the growth in the importance of culture and the arts within society generally, the creative economy, young people are spending more of their time on the internet, encouraging a greater engagement with learning, museums lie outside the formal education sector”, Kate Bellamy and Carey Oppenheim, ed. Learning to Live - Museums, young people and education, Institute for Public Policy Research and National Museum Directors' Conference 2009:22.

¹⁹¹ Hooper-Greenhill et al., 2004d: 38; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:189.

¹⁹² From the 1970s on the museums' educational intensifies in USA; education undergoes transformations provoked by new pedagogic trends; educators begin to consider museums as extensions of the school, stimulating the emergence of an educational sector in museums; three-grade classification is widely accepted: formal, non-formal and informal education. In the 80s “New museology” becomes independent scientific discipline; public budgets are used for restoration and foundation of new museums (as the effect of development of cultural tourism in Germany, France, Great Britain, Holand, Italy and Belgium); the pedagogical method by Paulo Freire is put forward (after the Santiago Round Table Declaration, May 1972). See: Judite Santos Primo, To think museology today, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia* No 27 – 2007:75; A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009:33, 34; J. Milutinović, 2003:

national museum crisis is happening, characterized by passivity but also by devastation of a number of museums¹⁹³. From “agitprop of the third Yugoslavia”¹⁹⁴ Serbia experiences change of the state regime, labelled as democratic (political developments in 2000) - it animates civil and expert energy. Politicians, museum people (intellectuals, NGO sector), as proved, were not able to rise to the task: museum scene in Serbia was reviving,¹⁹⁵ but it turned out that the noticed indicators of advancement¹⁹⁶ were individual; small number of results was only initiative of certain subjects who “independently apply modern, strategic solutions and innovative instruments of contemporary cultural policy” (Krivošević, 2011:312).

It is general opinion that museums in this period “were greatly neglected” by the state (Krivošević, 2011:308). Detailed analyses show also other causes for bad condition of museums in Serbia at the beginning of second decade of the 21st century: ‘practice of the previous system (in which museums represented one of the powerful tools of the ruling ideology), the uncertainty of the transition, the age structure of professionals and the problem of institutionalized learning about new theory and practice.’ (V. Krivošević, I. Damnjanović, *American Journal of Tourism Management*, 2014/3/1B, <http://article.sapub.org/10.5923.s.tourism.201402.04.html>)

We tend to interpret this situation differently. Being used to decisive, strategically focused founder, who recognizes role of the museum as promotion of personal ideas and, for example, advancement of communal life (socialist state) – museum people were not inclined to develop capacities which would enable them to be active subjects of the community. Besides settled emancipatory theoretical bases of ‘socialist museums’ that referred to state’s endeavours in that direction (though from the position of ideological discourse and one-party political system), museums were not able to build an authentic voice. Such museums, regional ones, enter the transition period. State of crucial changes (not only changes of ideology, of economic and social system, but also decomposition of the state, drastic economic crisis and wars) as well as newly-formed national state, did not recognize museums as active partners within

¹⁹³ V. Krivošević, 2011:305-308

¹⁹⁴ Đukić Dojčinović V., *Tranzicione kulturne politike*, xy:43.

¹⁹⁵ Stated arguments as well as events in the field of museology that we witnessed from 2010 to 2105 do not give basis for statement by Krivošević – that it is possible to talk about “the beginning of *new national expansion of museums*, as the pretty late reaction on European and world “museum boom””. (V. Krivošević, 2011:312)

¹⁹⁶ Expert meetings and seminars on different topics were organized more regularly (from conservation and protection, through issues of defining non-material heritage, to the challenges of museum exhibitions, digitalization of heritage, connection of heritage and tourism etc.); Museum society of Serbia, National center for digitalisation, Central institute for conservation are founded; publishing is also active; several new permanent exhibitions are realized; organization of European museum night begins (see: V. Krivošević, 2011, 209-314); state shows intentions for strategic activity (it organizes meeting *Kulturna politika u oblasti kulturnog nasleđa i transformacija institucija / Cultural politics within the field of cultural heritage and transformation of institutions* in 2009). These activities are result of the engagement of public, private and non-governmental sector.

changes of cultural, political, economic and value system of the community, but at the same time they did not ‘forget’ them. Will of the founder was obvious in pre-registration of museums / change of their names and conceptions (the most transparent example was abolishment of museums of National liberation battle¹⁹⁷) and lesser number of newly-founded museums. There were no permanent initiatives by the side of Ministry of Serbian culture¹⁹⁸, and its failures – within the field of legislation¹⁹⁹, (absence) of strategy, wrong operative decisions, cultural partisanship²⁰⁰ – give us sufficient material to think not only about incapacities of the institutions but also about the continuance of the museum instrumentalization – with new tools, in new circumstances, and for needs of the new state ideology. Therefore, we cannot say that museums were ‘neglected by the founders’, but rather, being used to ‘quasi-self-management’ (possibility of all employees’ participation into management, but without division of responsibility) and in firm framework of precise state ideology (and policy), they were missing transformation capacities in new circumstances – they were not able to recognize new discourse of the founder and to find its support in community (instead of looking for the support in politics).

The most adequate term for the stated circumstances perhaps would be ‘transitional discourse of museums’. This discourse is characterized by attempts to recognize non-transparent policy and strategy of the founder (directors of institutions were forced to find a way to understand untransparent priorities of their founders – in case of our research: local self-government – to be able to better position their institution in relation to available budget resources), self-censoring, acting only after reaching internal political agreement (analysis show that successful museum directors were members of ruling parties or they were in close, even friendly relations with the ruling parties).²⁰¹

We partly agree, though, with Krivošejev, that engagement of the state is necessary for the systematic museum change (Krivošejev: “necessarily designed state

¹⁹⁷ In 1990 'Muzej revolucije' in Novi Sad becomes 'Istorijski muzej Vojvodine', 'Muzej NOB-a in Vranje' – becomes 'Narodni muzej Vranje', 'Muzej revolucije' and 'Muzej 25. Maj' in Belgrade are merged into 'Muzej istorije Jugoslavije'. (V. Krivošejev, 2011:306)

¹⁹⁸ The only continually present is trend of devastation, i.e. wrong doings within the field of heritage and museums – result of this is state's understanding of heritage as being only church monuments on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija.

¹⁹⁹ Museum activity is still based on legal acts introduced during the first half of the 90s. Law on culture was brought in 2009 due to missing (complementary) laws and sub-legal acts i.e. absence of political will; they were never applied, i.e. only certain provisions were applied to some cases.

²⁰⁰ Activities of the Ministry are completely politically instrumentalized: from 2001 to 2008 four ministers of culture were changed, and with each replacement (even when previous and new minister were from the same party) activities of the Ministry started from the very beginning. State was organized by division of sections among parties of the ruling coalition. In such division Ministry of culture was ‘consolation prize’ and so was losing the potential power of the Ministry lead by the most powerful party in the country (economy, army etc.), nomination of directors etc.

²⁰¹ (data from the research to be added)

intervention”²⁰²). Our partial agreement comes from understanding the obvious situation: founder, within change of ‘orientation’ that is needed to be operationalized at all levels of the system, continues to give (however minimal) basic resources for functioning of the institutions, he does not impose priorities, and with that, we think, among the rest, he leaves a space for action, i.e. gives possibilities to agile museum people to introduce changes that may influence advancement of the museum practice. A great deal of these ‘changes’ is not related to finances: enhancement of standards within, for instance, treatment of the existing material, maintenance of practice within contemporary collecting, based on donations, communication with the community and making the resources available – are only some of the possible aspects.²⁰³ Active participation of museums into consideration of new circumstances in community failed too. General impression is that museum people, endeavouring to keep their acquired positions, decided to ‘be silent, i.e. secure’ – they were passive and did not show any interest for possible (in the world already actualized) museum roles (this included non-interest for the public / we would add ‘a fear’ from the public, negligence of actual topics in surrounding etc.). Unfortunately, later analyses showed that such inactivity largely went beyond the field of their public work, for instance absence of data about contents of the collections, inactivity related to the creation of opportunities for acquirement of new knowledge and experience etc.

Founder (state/local self-management) in the section of museum, with its attitude, at least ‘subconsciously’, tested the limits of possible instrumentalization of institutions, under the veil of ‘negligence’ (with ‘subconscious’ here we refer to immanent characteristic of the state as a founder). Such ‘paralyzed’ museums perhaps were in the position of ‘lesser damage’. As well as the profession of education, for instance, which did not have any reaction on trends of historical revisionism i.e. it allowed for them to be actively included in textbooks and curriculums, museums and museum profession did not participate in public discourse of changes of identity policies. Within they ‘silent work’, though, revisionism was done.²⁰⁴ Priority was given

²⁰² It is indicative that similar tendency – showing negligence of basic museum activities for the sake of scientific work – was noticed even at the beginning of 60s (“Vulgarisation of the conception of science often serves as a cover for negligence of professional work in museums, and thus happens an absurd situation that somebody engaged with science has no time for his profession“, Nikolić M, *Muzeji*, 1962/15:98), as well as at the beginning of 70s of the 20th century (Hasanagić E., *Bilten Zajednice muzeja Srbije*, 1971/1:7, 16-17).

²⁰³ Museums, for instance, did not cooperate with newly-founded NGOs, their space and material were unavailable for civil initiatives, and in one moment even for researchers (especially foreign researchers). This situation had been slowly changing only after 2007/2008.

²⁰⁴ As the most visible public display of historical revisionism we take exhibition “U ime naroda” (‘In the name of people’) opened in Historical museum of Serbia in April 2014 (see reviews on <http://pescanik.net/profesionalci/>, <http://pescanik.net/wp-content/PDF/kucateroraumuzejurevolucije.pdf>,

to some other, formerly neglected, historical topics²⁰⁵, collecting of the recent history was abolished. As time proved, it created space for the revision of history of Serbia during the Second World War and in the period of socialism.

According to our research, relation of museums in Serbia toward socialist heritage from the period of decomposition of Yugoslavia till the end of 2013 (based on the “models of strategy and monument policy applied in different phases of the postsocialist transition” identified by Dragičević Šešić (<http://rci.mirovni-institut.si/Docs/ASO%202010%20Sesic.pdf>) resembles the models of ‘anticulture’ and ‘culturalization’ (ibid.). We would say that it saturates to quiet hostility and destruction based on supporting ‘organized oblivion’, strategy of ‘ignoring the other’ and ‘de-contextualization’ (Šešić). We base this conclusion on the fact that none of Museums that have responded to our questionnaire have strategy for collecting and no plan to systematically protect cultural heritage of socialism; (data from the research to be added) of museums participating in our research do not have materials from the period of Socialism in their collections or have no systematized overview of it (although they claim that they are covering the historical period ‘till the present day’), those with the permanent exhibition mention period of Socialism only by mistake (Jagodina) or are keeping parts of the permanent exhibitions related to the period of socialism (remainings of the old, first, permanent exhibitions made during the period of socialism - Leskovac) that are closed for the public etc.

4.1.5. Museums in Serbia, post-transition (since 2007)

Newly-founded, independent Serbia, from the time of economic crisis in 2008 (until this year “its economic increase went faster than average of the countries of central-east Europe and the Balkans”) begins to lag, “which means that the crisis is serious”, and not only economic crisis, but, as economic analyst Mijat Lakićević states, what is even more important, the crisis of not understanding the reasons for the existing situation (Mijat Lakićević²⁰⁶). Failure of the expected democratization of

http://www.danas.rs/dodaci/uploaddocumentsdodaci2013bilenpdf/izlozbaom_u_ime_naroda_protiv_radnicke_klase.1117.html?news_id=287149, <http://www.pogledi.rs/poslednje-poruke-zrtava-komunista/>). New permanent exhibition in Museum in Šabac, opened in November 2015, uses the ‘silent revisionist strategy’ as other permanent exhibitions: anti-fascist status was not transparently underlined but is implemented through the elements of the permanent exhibition (<https://www.facebook.com/notes/marko-gavrilović/privatizacija-istorije-ili-istorija-bolesti/10153136384710718>).

²⁰⁵ See arguments by V. Krivošev (2011:307).

²⁰⁶ Lakićević, Mijat. (2015). Apatija u Beogradu. Retrieved December 21, 2015, from <http://www.mijatlakicevic.com/apatija-u-beogradu>

2000s was verified with the political changes in 2012. Symbolic balance of the previous period in culture was presented by closure of National and Museum of contemporary art in Belgrade²⁰⁷ for decades. During the first decade of the 20th century no museum is opened within municipalities and towns in Serbia (what happened even in the tough 90s²⁰⁸).

Nevertheless comparative evaluation of cultural practices of the Serbian citizens and citizens of the EU done by Mr. Cvetičanin and Ms. Milankova shows that the level of participation in cultural activities of the Serbian citizens is on European average.²⁰⁹ What researches find 'behind' the numbers is indifference and apathy (in Martinović, 2009:41) i.e. status quo where both – visitors and museums – are (un)satisfied, one with the offer and the other with reaction to the offer (Cvetičanin or Mr. Kraguljac).²¹⁰ Dominant perception of the community is that museums are closed institutions²¹¹ that show no awareness of the need of accountability to the community and the public²¹². Museums, on their part, mostly simplify founder's requirement for larger number of visitors. Lack of understanding is demonstrated through basic documentation of the visitors numbers: just (data from the research to be added) of analysed museums have accurate data of the number of visitors, while only one keeps the accurate data on the structure of visitors, no one analyses that structure as the input for the further strategy.²¹³ Published research, though, gives us the opportunity to look at this situation from a wider perspective²¹⁴.

²⁰⁷ National museum was closed due to restoration in 2003, and Museum of contemporary art in 2007. Serbian historical museum does not have its own building or permanent exhibition (though its conditions are constantly improving since 2005) etc.

²⁰⁸ "New museum institutions were opened in Priboj (1990), Aleksandrovac (1992), Čuprija (1993) and Gornji Milanovac (1994). Museum collection, as part of local cultural center was formed in Koceljevo. Certain collections became independent museum institutions: in Paraćin (1990), Prijepolje (1991) and Bačka Palanka (1997), museum section of Bor Museum of mining in Majdanpek became independent institution (1998). Museum 'Jadra' in Loznica, founded as independent institution in 1999 became part of local cultural centre. Gallery of Milena Pavlović Barili was separated from National museum in Požarevac." (V. Krivošević, 2011:306)

²⁰⁹ Researchers compared results of their findings in Serbia with results of researchers conducted at the request of European Commission in 2002 and 2003 and results of EUROSTAT research "European Cultural Values" from 2007. They concluded that interviewees in Serbia, during the research conducted in 2010, had frequently gave socially desirable answers that is they were exaggerating in terms of volume of their visits to galleries and museums. The volume in 2005 was 25% and in 2010 was 36% - that is more than in Romania, Bulgaria, Spain, France (2005) but also more than in Slovenia, Austria, Germany, Hungary (data from 2010.). Beyond the Serbian volume in 2010 were only Czech Republic, Great Britain and Sweden. (Cvetičanin, Milankov, 2011:96, 97, 82, chart 125).

²¹⁰ Đukić Dojčinović, takes it further stating that "museums being widely ignored by the audience" finding the reason for that in museum's sole consideration with museum collections (preserving and conservation). V. Đukić Dojčinović, *Kulturni turizam – menadžment i razvojne strategije*, Beograd, Clio, 2005.

²¹¹ Čolak-Antić, in: Martinović, 2009:53.

²¹² Martinović, Jokić, 2009:70.

²¹³ M. Vukanović - 2009:253 – states that museums generally 'do not make evidence about the structure of visitors'. Our research shows that Regional museums are aware of the fact that majority of their visitors, even 80%, are pupils who come within the organized school visits. As a matter of fact it is not formalized as 'evidence', i.e. the data is not used to inform museum planning process. Therefore, the data are, useless: "It is not so important who the visitor is; it is important to analyse his behaviour, his reception of exhibition, influence of his social-cultural context on reception." A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009:91.

²¹⁴ All researches were done on wider corpus than ours, and all were conducted in the course of 2009 and 2010.

- Muzejska politika u Srbiji: Nastajanje, kriza i novi početak (Vladimir Krivošević, *Kultura*, 2011/130: 291-317).

- Museums of Serbia – actual situation (Dragana Martinović and Biljana Jokić, 2009): research provides an outline of three-year activities of museums of Serbia (2006, 2007 and 2008). Conclusions were made on the basis of data collected from 74 museums

Citizens of Serbia rarely visit cultural institutions: in 12 months more than 60% of the Serbian citizens had not visited any museum²¹⁵. As a reason for such situation, the respondents mainly mentioned “external reasons”: need and habit was not stimulated while at school²¹⁶; stereotypes about museums in the community (boring warehouses of the old things), inadequate approach of tourist agencies / tourist organisations and guides²¹⁷; inadequate funding of museums (as a reason for content being irrelevant)²¹⁸. To this list researchers add what they see as aspects of the museums discourse demotivating for the community to take part: outdated permanent museum exhibitions (ranging from the date of origin, through the presentation manner, to presented factography), approach of curators (oriented towards personal interest and not to community and its priorities), non-existent or inadequate marketing, unprofessional management, lack of awareness about contemporary role of the museum as the public service²¹⁹.

that is 84% of total number of museums which then functioned on the territory of Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija.

- “Museum experts and development of museum purpose - (un)used possibilities” (Biljana Jokić, 2010): research was conducted in 2010 and the sample comprised 149 respondents deployed to professional positions in national museums.

- “Museum audience in Serbia” (Dragana Martinović, 2010) : research included 31 museums, of which 24 outside Belgrade (one from each county) and 7 most visited in Belgrade.

- “Cultural practice of the citizens of Serbia - preliminary results” (Predrag Cvetičanin, Marijana Milankov, 2011): the sample designed so that its results could be transposed to the population of Serbia with statistical error of 2.5% (with 95% certainty), which also included category ‘art museums’.

- “Cultural policy of national museums in Serbia” (Dragana Martinović, 2011): the research was conducted in 2010 and the interviews and survey included directors in the following museums of the republic importance: National museum in Belgrade, Historical museum of Serbia, Museum of Yugoslav history, Ethnography museum in Belgrade, Museum of applied art, Museum of theatrical arts of Serbia, Natural History museum, Museum of science and technique, Museum of victims of genocide, Museum of Yugoslav film archive, Museum of Serbian orthodox church, Gallery of Matica Srpska in Novi Sad, Museum of naive and marginal art in Jagodina.

- “Visits to Local Museums in Serbia - The Average Model and Programmed Exception” (V. Krivošev, I. Damjanović, *American Journal of Tourism Management*, 2014/3/1B): research focus were permanent museum exhibitions and their visitor statistics in 40 municipal museum with jurisdiction expanded to several surrounding municipalities, for the period 2006-2008. (<http://article.sapub.org/10.5923.s.tourism.201402.04.html>).

- “Museums, management and tourism: towards the contemporary museum from theory to practice” (V. Krivošev, 2012): based namely on the research done between 2008 and 2010 in the regional museums in Serbia.

- “Management of the small museums in the period of transition” (Babić M., *Muzeji* (n.s.), 2008/1).

- Still unpublished findings of Mr. Predrag Cvetičanin in a text on “Area of cultural production in Serbia” (2014).

Standards set by those authors are quite high: for role models for Serbian museums / the reference models authors take contemporary museum practices which imply established and transformed, interdisciplinary museum (Kraguljac, in: Martinović, 2009:37), as place of communication and learning, actual museum related phenomena, creation and cultivation of cultural needs (Martinović, 2009:80), institution accountable to the public, significant for life of local communities and wider environment. Krivošev and Damjanović advice museum to position themselves as a major city attraction as well as the national brand. Its central, complex, permanent exhibitions shall display “unique specificity of the area with the innovative, creative approach, attractive interpretation and museum narrative directed according to the interest, understanding and pleasure of visitors, with the aim of encouraging emotions and creation of experience as the primary product of museum. ... accompanied by an attractive design and use of modern technology”. (Krivošev, Damjanović, *American Journal of Tourism Management*, 2014/3/1B)

²¹⁵ Percentage of occasional visitors to cultural events in public sphere is around 20%, while passionate participants in cultural life make 1 to 2% for majority of observed cultural activities. (Cvetičanin, Milankov, 2011, 91) According to data from 2010, percentage of majority of active audience in Serbia is around one third of population (theatre, cinema, active audience of visual art, active audience of rock concerts). (Cvetičanin, Milankov, 2011:92)

²¹⁶ In certain museums are organized visits of pupils who find it useful to come to exhibitions and see the subjects they are learning about. However, these are sporadic examples and, unfortunately, still cannot be an example of usual practice. The whole situation depends on willingness and enthusiasm of individual teachers... It would also put an end on ridiculous massive visits within school excursions during which children, tired after a few hour drive and tour to natural and cultural sights, very often are not interested in paying deep attention to museum exhibition tours (that is so understandable). (Kraguljac, in: Martinović, 2009:37, 70)

²¹⁷ Krivošev, in: Martinović, Jokić, 2009:37.

²¹⁸ Martinović, Jokić, 70; Krivošev, in: Martinović, Jokić, 2009:37.

²¹⁹ Krivošev, in: Martinović, Jokić, 2009, 37.

The visitors of the museums in Serbia are, predominantly, those with the „traditional elite taste“ (traditional elite cultural practice, elite omnivorous), shaped by global and traditional culture (Cvetičanin, Milankov, 2011:28), with the high level of education (highly educated²²⁰, pupils, youngsters who enrolled at the university)²²¹, almost regardless their economic status²²² and gender²²³. Within the age group 35 to 50 years ‘Serbs’ visit museums frequently, but, judging by the research data new generations are introduced to museum culture quite late - between the age of 13 and 26.²²⁴ The least museum visitors is in the age group up to 12 (4, 4%) and over 65 (5, 3%) (Martinović, 2009:12)²²⁵. What connects all the regular visitors is their **determination: ili indetermination – proveriti izvor !!!** According to data from 2010, percentage of active audience is the highest in the segment of museums: difference in number of those who like to visit museums in comparison to those who really do is 6% more than number of the real practitioners.

There are also other indicators that could be significant for the subject of our study: over 60% visitors come to museums with family members or friends (Martinović, 2009:18, 51)²²⁶; 49, 5% pupils *id est*. students go to museums only on the occasion of the Night of Museums (Martinović, 2009:17); when it comes to

²²⁰ According to findings produced by Mr Cvetičanin and Ms Milankov (2011:60) the most frequent visitors to (art) museums are lower experts and experts and occasionally the group is joined by civil servants, large scale businessmen and/or managers (and small scale businessmen).

²²¹ Influence of education is, as internationally, the most prominent in the field of traditional, elite culture i.e. interest in museums declines with lower level of education. Those with the high level of education declare that museums are their favorite places to spend free time (they visit art museums seven times more often than others, Cvetičanin, Milankov, 2011:95).

²²² All empirical studies point out small impact of purely economic factors (such as incomes, wealth and costs of cultural participation/ fees charged for admission to museums, *prim. aut.*). It has become evident that all these factors have influence only on those participants of the cultural participation who already have motivation to participate in cultural activities and developed cultural habits so that any change of economic factors, such as entrance fees, contribute only to favouring one cultural event more than other. Two thirds of respondents (and approximately the same percentage of the Serbia population) can allocate up to 20 Eur (or RSD 2 000) per month to meet own cultural needs. One fourth can afford to spend on cultural events up to 50 EUR (or RSD 5 000) per month while only 7% of population can afford to attend one foreign band concert with a partner or to see two or three theatrical plays with friends per month or to buy several books that are not too expensive - since he/she can afford himself/herself to spend more than RSD 5 000 on cultural delight. (Cvetičanin, Milankov, 2011, 66) Within this type of analysis – which in whatever way refers to the position of museums in markets – we must not forget the extremely low purchasing power of citizens of Serbia. Cvetičanin, Milankov clearly state that the situation did not influence only “impoverished cultural life but also has serious consequences on development of overall cultural system in Serbia. In conditions where they have nobody to sell their cultural products to, there are no conditions in which they can earn by themselves what they need to sustain and move forwards their own cultural work, cultural actors in Serbia remain dependent on state and cultural policy which is under control of political parties” (Cvetičanin, Milankov, 2011:67).

²²³ Researches of Dragana Mitrović and Predrag Cvetičanina provide same indicators.

²²⁴ Martinović, 2009:16.

²²⁵ Distribution of visitors according to their age groups is almost equal (age between 35 and 50 years - 20, 8%, from 13 to 18 years - 19, 4%, from 19 to 26 (18, 7%). In Zavičajni muzej (Homeland museum) in Jagodina the highest percentage of visitors generate youngsters from 13 to 18 years (41,4%), as in National museum in the city of Užice (Narodni muzej Užice) (45,2%). Explanation can be found in the fact that the period when the research was conducted was the period of school excursions. In National museum in Zaječar, like in National museum in Požarevac, the highest percentage refers to visitors of 27 to 35 years (42,9%), City museum in Sombor to those from 36 to 50 years (44,4%), and National museum in Šabac to people from 51 to 65 years (43,8%).

²²⁶ Then they like to come alone – 23,9%; 23,1% is used to coming with family members, while in organized groups comes only 13,9%. The young (pupils and students) most frequently come to museums thanks to organized visits, and when they decide to come apart from the group, then they most often come with friends while those who prefer to come alone can be placed in a group aged 51 to 65 years (they make about 48,3%). (Martinović, 2009:18)

exhibition tour, 49, 0% of visitors²²⁷ would opt for guided tour with a professional guide while 25, 4% would rather enjoy the exhibition alone (Martinović, 2009:18); 15,8% of respondents would like to visit exhibition using audio-visual technology and among them 72% are of high level education (students included) who like interactive exhibition tour (interactive content is interesting to 9,5% of visitors) (Gavrilović, in Martinović, 2009:76); 18,8% of the audience would like to learn more about museum contents through topical film projections and 14,2% would support participation in museum workshops (mostly by the age of 12 id est. 18 years). (Gavrilović, in Martinović, 2009:76).

Contrary to the perception museums claim that correspondence of their work and the audience is among their highest priorities. Among the first five priorities in eighteen museums (quarter of the sample), interviewed by M. Vukanović (xy:255), cooperation with audience is stressed (focus is on printed material – publications about museum, exhibitions catalogues, particular publications, work of the special service in charge with PR, accessibility of museum collections to students and outside cooperators).²²⁸

V. Krivošejev and I. Damnjanović analysed the data regarding visits to permanent exhibitions in the regional museums. The data suggest that the central complex museum exhibitions in Serbia are less visited than the thematic ones, and that thematic exhibitions in the open air are more visited than the thematic exhibitions which are indoors²²⁹. Half of the visits to complex exhibitions are made by visitors from the region and the half by the visitors from outside the region - tourists. (V. Krivošejev, I. Damnjanović: 2014, <http://article.sapub.org/10.5923.s.tourism.201402.04.html>). The reason for this authors found (if we have understood them well) in the fact that most of complex exhibitions are old and still have the museological discourse favorized in the post-World War II Socialist Serbia.

²²⁷ Huge percentage of people with lower education degree want to come to exhibitions guided by museum experts who provide explanations (64,3%), and the percentage of those with high education degree who would decide to attend the same tour is 47,4%. (Martinović, 2009:18)

²²⁸ “48% of the questioned museums own publications about the museum, while accurate publication about museum with its history and mission, collections and funds (published in 21st century) never had 26% of the examinees. Publications in foreign language own 40% of the researched museums (mostly in English language). Exhibition catalogues are published by 49,3% of the questioned museums. Publications dedicated to funds, exhibitions and programs are published by 88,4% of the museums. PR service exists in 34,8% of the questioned museums. Communication with media once a month or more often sustains 46,4% of museums, while contacts are periodical for 53,6%. Collections are available to students and researchers in 98% of museums.” (M. Vukadinović, 2009:254). Some findings we state even though we are not able to prove them. Our suspicion regarding their validity probably is result of different understanding of the given term. Eg. M. Vukanović states that scientific researches are done on 87% of museums, in which case it is necessary to agree in advance about what constitutes ‘scientific research’ within the field of practice and theory of museums and heritage.

²²⁹ V. Krivošejev, 2012:xy.

We would like to state one more result of our research realised even on research corpus wider than regional museums equivalent with the finding of M. Babić²³⁰. Analysing the state of small museums in the period of transition (the last decade of the 20th and first decade of the 21st century) M. Babić states: “Expectation of visitors becomes obsession for the employees, and if the director gives up, then the employees use it as an excuse for inactivity.” As stated, this ‘fear of visitor’ as a result of lack of capacity to reach the goal of attracting bigger audience, is present in medium and big museums, as well, throughout Serbia (in big cities as well).

4.2. Affirmative discourse

4.2.1. *Nostalgia for Socialism and socialist Yugoslavia*

“I prefer go to sleep satiated rather than talk about the things”
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RSojZ9kZoQI> approx. 25 min.

During the period of transition, and even today it is possible only to agree with Dubravka Stojanović, that Yugoslav socialism appears like ideal of the future, not like abandoned past²³¹. Majority of Serbian population shares this opinion, or to be precise, considers socialist Yugoslavia as model for a normal life. That positive attitude to Yugoslav socialism, the remembrance of a vanished country with feeling of loss and nostalgia²³² is named “Yugo-nostalgia“ (“Jugonostalgija“), “Tito-stalgia“ (“Titostalgija“), “memory of Titoism“ or, even, “Yugoslav heritage“²³³. Yugonostalgia is essentially “polycentric, polymorphous, inclusive and open in narrative, even satirical”²³⁴. Though it does not have state or institutional support, it is present among different groups, with different ambitions and potentials (among the young²³⁵, post Yugoslav generations, among leading intellectuals from ex-Yugoslavia

²³⁰ M. Babić, Menadžment malih muzeja u vremenu tranzicije, Muzeji, No. 1, (n.s.), Belgrade, 2008:73

²³¹ At the meeting in Berlin, “Europe?“, the author reported from Belgrade debate about Europe, kept on December 2014.

²³² “Ideological saturation with real Socialism of the 80s began to modify already in 90s into nostalgia for Socialism” (Kuljić, in Petrović ed, 2014:74). In a recent questionnaire 82% of the examinees said that in the time of socialist Yugoslavia life was better than today (Kuljić 2011: 130), in research from 2010, on question “When was the best time for this country?” 81% stated it was during Socialism (Mihailović 2010: 25).

²³³ Yugonostalgia is subject of many academic texts: Jansen 2005, 2009, 2012; Marković 2007; Volčič 2007; Palmberger 2008; Đerić /ed/ 2009; Velikonja 2010; Kuljić 2011; Petrović 2012 etc. Many analyses of everyday life and popular culture in Socialist Yugoslavia, and their current reflexes are published. Among others Čale-Feldman and Prica /ed./ 2006; Senjković 2008; Luthar and Pušnik /eds./ 2010; Prica and Škokić /ed./ 2011; Dimitrijević 2012; Erdei 2012). Spasić, Sociologija, 2012/4:578.

²³⁴ Velikonja, in Despotović, Šljukić, Gavrilović, Perica, Velikonja eds, 2010:144.

²³⁵ Idols of the young in Serbia are people whose biographies do not manifest values as knowledge and skills, nor virtues of solidarity, humanity and justice, as criteria for success (Mihailović 2004; Stepanović, Pavlović-Babić and Krnjajić 2009); number of those showing curiosity for life in socialist Yugoslavia is growing and tentative.

who were fervent critics of SFRY when they lived in it²³⁶, in diaspora, even among the political right wing)²³⁷. It contains unambiguous and strong, idealizing feature of selective memory. “Yugoslavia ‘from’ Yugonostalgic discourse never existed as such. It is rather utopian simulation, Yugoslavia as was supposed to be, dream land, free from all real failures and mistakes“ (Velikonja 2010: 173).

The most important reason for Yugo­nostalgia authors find in reactions against the increased divisions and insecurities of neo-capitalism (in tensions and gaps between worlds of production and consumption within global economy and absolute neoliberal rule of free market²³⁸), i.e. – precisely – “in need to survive disorientation and dispossession wrought by political transition”²³⁹, feelings of being deprived of both social position and of economic well being, disappointment, resignation, social exhaustion, economic recategorization, generational fatigue, moral decadence, cultural descent; a response “to the dilemma of identity politics in an era of globalization: the longing to be accepted as equal partners and the simultaneous desire to be seen as unique (and not secondhand imitation)”²⁴⁰. Concretely, people are nostalgic for social security, predictability, stability and prosperity of socialism (even if ruled by “iron hand”); reliable and free health-care and education, a living wage, chances for employment, and job security, protection of workers and preservation of their dignity, material prosperity; dignity, self-respect, a pride in production and in their labor, a sense of being part of a project that was *modern* and directed towards the general good; low crime rate, warmth and closeness among people, sociability and togetherness; downplayed ethnic differences, lesser political influence on daily life. Former political / stste system is described as being able to organize people to invest their lives with meaning and dignity.²⁴¹ There is a growing belief that different forms of cultural modernisation and emancipatory social platforms existed in Serbia at that time.²⁴²

Yugo­nostalgia does not have preferred form or media. “Yugo­nostalgia stories, feelings and production come and manifest themselves in a spectrum of forms: in popular and alternative culture; in nostalgic »pilgrimage« and political rhetoric; in

²³⁶ Stojanović, <http://pescanik.net/integration-fatigue/>, 2015.

²³⁷ Velikonja, in Despotović, Šljukić, Gavrilović, Perica, Velikonja eds, 2010:131.

²³⁸ Erdei, 2012:231.

²³⁹ Buchanan, in Todorova and Gille ed, 2010: 129.

²⁴⁰ Nadkarni in Todorova and Gille ed, 2010: 209.

²⁴¹ Spasić, Sociologija, 2012/4:582; Kuljić, 2011; Palbrow, in Todorova and Gille ed, 1989:103; Erdei, 2012.:16; Wielicxko and Zuk, 2003; Todorova, Todorova and Gille ed, 2010:5.

²⁴² Erdei, 2012:233, 234.

mentality patterns and collective memory; in consumer culture and street-art; in cyber-space and retro-aesthetics.” (Erdei, 2012:233-234)

Yugonostalgia stands in sharp contrast to the nationalistic ideologies of the newly established state. While some (Velikonja, 2010, Kuljić, 2011) consider it as personal and psychological (sentimental nostalgia) Yugonostalgia demonstrates its active side, collective and political potential. It is manifested also as critical authority, as a way of opposing to the condemnation of the Socialist past“(Velikonja 2010:165). Yugonostalgia disturbs dominant political mythology, political and economic elites because it proves that there is a different life, because it presents alternative for the present life and warns about failures and delusions in the present. Milek makes a step forward defining Yugonostalgia as “political phrase, used by politicians to test if people are more in favor of the previous or the current regime” (Milek 2006:24). Velikonja transparently splits this situation in the following way: “(Yugonostalgia) proves to the nationalistic mythologies that in the past it was possible to live together – not without tensions and conflicts, but still better than we live now – divided. To the religious purists it proves that even without organized religion meaning and social cohesion can exist. To the proponents of parliamentarism it proves that parliamentarism operates estranged from the masses, and protects superiority of different narrow interest groups under the mask of democracy. To the apologists of the present time (»the best time ever «), the presentists with total amnesia about the past, it proves that »year 1991 is not ground zero«. To neoliberals, who easily excuse destructions caused by turbocapitalism, neo or crypto-colonialism and now of recession, that it was possible to develop effective economic system without ignoring social aspect of development. And fifth, critical and at the same time liberating potential of Yugonostalgia I see in the fact that it is alternative for the totalitarian political mythology of the »united Europe«. Everything indicates that it was possible to live a dignified life within heterogeneous society, and that slogans with which »Europe« is now entering the Balkans – multiculturalism, multiethnic tolerance, honorable life, social security, solidarity, protection of minorities – are here déjà vu, i.e. things already seen and experienced in second Yugoslavia.”²⁴³

Yugonostalgia is part of the social communal identity, “supposition for formation of necessary self-respect” (individual need to ascribe to itself and to its

²⁴³ Velikonja, in Despotović, Šljukić, Gavrilović, Perica eds, Velikonja eds, 2010:145.

community set of positive features through formation of acceptable picture about the family past, and through believing in the truth of social groups where they belong). “We talk about the unique unspoken agreement between those who have the same type of social identification, which means that simplified interpretation of historical processes is inevitable”. It is part of the corpus of *historical democratization* “which allowed entrance to the public sphere of deeply suppressed family memories of the defeated (...) whose emotional strength each historical politics should take into account.” (Cipek, in Bosto, 2009:159, 164.)

Yugonostalgia, as Ivana Spasić points out, does not ask for “return“ into the past (Spasić, Sociologija, 2012/4: 586). The point is that we “simply do not know of anything better than such past”. (ibid.). It connects with critical ideas, active within the countries which were born upon destruction of socialist Yugoslavia²⁴⁴ and wider. These ideas do not follow official discourse praising European Union (as the only way for development of the country²⁴⁵), but point out the necessity of leaving the identity politics and adopting the Marxist / class analysis of the society (concept of people as essentially divided by the class); they promote structural changes in society through revival of ideas of social justice and equality²⁴⁶; call for saving of the heritage of socialism²⁴⁷; analyze the future shaped by (self)destruction of capitalism (Marx); refer to supranational, regional, international, horizontal integration of the lowest social classes as the only way for realization of emancipatory ideas recognized in communistic ideology and socialistic system as its manifestation.²⁴⁸ As basis for these processes of future Frljić takes denazification on the territory of ex-Balkans (since power lies with those who promoted war option in the 90s)²⁴⁹, while historian Dubravka Stojanović is open for the European perspective of the Balkans providing

²⁴⁴ See: Frljić, 2013, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2BKx_yeWGCw and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GMyxFcTI3vo>; Balunović, 2014, from <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/kad-posteni-beze-od-politike-pokvarenjaci-vladaju/26522383.html>.

²⁴⁵ EU is not expected to be a solution, but rather, a part of the problem. Andreja Živković is using the term debt-slavery to describe the relation of ex-YU countries and EU (Živković, 2013, <http://www.criticatac.ro/lefeast/the-future-lasts-a-long-time-a-short-history-of-european-integration-in-the-ex-yugoslavia-2/>), while Buden reminds us that Europeanization, as political horizon, that immanently represents “crisis and conflict.” (Buden, 2013, from <http://www.6yka.com/novost/33545/boris-buden-hrvatska-u-evropi-nikada-nece-imati-moc-kakvu-je-imala-u-bivsoj-jugoslaviji>).

²⁴⁶ “Ideas of social justice and equality will not die because certain systems manipulated them or wrongly represented the idea or because capitalism for a moment was stronger. Capitalism, if Marx is to be believed, will be destroyed under pressure of its own contradictions. Analysing things mathematically, the way it irrevocably consumes natural resources and people is impossible to survive. I believe that there is a chance for a society with better distribution of material goods and other resources of the community”, Frljić, 2014, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2BKx_yeWGCw.

²⁴⁷ “Authentic, liberating, emancipatory idea, consequence of wide national, antifascist, antinationalistic movement (though the movement, later, to some extent, betrayed its starting premisses)”. Balunović. 2015. Vreme, 1278. Retrieved from <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1309652>.

²⁴⁸ See: Balunović. 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/kad-posteni-beze-od-politike-pokvarenjaci-vladaju/26522383.html>; Frljić. 2013. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GMyxFcTI3vo>, 2013; Dean, 2014, <http://www.portalnovosti.com/jodi-dean-antikomunizam-je-znak-da-komunizam-jo-ima-mo>; Živković. 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.criticatac.ro/lefeast/the-future-lasts-a-long-time-a-short-history-of-european-integration-in-the-ex-yugoslavia-2/>.

²⁴⁹ Frljić, 2015, Retrieved from <http://rs.n1info.com/a93282/Video/Reditelj-Oliver-Frljic-u-Novom-danu.html>.

that Europe as well as countries born on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia redefine and extensively reform themselves²⁵⁰. Kuljić's vision is based on the constitution of solidary economy and fair society as hegemony ideas, which include mutual operation of intellectuals and skilled activists, through movement which is supposed to understand "continental accumulation of organized dissatisfaction" / direct and digital expansion of non-violent revolution with the project. (Kuljić, in Petrović ed., 2014:80). All this sounds like the operationalization of the Nasa-funded study about the contemporary situation of the (Industrial) civilization (2014) which finds that one of key solutions for a sustainable future of the planet is "to reduce economic inequality so as to ensure fairer distribution of resources"²⁵¹. Although we can hear Buden's argument that such analyses are not about "offering different model, because such model does not exist" (such a model "can only be result of radical social activities, of practical political operation, which do not follow any given model."²⁵²) we cannot revoke the notion that whatever emancipatory paradigm of the future can not exclude analyses of principles of communism and mistakes and good practices during the period of Socialism²⁵³.

4.2.2. Preserving heritage of socialist Yugoslavia outside public museums

"Struggle of citizens against state power is the struggle of their memory against forced forgetting." (Connerton, 1991:15; as in Laurajane Smith, Uses of Heritage, Routledge, 2006:64)

(Society of the past) the society in which we immerse ourselves in thought... does not impose itself on us and we are free to evoke it whenever we wish. (Halbwach, 1992:50)

In nationalizing discourse of post-Socialist Serbia, within its politics of remembrance, architecture played a specific role. Spatial and visual experience specifically constructed for former socialist conditions and representations (monuments, buildings, infrastructure – places and objects), were "left in a state of limbo between repurpose and reuse, or continuing as archaeological ruins" (xy:xy).

²⁵⁰ "Europe should reconsider the issue of togetherness and individuality, of how far national sovereignty can go and where mutual objective begins so that it can become "our" and symbol for problem solving, not the problem itself; while ex-YU countries should be free from ethnonationalism, focused only on themselves". Stojanović. 2015. Retrieved from <http://pescanik.net/integration-fatigue/>.

²⁵¹ Nafeez Ahmed, 2014, Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/mar/14/nasa-civilisation-irreversible-collapse-study-scientists>

²⁵² Buden. 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.6yka.com/novost/33545/boris-buden-hrvatska-u-evropi-nikada-nece-imati-moc-kakvu-je-imala-u-bivsoj-jugoslaviji>.

²⁵³ Articulation of these ideas (Balunović refers to them as 'leftist') "within the region of ex-Yugoslavia (including Serbia), where socialist experience has been demonised," is not an easy task (Balunović. 2015. Vreme, 1278. Retrieved from <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1309652>). Nevertheless it is not hard to perceive that there is a growing number of young people who reflect basis and manifestations of these ideas, and who return, among the rest, to the heritage of Socialism, with reinstating communication and dialogue with older colleagues, and other members of the community who can testify on the period of Socialism (eg. work and programs of the initiative Učitelj nezalica I njegovi komiteti - <http://www.uciteljnezalica.org>, Marx 21 - <http://www.marks21.info>, Levi samit Srbije - <http://levisamitsrbije.org> etc).

Analysing relation of the Serbian post socialist state to the heritage of Socialism in the public space we could recognize two aspects of anti-Socialist-heritage practices as dominant (almost regardless the phase of transition and happening simultaneously): ‘models of anticulture’ and ‘models of culturalization’ (Dragičević Šešić, <http://rci.mirovni-institut.si/Docs/ASO%202010%20Sesic.pdf>). “The topos, the landscapes had changed” (ibid.) through ‘Annihilation’ and ‘Appropriation’²⁵⁴ strategy, as well as through the strategy of ‘ignoring the other’. Elements that have been seen as non-Serbian (as pro-socialist, pro-Yugoslav) were destroyed²⁵⁵ or were objects of organized oblivion (Connerton P. 1989: 26)²⁵⁶, ignorance²⁵⁷ (ibid.) and/or ‘decontextualization through universalization or musealization’²⁵⁸ (ibid.)

Policies of respect and the model of dissent – creative dialogue (Dragičević Šešić, <http://rci.mirovni-institut.si/Docs/ASO%202010%20Sesic.pdf>) i.e. “acceptance, internalization, assimilation, reconstruction” (Gwosdz and Murzyn, 2003:191) were the heritage policies implemented by artists and certain expert circles (art historians, architects)²⁵⁹. They created initiatives and projects “leading to preservation and recreation of heritage” of Socialism (Gwosdz and Murzyn, 2003:191). Most of them rediscovered notion of Yugoslav socialism as the

²⁵⁴ Military parade in Belgrade, on 16 October 2014, day of Belgrade’s liberation from fascist occupation, celebrated, louder than the stated cause, (i) 100 years from the World War I. It was “only one more attempt to nationalize the antifascist movement, to turn it into something that it actually never represented”, underlines historian Srdan Milošević. Historian Dubravka Stojanović underlines that at the Parade “Yugoslavia was not alive”, Istoriciari o vojnoj paradi: Falsifikovanje istorije, Radio Slobodna Evropa, 17 November 2014, <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/istoricari-o-paradi-falsifikovanje-istorije/26642124.html>. See also: Drugi dolazak, Pešćanik, <http://vimeo.com/109096288>, Broadcasted online on 16 October 2014.

²⁵⁵ “Monument to Boris Kidrič (Slovenian communist and statesman) was removed from its place, and, due to efforts of Museum of Contemporary Arts, placed among sculptures in the park surrounding museum, till that moment exclusively park of abstract modernist sculptures; (...) in municipalities in Serbia, the monument to Tito had been removed from main squares, the street named by Tito returned to their previous names, cities which added Tito’s name (Titov Vrbas, Titovo Užice) had dropped the prefix; (...) local politicians or opinion-makers celebrated even fascist (like Ljotić in Smederevo) or controversial soldiers-politicians, as antifascists judged and killed just for being Serbian patriots (Draža Mihajlović); (...) monuments to “people’s heroes” from World War II have disappeared, replaced by sculptures of heroes from First and Second Serbian Uprising against the Turks, (...) the schools having (bearing) their names started quickly changing names; (...) new types of monuments, colors (as representing the sign of a nation), flags and names of the streets, squares and institutions had appeared.” (Dragičević – Šešić, <http://rci.mirovni-institut.si/Docs/ASO%202010%20Sesic.pdf>)

²⁵⁶ “Developed due to a wish of a society to remove from its memory everything what could divide individuals” (Halbwachs, M. 1925: 39), such connect with new values, and consequently to link “with other traditions which suits better its needs and aspirations in that moment” (Halbwachs, M. 1925: 358). (Dragičević – Šešić, <http://rci.mirovni-institut.si/Docs/ASO%202010%20Sesic.pdf>)

²⁵⁷ Monuments and memorials are deliberately ignored, neglected, on the edge of physical deterioration. They lost the appeal (no accompanying infrastructure) and people lost habit to use the area – including the parks that surround them. While in K (...) we spent time at the (...) and spoke with the father playing the football with the little son, and the lady jogging. Being the only people there in the vast area of the monument they pointed us towards the church and the fountain rather than talked about the original architecture (well under untrimmed grass) and its initial purpose.

²⁵⁸ “A move of the Boris Kidrič Belgrade statue (work of a sculptor Nikola Janković) from the centre of the city toward Sculpture Park of the Museum of contemporary arts, the removal of Tito monumental sculpture from the Main Square in Užice toward back side of Užice City Museum. In this sense sculpture lost its political and ideological meaning, and became a “piece of art” – outside of any context, and thus emptied of any sense; Meštrović Monument of Unknown Soldier created to represent Yugoslavian idea and Yugoslavian unity, in today Serbia is just a sign for Belgrade, without specific meaning, and majority of its inhabitants cannot link it to any historical moment.” Dragičević-Šešić, <http://rci.mirovni-institut.si/Docs/ASO%202010%20Sesic.pdf>

²⁵⁹ Here we would like to underline engagement of art historians: Jerko Denegrija, Irina Subotić, Branislav Dimitrijević, and art theorist Miško Šuvaković.

“potentially radical, experimental modernising concept par excellence”²⁶⁰.

As symbol of the period, epoch, socialist architecture reminded all its political heirs not only of ideological discourse of socialist state, but also of the better past (e.g. “concrete concepts of urban development and realisations, as well as the dominant politics of space that are ever more narrowing the realm of public good.” Mrduljaš, in *Unfinished modernizations*, catalogue, 2012:13). Consequently, without systematic stewardship, socialist cultural landscapes were devastated during the 1990s. Urbanism deregulation (lack of regulation) affected even more the public spaces of smaller cities in Serbia. Cluttered and losing its understanding for basic elements of the urbanity, some of them have put another ‘heroes’ in the center of the cities’ attention (data from the research to be added). Creating a nationalist bound to the past “the myth of creating utopian future during communism has been replaced with the ethno-nationalistic myth of returning to the past.” (Dr. Senadin Musabegović, *Symbolic significance of monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina*)

In case of monuments this process is more complex than the process related to other objects in public space because, besides remembrance of the better life, they bear complex ideological message which directly contradict discourse of (one)national capitalist country (antifascism, internationalism, brotherhood and unity, socialism)²⁶¹. In the context of understanding this process, contribution of resistance to “ideologisation and mitologisation of the memory of National liberation war” must not be neglected (*Socijalističko nasleđe i njegova uloga u formiranju savremenog identiteta*), since it is omnipresent in the period of Socialism.

According to official data, in Serbia, today, more than 650 memory-symbols, fountains and plaques that praise National liberation war still exist at the original locations. Although they are often subjects of theft and vandalism there was no organized campaign for their destruction. While thieves are probably economically

²⁶⁰ Most voluminous research project from the field of socialist architecture, on the basis of concept by Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić was initiated by Association of Croatian architects in cooperation with partners from Zagreb, Ljubljana, Maribor, Belgrade, Skoplje. Its public manifestation it had at exhibitions in Maribor, Belgrade, Zadar, Zagreb, during year 2012. “Exhibition allows insight into development of architecture in Yugoslavia, as complex but still unique phenomenon, determined by historical circumstances that ex-Yugoslav countries shared for almost half of the century (...) Retrospective od architectural heritage of ex-country was a chance – after more than twenty years – for insight into inheritance of the newly-founded countries and their today’s relation toward that heritage.” (Korov, in: *Nedovršene modernizacije: između utopije i pragmatizma*, katalog, UHA, Zagreb, 2012:49, <http://www.ipu.hr/uploads/documents/2167.pdf>). It is relevant, as well, that there was only one book and only one other text written by a foreigner that comprehensively treated Yugoslav architecture: Vladimir N. Belousov, *Современная архитектура Югославии*, Moskva: Стройиздат, 1973 and 1986 (was published in English as well - *Contemporary Architecture of Yugoslavia*) and a chapter in the 1985 book *Contemporary Architecture in Eastern Europe* by West German, architectural historian Udo Kultermann (in *Zeitgenössische Architektur in Osteuropa* (Cologne: Du Mont Verlag, 1985).

²⁶¹ Public monuments are perhaps the most readily visible examples of a country’s culture of remembrance, Dr. Vjeran Pavlaković, *Contested histories and monumental pasts: Croatia’s culture of remembrance has a political and educational impact*.

motivated (stolen bronze busts are melted and sold) vandalism towards monuments of National liberation war has ideological component too: besides inscriptions that stress non-Serbian i.e. communist character of monuments, “there are cases of erasement of names of fighters of different nationality and addition of crosses” (xy:xy). State inactivity in these cases sends message about the acceptance of such behaviour.

Besides damage (which is, however, gest of recognition – at least for some elements – of meaning of architectural subjects) and devastation (e.g. industrial objects of factories, built in the period of Socialism, after closure, were completely destroyed – left without surveillance they were subjects of continued thefts) more important process for us is erasement of socialist architecture from the public memory, which is, we believe, result of systematically dictated process.

Through created discourse of ignorance socialist architecture (objects and places) lost “meanings and uses that people attach to them, and the values they represent” (Heritage and beyond, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg Cedex, 2008:8).²⁶² Their historicism (heritage value) was disjoined from ongoing life of the community - “Their original intention has faded and hardly influences current socio-political or historiographic discourses.” (Valentino Dimitrovski, Back to the past: monuments and remembrance in Macedonia). They are “unable to produce the effect of the monumental because the incontestable future they projected has failed to materialize.” (Nadkarni, in Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003:194) The messages they are endowed with (“through their association with the past”, J. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, 1996:15) are coded in a way that cannot anymore “convey specific ideas to designated groups of users”. (*ibid.*) They are witnesses that become mute during the process of transition in Serbia.²⁶³

However, besides actual dissonance, the fact that they are elements of physical space that surrounds us, “gives possibility to go back to the ways in which subjects, as parts of collective culture, become inside the space, i.e. to the ways in which space becomes through its subjects” (Lefebvre 1991:17). From today’s perspective, it seems

²⁶² “Dissonance of socialist monuments that we witness today, lies in the context of two problems – destruction of time and destruction of trauma/contents, immanent to them (...) When antifascism and its “heroes” become anonymous subjects, distant (unknown), and collective and individual trauma “removed” with ideological apparatus of Socialism, empty space of non-remembrance of (non)existing victims, emptied from memories – monuments of antifascism share destiny of arbitrary reminders on conflict historical narrations. (Potkornjak, Pletenac, *Studi Ethnologica Croatica*, 2011/23:10 i 16).

²⁶³ For example, when built the Generalštab building in Belgrade, by architect Petar Dobrović, “it represented a better past (...) the revolt of this ‘proud nation’ against real historical fascism (...) today, it is an architectural and symbolic void that must be filled,” Vladimir Kulić, *Architecture and the politics of reading: the Case of the Generalštab in Belgrade*, *kada je objavljeno*, p. 5). Partly destroyed during the NATO intervention in Serbia it will, despite of certain opposition by expert public, be destroyed in a near future (as soon as state finances allow).

that 'loss of eternity' (Mirčan)²⁶⁴ of 'socialist' elements in our cultural landscapes was just temporary. Srđan Jovanović Weiss states (xy:xy): "the vanishing act of socialism leaves this ideology safe in the past. Thus, the vanishing act pushes the remaining socialist architecture as an act towards the future. What has vanished always reappears in an unexpected form." In contrast to the dominant discourse, cultural heritage of socialism reappeared at the end of the first decade of the 21st century as "part of the wider cultural process of heritage meaning making and identity work" (Smith, 2006:123), initiated by the groups and individuals – artists, activist, private collectors, owners of cafés and restaurants, and others – interested in keeping the memory on Socialism alive. These 'heritage communities'²⁶⁵ are manifested within the discourses of 'heritage tourism'²⁶⁶, artists discourses²⁶⁷, discourses of art history and curating²⁶⁸, discourse of private collections²⁶⁹, discourse of leisure time venues

²⁶⁴ As in Sanja Potkornjak, Tomislav Pletenac. 2011. Kada spomenici ožive - "umjetnost sjećanja" u javnom prostoru, *Studi Ethnologica Croatica*, 23, p. 10)

²⁶⁵ Their out-institutional work make them 'Heritage communities'; dispersiveness of their interests, values and interests "that destroy identities and systems of values established by methodology of nationalism on which institutionalized heritage lied." (V. Kisić, 2014:114); "liberation of individuals from authorities of experts and possibility for individual establishment of order and understanding of heritage." (V. Kisić, 2014:113)

²⁶⁶ Art&Tours organizes Titoville tour – representative examples of socialist architecture in Belgrade, I bike Belgrade, Bajs kultura are namely focused on New Belgrade, Nebojša Milikić has an unofficial guided tours through Kaluderica, Visit to Staro sajmište is project by artist Rena Redle, visits are happening in concert with the artist and cannot be considered as heritage tourism but cannot be, neither, classified as art project; with satirical subtitle 'tourist guide' author Dejan Novačić his book "SFRJ za ponavljače" (2009, electronical publication, www.sfrjzaponavljače.com) nominates for quotation in this part of our analysis (rather than in the part where we analyse emergence of Yugonostalgia). Those tours do not happen without latent "components of Conflict in Heritage Tourism: alienation, stewardship, access, representation" (Benjamin W. Porter, *Heritage Tourism: Conflicting Identities in the Modern World* in Graham and Howard, 2008:275-277) which is mostly demonstrated by the fact that most of those tours do not engage neither include local inhabitants. They were (except the one with Milikić) limited to view from outside / the outsiders view.

²⁶⁷ We will cite only some of the authors from Serbia and those whose work Serbian public was able to see (during research we made extensive list which comprises artists out of Serbia engaged with wide spectre of topics related to Socialism in Yugoslavia): Mrđan Bajić, YugoMuseum (initiated in 1998, greater part of collection made until 2002); Video work by David Maljković (Croatia) "*Scene za novo nasleđe*" (<https://vimeo.com/61897624>) on 47th October salon in 2006 in Belgrade; artworks of Marko Lulić, Andrea Palasti Igor Bošnjak, Darko Aleksovski, David Pujado, Dušan Đorđević, Milorad Mladenović, Ana Adamović (at the 55th October Salon, with the theme Disappearing Things); Milica Tomić, the Belgrade group Spomenik/Monument (Milica Tomić, Darinka Pop-Mitić, Nebojša Milikić, but also theoreticians such as Jasmina Husanović and Branimir Stojanović); exhibition 'Samoupravljanje umetnika' by Igor Bošnjak (Bosna and Herzegovina) in gallery Podroom; Mobile residency in Babe near Belgrade, in organization of 'Zemunski mali umetnički centar in 2014. (<http://www.seecult.org/vest/tabui-tranzicije>); movie 'Nestanak heroja', director: Ivan Mandić, 2009, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N71STiJRHE>; *Exhibition of photographs: "Jugoslovenska arhitektura prošlost koja traje"* by David Pužada (1972, Barcelona, Spain, he lives and works in Belgrade), 3rd November 2014 in UK *Parobrod in Belgrade*; Marko Krojač, MONUMENTI exhibition; Vladan Jeremić, "Nacrt jugoslovenske istorije umetnosti XX veka", 2014, <http://www.seecult.org/vest/nacrt-za-kritiku-istorije-umetnosti-jugoslavije>; „14.14“ (2014); Works by photographer Vesna Pavlović, *Fabrics of Socialism*, (<http://vesnapavlovic.com/index.php?/projects/fabrics-of-socialism/2/>) and *Collection (Kolekcija)* (<http://stillinbelgrade.com/interiors-collections-of-siv-palace-chase-manhattan-building/>), work 'Oči u oči sa slobodom' by Luiza Margan, Igor Grubić - 'Spomenik' (experimental-documentary movie in rising), project by Vladimir Perić "Muzej detinjstva"; Exhibition 'Naši heroji – socijalistički realizam revidiran, primjer: ex-Jugoslavija' ('Heroes We Love') by curator Simona Vidmar, authors of concept Simona Vidmar and Miško Šuvaković, in Art gallery Maribor: on 20 March 2015; Dragan Srdić, 'Josip Broz Tito 1980-2006', Goranka Matić, Srđan Veljović; Irena Kelečević "Senke prošlosti" (2007), Milica Topalović "Portret tridesetšestogodišnjaka" (2007); Vahida Ramujkić "Istorije u raspravi"; "Jugoslovenska arhitektura prošlost koja traje" David Pužad.

²⁶⁸ Project "Videnja" (2012/2013, <https://sites.google.com/site/vidjenja/Home>) by Marija Vasiljević and Jelena Pavličić and exhibition "Život i smrt heroja. Neutralnosti ne može biti," art historian of the same authors and Mina Lukić (Velika galerija Doma kulture Studentski grad, 14.11-3.12.2014.); research project and exhibition of Jelena Miletić (In)visible dialogue; Mobile residency in Babe near Belgrade, in organization of Zemunski mali umetnički centar, 2014. (<http://www.seecult.org/vest/tabui-tranzicije>); exhibition "Ponterošo/Memorie" about shopping of Yugoslav people in Trst (opened on 17th December 2014 in Galerija likovne umetnosti, gift-collection by Rajko Mamuzić in Novi Sad, <http://www.blic.rs/Kultura/Vesti/519083/Izlozba-ospinogu-Jugoslovena-u-Trstu>); Exhibition 'Naši heroji – socijalistički realizam revidiran, primjer: ex-Jugoslavija' ('Heroes We Love') curator Simona Vidmar, authors of concept Simona Vidmar and Miško Šuvaković, in Umjetnička galerija Maribor: 20 March 2015.

(cafes, restaurants, shops etc.)²⁷⁰, discourse of media²⁷¹, discourse of social networks²⁷². All these discourses of “civil or artistic disobedience” (Potkornjak, Pletenac, *Studi Ethnologica Croatica*, 2011/23:19) toward newly-based nationalized / anti-Yugoslav / anti-socialist / anti-antifascist public discourse of state (cultural) politics (“where aesthetics of public space is identified with political ethics of the state”, *ibid.*) intervene within the field of collective memory and allocate the meaning of heritage to cultural heritage of Socialism outside public museums.

Private narratives about Socialism (‘memory without recollection’, Cixous and Sellers²⁷³) react on projected ‘collective amnesia’ regarding that period. Articulated in public as a ‘popular history’ or a ‘history of everyday life’, as a parallel, unofficial history it is “ancillary to, or even an alternative to, ‘official histories’”²⁷⁴. It is dissonant to the attempts of the new ideological discourse to control conditions and contexts of communication in which the meaning of heritage of Socialism (dis)appears deprived of “a specific meaning or signification” (Myerhoff & Ruby, 1982: 4). Interventions of disinherited²⁷⁵, whose memories are left without possibilities for public ‘commemoration’, creates ‘noise’ within dominant message of national discourse. It breaks ideological layers of forgetfulness. While the discourses of this heritage-making process are not coherent (heritage process never is) it has an additional value: those intended for the (excluding) role of the audience ‘assume the producer position’ (Myerhoff & Ruby, 1982:5).

²⁶⁹ Collection ‘Živeo život’ – everyday life in Yugoslavia from 1950 to 1990 (<http://www.ziveozivot.com>) by Živko Maletković. Selling collection by Dragan Srdić (Belgrade), Manual – Muzej zaboravljenih umetnosti (Novi Sad) by Siniša Žarjana (https://www.facebook.com/Manual-muzej-zaboravljenih-umetnosti-Manual-Forgotten-Arts-Museum-173167962868599/info/?tab=page_info); Milan Savić (Knjaževac) turned his house into ex-YU ‘museum’ (http://www.b92.net/video/bulevar.php?yyyy=2014&mm=09&dd=08&nav_id=897424)

²⁷⁰ Coffee-house SFRY (Marka Kraljevića 5, Beograd, “Ozna bar”, Belgrade, sports shops “KGB sports”, (<http://www.exyubend.rs> (ex-YU tribute music band).

²⁷¹ Presentation of Partisan movies, cable TV chanal ‘Classic TV’?! With insight into titles in printed media – through internet samples in the period we proved a great deal of references to the territory of ex-Yugoslavia (sports, politics, culture, art, economy) in the context of actual moment in Serbia. Journalists deal with questions related to ex-Yugoslavia - It is stated also that young people do not have any or very deficient knowledge about period of SFRY, and even that from the perspective of necessity of that knowledge for adequate understanding of the present time This extensive presence of socialist Yugoslavia in the media certainly shows not only interest of journalists but also interest of the public for that period of Serbian history – what we will, as figurative meaning, in our analysis use as one of the arguments for existence of interests of the community for the period of socialist Yugoslavia.

²⁷² Our research shows that at social networks the most present topic is music (mostly rock’n’roll) of socialist Yugoslavia. There are numerous platforms too, that affirm values of SFRY (especially brotherhood and unity of YU people and nations). Themes related to culture, art, sports, architecture (and monuments) are also present. Sporadic are groups with particular interests: aviation, the press, national Yugoslav army. All of the authors and cooperators of these on-line mini-museums deal with extremely important job of collecting and memorialization of material from the period of Socialism, through digitalization. (List of referential sites is in literature part). Medium of memory and access to the material democratizes – though it is still limited to those who possess internet. Facebook and Twitter media serve also for placement of artistic interventions in the field of memory on SFRY, eg. <https://www.facebook.com/mirkoilicNY/posts/610627552326373> Mirko Ilic - 14.01.2014; 9 Nov 2014; <https://twitter.com/ToZoLo/status/531650128210563072/photo/1>, #BerlinWall came down, but other walls came up, especially in #Yugoslavia, Toma Longinovic@ToZoLo.

²⁷³ “Memory without recollection produces craving for awareness, with symbolisation and pronunciation it collects or, precisely, tries to collect elements, to revive the memory through search for the lost symbolic centres” (Cixous and Sellers, 2009:158)

²⁷⁴ J. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, 1998: 50

²⁷⁵ ‘Disinheritance’, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996:21

A source of enormous potential dissonance, those narratives, as every concept of 'popular', "as Foucault (1979) pointed out, (...) is unlikely to exist apart from, let alone opposed to, 'official history' but is more likely to become an aspect of it" (J. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 1996:50) i.e. to become a part of an official discourse as a way that it would subvert the oppositional potential of its dissonance. Therefore, grounding it in the ideology and/or revaluation of dominant historical perspective shall make them a source of a critical discourse rather than a consumer product.

* In Serbia, at the end of 2010s traditional heroes are counteracted with representations of Rocky, Marley and Depp: new monuments are built for Rocky Balboa (in Žitište, small town in Central Banat District of Vojvodina, August 2007) and later for Bob Marley (in the courtyard of the local primary school in Banatski Sokolac, a village located in the Plandište municipality, in the South Banat District of Serbia, in August 2008) and Johnny Depp (Drvengrad, private village of Emir Kusturica, the Zlatibor District near the city of Užice, two hundred kilometers southwest of Serbia's capital, Belgrade, in October 2010). Those three cases – non the grassroots initiative of the community but of the private company (Roky), music festival (Marley), private owner of the location (Depp) – were even, hastily we would say, characterized as 'new monument hysteria', or a "kind of postmodernism". We find them an interesting occurrence but definitely, still, not a trend in Serbian society. Rather a local take on creating a media buzz and the additional value for potential tourist.

** Croatia ambassador within UNESCO, Ivo Goldštajn, initiated tht the countries of former Yugoslavia unitedly ask for Monuments of antifascism raised after 1960s to be registered on the List of world heritage. The fact that on this issue Serbian Ministry of culture and information consulted Museum of Yugoslav history, with note 'strictly confidential', and that it was not possible regarding this issue to gain official information from the Museum of Yugoslav history or from Ministry, speaks about the institutions' approach to this process (this information was subject of report by local media, e.g. Svetlana Palić, 'U Parizu odlučuju o inicijativi iz bivše SFRJ' ('Paris decides about initiative from ex-SFRY'), September 13, 2013, <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Drustvo/405098/Unesko-da-cuva-Sutjesku-Tesko>

CHAPTER 5

DISCOURSES OF REGIONAL MUSEUMS IN SERBIA

Some general issues concerning the museum functioning were mentioned previously, while this section explores details of museum basic functions (the ones which “fit to the museum’s missions given by the society”, A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009:68): protection of cultural heritage / function of the preservation (research, collection, conservation, registration and documentation of the items), studying/research (scientific function²⁷⁶), function of exposure, and function of communication and animation²⁷⁷ (publishing, educational activities)²⁷⁸. The approach to the topic gives priority to discourse of the permanent exhibitions – the function of exposition is given detailed attention within the function of communication and animation²⁷⁹. Likewise, the research findings concerning the discourse of the institution are analysed.

Regarding the general definition of the museum as an institution, we considered the following constituent elements: mission, objectives, basic principles, structure and organization, resources (infrastructure, structure and capacities of employees), relation to sources of financing (according to the relation to the founder), its practices of collaboration etc. Coordinates of our analyses could be described as: an interpretative level “the nature of institutions legitimacy (its inner logic, which takes shape from the outside)” and an institutional level²⁸⁰. Meanwhile, any of the segmentations is arbitrary, in fact legitimization discourses are intertwined and visible in diverse aspects of museum operationalization – different operationalization aspects of the institution cause and reflect each other. From our point of view, segmentation was necessary for an attempt to explain the elements of the complex condition

²⁷⁶ The museum needs to work on multiple scientific studies (documentation, archaeological, historical, chemical and physical ...), all of which should be used for objects and their context. Research can be performed by the staff of the museum, but the role of museums is to encourage also external associates to study objects that are stored in the museum. Notice that, in certain cases, the word "research" can be understood in two complementary senses: the study of new cases in order to enrich the collections of museums and scientific research of the existing museum collections. Both types of studies can overlap, as during archaeological excavations or ethnographic expeditions. A. Gob N. Other, 2009: 63

²⁷⁷ This feature appeared only recently. The museum should be involved in cultural and social life of the city and the area. Animation acts as a driving force in the museum institution and may be in various forms: temporary exhibitions, guided visits, lectures, concerts, workshops, all kinds of events and shows. The museum is a privileged place for cultural animation thanks to the prestige, institutional resources, and attractiveness; In return, it uses all the advantages of animations, especially by becoming even better known and attracting new visitors. A. Gob N. Other, 2009: 64

²⁷⁸ The basic functions of the museum 'defined' by Peter van Mensch ("Methodological Museology or towards a Theory of Museum Practice" in Neivhouse; Towards a new Museum, 1998), i.e. PRC (Preservation - Research - Communication) museological functions, which established by Reinwardt Academy of Leiden (1983); as well as related to 'definition of 'five verbs' Riviera and ICOM (explore, acquire, store, communicate, exhibit).

²⁷⁹ We considered the option to analyze permanent exhibitions isolated from the whole 'communication and entertainment' to what we found theoretical foundation in A. Gob N. Second (2009: 63/64), which exhibiting is a special, separated, function.

²⁸⁰ These three legitimizing discourses are listed by Bojan Spasojević in the text: Museum as a legitimizing discourse, Museums 2009/2: 42

noticed. All of this, as has already been mentioned in the introduction, is shown from the perspective of museum professionals (general attitudes of the audience were presented in the section xy), but simultaneously illuminates the factors that are important to the users' overall assessment of the experience²⁸¹.

At the beginning of this chapter, we would like to underline that there was no single view of the 'educational purpose' of museums during the discussions we had with museum professionals in the Regional museums. On the other hand, we could not format 'expectations' for their 'educational' work based on the literature and examples of best practices of national museums in Serbia or regional museums abroad. Although the ways in which museums exercise their educational functions have changed in the last 40 years, this does not say much about their wider objectives i.e. ideological perspective²⁸². Since public museums being 'unmasked' as instruments of power (channelling not only cultural but political and ideological priorities of the founder) that 'function' was not successfully subverted – on the contrary: as 'known truth', 'inherent to heritage as a process' it is referred to quite often but that did not leave a significant impact on the discourse of the museums. Public museums themselves are not invested in changing this power-relation. They rather look for another outside 'decision maker' – since 'invention' of the 'cultural tourism (and 'creative industries' is found in the discourse of market. "Both, the traditional 'neutral collecting' view and the more recently dominant market-oriented view of museums as providers of customer services, sidestep these questions (who decides whose culture shall be transmitted to whom, which resolves itself into just one aspect of the 'whose heritage?' – inserted by K.Ž.) by an appeal to an outside determinant. In the first case the museum classifies itself as a professional executor of political decisions made elsewhere, and in the second as an automatic responder to the demands of an external market by just providing what the customer wants." (xy: 38-39) Therefore, our 'parameters' were the claims of the museum employees who we

²⁸¹ Jacob Thorek Jensen groups, those factors in 3 clusters: Exhibition (Exhibitions, Atmosphere, Learning options, Exhibition subjects, Exhibition design), Activity and Reflection (Suitability for children, Possibility of participating actively, Events, Space for reflection and contemplation, Variation in dissemination and knowledge) and Service (Service and assistance, Information on ticket sales). Jacob Thorek Jensen, Improving the educational role of museums in society, in Ida Brændholt lundgaard & Jacob Thorek Jensen, Museums: social learning spaces and Knowledge producing processes, Danish Agency for Culture, 2013: 35

²⁸² For example, inspiring "Learning for All" was launched by MLA in 2004 as a new vision for museums learning: <http://www.inspiringlearningforall.gov.uk>. It is accompanied by a toolkit that is designed to help museums develop their own learning good practice and is being used consistently across the UK. However, it does not offer any grounds for criticizing aggressive (as Kuljić would qualify it "capitalism with the fake promise of freedom and options" – we would even say - totalitarian) capitalism of the 21st century.

interviewed in the relation with the documentation about the work of 'their' museums (websites, archive, printed materials, legal documents, outlook of the space etc.).

5.1. Roots: Yugoslav Socialist Museum

What is the point of hundreds of stones, arrowheads, bronze hammers, wooden ploughs, masks and decorative objects set in row without socio-historical correlation? (L. Bihalji, Muzeji, 1948/1:51)
Display and u documentation of the class-war is task of all museums comprising matters of social sciences; it is not only task of historical museums. (Muzeji, 1950/5:13)

“From the formation of autonomous state in the second half of the 19th century until the beginning of new millennium, discontinuity of Serbian state status imposed also discontinuity of cultural policies, along with one constant – application of the model of state cultural policy, with change of variations imposed by actual political moment.”²⁸³ (Krivošević, 2011:291) In such general, cultural environment, period of Socialism was the most fruitful in the development of Serbian museums to this day²⁸⁴ (1844 we take as the beginning, i.e. the year when ‘Decree on foundation of Serbian museum’/*Ukaz o osnivanju Muzeuma serbskog*²⁸⁵ was signed). After this follows period of crisis and devaluation (90s), of short-term pseudo-hope about progression (year 2000) and, until ‘Serbian independence’ (2006) it was already obvious that appreciation of the authorities, as for the work of museums, is reduced to a daily-political interest: a closed museum would not be profitable for PR, it would additionally disturb – especially in provinces - minimal earnings of not a small number of families (institutions in Serbia are the most solid employers). Necessary means for basic functioning (current costs, salaries) and micro-means for programs museums received from the budget. Consequences of many decades of wrong operation within culture (unsatisfactory cultural policy) became obvious, which

²⁸³ “In the period after the World War II those policies were firstly *bureaucratic and educational model* performed by instruments for “agitation and propaganda” (Agit Prop), and for the benefit of party interests, and then, from the beginning of the fifties of the last century, as *prestigious educational model*, conditioned by turning within the foreign policy caused by Resolution of Cominform. (...) In the nineties of the last century, after unique transition from state to specific parastate model of cultural policy, state model was again established, and it will, according to internal political events, acquire features of bureaucratic and educational, but also of national and emancipatory sub-model.” (V. Krivošević, 2011:292, 305)

²⁸⁴ Period of Socialism was not homogeneous in this aspect too. After fast expansion (1945 – 1959), follows period of somewhat slower development. In the seventies “Serbia loses its base for further effective development of museum theory and its introduction to the practice (center of activities related to the development of museology in Yugoslavia is moved from Belgrade to Zagreb). Attempts for consolidation of museology and museum practice in Serbia did not have long-term results, and thus, adequate replacement for moved/lost resources could not be found (On the initiative of the Serbian Museum Society, in 1970 Community of Serbian museums was formed, and texts published in its Bulletin represented reflexion of creation of new museology. Initiatives that started, in both theory and practice, did not last for a long time)” (Krivošević, 2011:302,303). It is emblematic, some sort of ‘fatality’ of Serbian museology (and, wider legislation within culture), that *Law on museums of NR Serbia* was never applied. When text was finalized it was not any more in accordance with other new laws. Text was not revised to be adjusted and the law was never implemented. (See: Močanin F., *Muzeji i njihov pravni položaj*, Muzeji, xy: 32).

²⁸⁵ As year of foundation of Muzeum Liceum - Dositej Obradović takes year 1841. Collections of National museum in Belgrade are dated from 1820 (B. Šulc, 1984).

resulted in closure of the most referential museums for public for many decades (Museum of Contemporary Art and The National Museum). There was no capacity for foundation of the national museum (Historical Museum of Serbia does not have its own building and space for permanent exhibition) and there were only sporadic activities on improvement of regional museums. Those achievements were the results of individual skillfulness and persistence (interests and political connections of the museums' directors) and not of systematic work and (cultural) policy of the founder. Community did not show any interest for change of the situation (after year 2003 – when the permanent exhibition in the National Museum in Belgrade was closed – first civil activities related to the problem of decades of closed museums happened in October 2015).

While, from our perspective, reasons for current state of the museums in Serbia are collapse of socialistic state, wars in 90s, political and economic crash, destruction of socialistic state, devastation of education system and other aspects of ideological change and economic crisis in Serbia, that caused, among the rest, institutional interregnum (reflected on cultural institutions too) - our research shows that museum people with who we spoke, see this context in a different way. They refer to the museums practice in the period of Socialism as to the main reason for all negative things that exist in regional museums in Serbia – today. Socialism / social heritage of Socialism is seen as the delaying factor and practice of socialist museums as the factor which today paralyzes development of museums. Respecting our research findings we analyzed the theory and practice of socialist museums in Serbia, in order to better understand the references of our interlocutors in the context of that museological tradition.

5.1.1. Regional (“homeland”, “provincial”) museums in Socialist Yugoslavia

For political party which led the post-war development of Yugoslavia / Serbia (League of Communists of Yugoslavia) cultural state of citizens, education and cultivation, were directly connected to the improvement and development of the society²⁸⁶. One of the objectives of the new authority was “raising the general cultural

²⁸⁶ “Project of Socialism in our country is developed in two directions: economical and cultural transformation (...) In order to hasten the process of cultural transformation, it is necessary to develop rich economic base, industrialization and electrification, reconstruct agriculture, build various objects, acquire and multiply various material means. And vice versa: in order to hasten versatile economic development, it is necessary to develop culture of the widest community – develop socialistic awareness,

awareness of the people and elimination of cultural traditionalism”²⁸⁷. This emancipatory policy was conducted in parallel with broad social positioning and strengthening of new ruling ideology. Within such (cultural) policy considerable expansion of museums in the period of Socialism²⁸⁸ certainly is result of active engagement of the new authorities²⁸⁹.

Immediately after the end of the World War II the state raised the question of functioning of so-called “provincial” (regional-local), “homeland” (district, regional and local), complex museums²⁹⁰. Development of these museums in Serbia / Yugoslavia had no tradition and was in not rely on international experience – due to radical social, political, ideological changes that happened in 1945. It began with quite unfavorable situation (M. Gorenc), since in the period between two wars there was no organized network of local museums²⁹¹ and many difficulties “more of ideological than of material nature” were supposed to be overcome. (Dr. V. Đurić, *Muzeji*, 1949/2:3). Period of Socialism in that sense was not homogeneous and development of socialist museum was wandering to find its paths and expressions. (Dr. M.S. Filipović, *Muzeji*, 1956-57/11-12:55)²⁹² Period from 1945 to 1959 was period of an explosive development, after which the path of museums is still developmental but not as intensive (see: Krivošejev, xy). In the period after 1948 (after separation with USSR) museums communicate with practices from the ‘East’ as well as from the ‘West’. ICOM and UNESCO conferences are regularly visited and reports about them are published in magazine ‘*Muzeji*’²⁹³; experts published their

socialistic discipline, socialistic patriotism (...) In such process museums have an important role.” (Dr. Vojislav Đurić, *Muzeji*, 1949/2:3)

²⁸⁷ Andrejević Kun N, *Muzeji*, No. 1, Belgrade, 1948:2.

²⁸⁸ In the period from 1945 to 1959, 63 museums were established – in comparison to 23 museums, galleries and collections made in 100 years before; museum network is decentralized; professional museum associations started to work; established were legal bases for museum foundation. After 50s and until the last decade of 20th century further development of museum network and personnel enhancement of institutions was continued in somewhat reduced intensity. Changes within society influenced the very organization of the museum work: in the fifties changes were introduced that were supposed to “liberate cultural institutions from administrative bureaucratic restraints” (See: Krivošejev, 2011:302 and Dimić L.J., xy:251-252), and give them more freedom within activities and more adequate way of financing; in the seventies “new relations in society, lead to democratization and decentralization of culture” (in detail: in Krivošejev, 2011:303/304). “In Yugoslavia, in 1961, we had one complex museum ‘per’ about 22000 residents”. (Dr. Verena Han, *Muzeji*, 1961/14:40).

²⁸⁹ See: O. Manojlović Pintar. 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.mediantrop.rankomunitic.org/olga-manojlovic-pintar-hramovi-i-svetilista-patriotizma>.

²⁹⁰ Museums of general or complex type, including and equally treating more collections, eg. archeologic, historical, ethnographic, natural and other professional collections. (*Manual*, p. 6 and 7) Veljko Petrović uses also terms “total”, “synthetical”, “non-specialized” museums (Pitanje provincijskih muzeja, *Muzeji*, 47-48).

²⁹¹ Marcel Gorenc, *Muzeji*, 1962/15:25.

²⁹² Without intention simplify the situation of regional museums in Serbia /Yugoslavia and internationally, we refer to recommendations from the Committee for regional and special museums of ICOM, held on 19 September 1960 in Belgrade: “to ensure corresponding material means and moral support so that regional museums can function independently and effectively; to enable scientific research and educational work, publishing of special publications, to support formation of specialized libraries in those museums; to consider conditions of territories and needs of the population of the countries; to encourage relations between them internationally, to realize common activities; to encourage them to publicise info about their collections; to encourage formation of their units and commissions within national museum societies and organizations. (Dr. Verena Han, *Muzeji*, 1961/14:40).

²⁹³ Zdenka Munk, *Muzeji*, 1960/13:97-101; Dr. Ivan Bach, *Muzeji*, 1960/13:91-117.

knowledge acquired during professional stay abroad, or insight into literature (through articles in magazine 'Muzeji' it was possible, for instance, to learn details about reorganization of 'provincial' (regional) museums in France (Muzeji, 1950/5:?) or about the latest achievements of London's museums related to children (Verena Han, Muzeji, 1952/7:26-29)); meetings of relevant museums' forums are held in Belgrade (Belgrade was host of the committee Meeting for regional and special museums of ICOM in 1960, participants of which, besides those from Yugoslavia were museum people from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, Hungary, West Germany, Norway, Poland, Soviet Union)²⁹⁴.

Regional museum was one of the institutions of the system that was supposed to contribute to the implementation of new interpretation of the past and new identity policies in public discourse²⁹⁵, with its political-educational and research work within local community. Social role²⁹⁶ and educational significance²⁹⁷ of regional museums²⁹⁸ even museum people contextualize as their propagandistic (Manual, 1949:3) and, "in the last, practical form, political" function.²⁹⁹ New, socialist museum was supposed to turn away from capitalistic museum³⁰⁰, to take resolute ideological position: "rejection of middle-class operating mode"³⁰¹, connection of professional knowledge and principles of Marxism-Leninism, application of materialistic and dialectic method of thinking.³⁰² With philosophy and method of historical materialism, with "demonstration of connection between economic base and ideological-artistic superstructure of each epoch"³⁰³, professional work was supposed to gain vital broadness" (L. Bihalji, Muzeji, 1948/1:51); choices (including the choice of objects at

²⁹⁴ Dr. Verena Han, Muzeji, 1961/14:32.

²⁹⁵ *Manual* describes role of heritage as "endeavor to introduce the widest audience to the complete and real legacy of their predecessors" (*Manual*, 1949: 3).

²⁹⁶ Krivoševje thinks that museums were instruments of political propaganda, with the role of "enhancing the communist ideology and keeping tradition of The war of liberation and Partisan movement, as well as ideological settling of accounts with class enemies" (Krivoševje, 2011:298, 299). "Institution of museum as a place of direct communication between the present and past was one of the basis of secular religion of socialistic patriotism." Concludes Manojlović Pintar. (2014. Retrieved from <http://www.mediantrop.ranomunitic.org/olga-manojlovic-pintar-hramovi-i-svetilista-patriotizma>.)

²⁹⁷ Museums were expected to be "powerful instruments for educating of the masses". *Reorganizacija naših muzeja*, Muzeji, 1949/3/4:2.

²⁹⁸ Ambitious requirements set for museums ("to serve the science, to educate the masses, to raise culture and develop national economy privately", Law on museums, Official gazette / Službeni glasnik FNRJ, 1951/4:51) were more realistic 60s ("museums are educational and scientific institutions which have the task to collect, preserve, scientifically and professionally to treat, to exhibit and generally to popularize objects and material important for education, culture and science"; their objective is to "spread education and culture" (Neda Andrejević-Kun on proposal by Draft about law on museums, Muzeji, 1960/13:59).

²⁹⁹ Zdenka Munk, Muzeji, 1956-57/11-12:8.

³⁰⁰ "In capitalism museum was an interesting frippery for devotees, admirers and idlers; passive, dead, while in Socialism it was supposed to be active, vivid, alive school for thousands of working people aspiring to see, hear, learn." (Dr. Vojislav Đurić, 1949/2:3).

³⁰¹ M. Panić – Surep, Muzeji, 1949/2:53.

³⁰² L. Bihalji, Muzeji, 1948/1:50, 51.

³⁰³ "In each epoch contextualizing relations among people in the process of production, as well as means of production is of a crucial importance." (L. Bihalji, Muzeji, 1948/1:50).

exhibitions) were supposed to faithfully present and explain social regularities³⁰⁴, “and to interpret properly class relations (and art contributions, *text separated within brackets, K. Ž.*) within its own epoch”³⁰⁵. In short, new ‘socialist museum’³⁰⁶ not only had mission to educate and culturally elevate the people, but also was a social subject expected to actively contribute to the ‘triumph’ of Socialism i.e. construction of ‘socialist person’³⁰⁷. In order for stated / given function of museum to be realized, new social and political system provided economic base, actively promoted their work (as institutions ‘keeping the heritage of national culture’ and following ‘aspiration of people for cultural development’³⁰⁸) but also insisted on change of their mode of operation according to economic and social changes: introduction of basic professional standards³⁰⁹, modernization³¹⁰, strategic planning³¹¹, introduction of self-management³¹² etc.

³⁰⁴ “From numerous separate and historical objects and data complete and true portrait of the epoch will be created, presented and explained” (L. Bihalji, Muzeji, 1948/1:51.)

³⁰⁵ L. Bihalji, Muzeji, 1948/1:50.

³⁰⁶ This term is used by Dr. Vojislav Đurić (Muzeji, 1949/2:5) while other authors of theoretical and analytical texts from the period of Socialism mainly use syntagm “our museums in the epoch of establishment of Socialism” (Reorganizacija naših muzeja, Muzeji, 1949/3-4:1).

³⁰⁷ “Developing a productive/creative approach of the youth towards their future calling and work in general; developing socialistic consciousness and enabling the youth to participate in the public sphere of a country within the bodies of the social self-management / governing and managing / governing; getting familiarized with and embracing the accomplishments of our people and mankind in general in various aspects of social, scientific, technical, artistic and other cultural activities; developing a spirit of unity and brotherhood of the Yugoslav people; developing internationalism, international solidarity of working people, as well as the ideas of equality and bringing people together by common interests in achieving world peace and prosperity; adopting the basis of the scientific materialists’ point of view; developing versatile activists with the intellectual and moral personality traits of socialistic community members.” (Program Saveza komunista Jugoslavije according to Neda Andrejević-Kun, Muzeji, 1960/13:61)

³⁰⁸ N. Andrejević – Kun, Muzeji, 1948/1:2.

³⁰⁹ Ministry for science and culture of the Government of FNRJ, Section for culture and art in 1949 initiates the issue of reorganization of museums in terms of settling the basics for their work – existing and new ones. Confronted with shortage of expert staff Museum Council within Ministry of Culture initiated publication of museum handbooks “to serve as instructions for proper functioning in our museums, but also to help and facilitate extremely complex work of museum staff, so that they can manage until the real expert support comes.” (Muzejski priručnici, Muzeji, 1950/5:217).

³¹⁰ “Everyone is supposed to find, organize and preserve his most humble treasure, following the principles of modern museology” writes V. Petrović (Muzeji, 1948/1:47).

³¹¹ “Systematic work will help us to separate main goals from subordinate ones (...) to use in the best possible way all our capacities (...) systematic approach to scientific work (...) would attract the masses, it would bring science and people closer, and so make our scientific institutions and scientists to the community for the sake of which, finally, they exist (...) It would attract young people, they would adopt knowledge and experience faster.” (M. Panić – Surep, Muzeji, 1948/1:10) For instance, priorities in museums in Vojvodina during the year 1947 were: revive the museums which were closed during occupation, so that they may be able to organize cultural and educational work and immediately start with collecting; to make database of cultural monuments and prepare them for protection and conservation; to organize new museums and animate new museum associates and trustees in order to popularize museum life. (Muzeji, 1948/1:130/131)

³¹² “Andrejević-Kun (Muzeji 1953/8:8) declares that ‘the issue of social self-management / governing based on the principles of socialist democracy implied the introducing of social governance (the participation of the collective, as well as of the community) instead of the governance of an appointed high official.’ She presents this change as a verification of the practice which had been already applied in some of the museums through the participation of the collective in decision-making. Despite the thesis on the origin of the process, the change in the very structure of governing/managing brought many challenges with it (Muzeji, 1953/8: 7,8). Self-management/government also meant a change in the former method of financing: the budgeted (which was until then the only source of financing and was not dependent on the work outcome) became only one of the sources of financing – local self-governments set up special funds for cultural activities and museums were expected to start making their own revenue. The working collective distributed the acquired income according to their needs and with regard to the policy of the institution’s development and tasks which await them. “These changes affect the change in the functioning of museums: a new window of opportunity is created for their autonomy in designing content and forms of work; they also put greater accent on cultural and educational activities and audience in general (allowing them to turn to the public which should acknowledge their work as necessary and valuable). The funds allocated for salary will be distributed individually according to the work quantity and quality of each individual. (Vera Nenadović, Muzeji, 1962/15:37-41)

The formation of complex museums' network on the whole territory of Yugoslavia was the project of the state, not the authentic interest of the community. The state was actively making picture of necessity of spreading the museum network (number, quality and work of homeland museums was proclaimed as "expression and criterion of cultural situation and cultural activities of certain places, districts and countries", Uputstvo, p. 22; their existence as "particularly important in the whole world,"³¹³ as the result of decentralization and growing autonomy of the local authorities³¹⁴) and genuine concern of population (all classes) for material heritage (Uputstvo, on p. 3 broadness of these interests is called 'movement', while Vera Nenadović states the initiatives of citizens and their local authorities as one of the strongest drivers for foundation of local museums - Muzeji, 1954/9:96). In documentation of analyzed museums (e.g. Museum in Knjaževac) we found the data about the initiative for foundation of museums, formally initiated by the local community. To that effect, it seems to be too cynical to state that local interest did not exist at all, but practically, it was only product of general social circumstances and promoted positive model of conduct (any more developed municipality is supposed to desire its own museum).

Large emancipatory step – precisely, a jump – within development of regional museums, could not be produced by the community alone. In order to excuse takeover of arrangement and direction of the work of regional museums³¹⁵ and at the same time desiring to keep the narrative 'respect of peoples' needs', the tasks that the state set for them (the tasks that 'modern society set for them'³¹⁶) were proclaimed legitimate and the existing capacities of the profession – insufficient. This evaluation, however, was objective, because museum institutions were founded faster than was provided the suitable staff, qualified not only for professional but also for ideological tasks³¹⁷

³¹³ Veljko Petrović, Muzeji, 1948/147-48; Dr. Verena Han, Muzeji, 1961/14:36.

³¹⁴ "It is, anyway, in accordance with bigger responsibilities and possibilities of local authorities to develop defined and complete cultural life on its territory. Such tendency of "decentralization" seems to gain more power in many countries of the world, regardless of their social system, which will undoubtedly influence development of regional and local museums." (Dr. Verena Han, Muzeji, 1961/14:36).

³¹⁵ Since number of regional museums is increasing it is necessary to define their character. The coordination needs to be established among them and between them and central museums (V. Petrović, Muzeji, 1948/1:47), to find "solution for existing museums, and on the other hand – give direction and regulate work of the new ones." (M. Panić – Surep, Muzeji, 1949/2:53).

³¹⁶ M. Panić – Surep indicates the endeavours related to 'the masses' understanding of the importance of cultural monuments and study of the past i.e. understanding of the importance of the heritage (Muzeji, 1948/1:5); regional museums in Yugoslavia "are far behind the European practice, even when we talk about the closest, neighbouring countries; they do not have strategy for development or clear priorities in collecting." (Muzeji, 1949/2:56). This statement could, without any change, be used to describe the state of museology and heritology in Serbia in 2015.

³¹⁷ Without Marxism-Leninism – states L. Bihalji – no scientific work is possible. Besides being specialized in a certain field, scientist must "at the same time be politician and sociologist, extremely interested in the future of his country." (L. Bihalji, Muzeji, 1948/1:51).

that were to be faced.³¹⁸ Authors of magazine *Muzeji* appeal for the continuous professional education of the museum staff³¹⁹ and necessity to acquire at least basic knowledge related to the science of Socialism³²⁰. This is even more important for regional museums, since small places proportionally had inadequate staff, “and they are mostly young experts just beginning to familiarize themselves with the work and just beginning to acquire experience or they are amateurs” (Dr. Milenko S. Filipović, *Muzeji*, 1956-57/11-12:55), and so it is difficult for them to adequately respond to the instructor’s task³²¹ and as scientist to “help with the research of our history and elimination of all foreign and tendentious interpretations that served to those who politically and economically were enslaving us in the past, and who finally enslaved us even culturally.”³²²

Young and energetic state, having no doubt of its politics and ideological program, takes the initiative: in absence of tradition / developed needs of the community and capacities of the profession, it dictates almost every step and aspect of work of regional museums. Program concept of regional museums was determined by official document in 1949. Department for culture and art within Ministry of Science and Culture of FPRY proclaimed “Basic instructions about organization and work of homeland museums” as the first handbook of the series “Muzejski priručnik” (Editor in chief M. Panić-Surep, Editors: Dr. M. S. Filipović and Đ. Mano-Zisi) treating all basic terms and giving guidelines for particular activities (and way of their realization) in the process of foundation and work of regional (homeland) museum³²³. This obligatory working model constituted necessary professional standards in the sphere of museology and heritology, but it also verified the inclusion of museums into

³¹⁸ As for the question of museums experts, authors of *Manual* state that permanent museum staff must be qualified people, but, being aware that there are insufficient number of such people for all newly-opened museums, they offer alternative: “people with larger knowledge and sense for organization may be hired” (*Manual*, 1949:17). It is also stated that “museum staff must independently upgrade their knowledge through attending different courses, i.e. they must follow development and results of modern museological science.” (*ibid*:18). Permanent education does not exist today as obligatory in the documents of the museums included in our research.

³¹⁹ L. Bihalji, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:49; M. Panić – Surep, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:10; V. Petrović, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:48

³²⁰ “Without this knowledge they cannot be educators; they cannot be initiators in creating a socialistic society. (...) They cannot tell the difference between what’s important and what’s not important, what’s relevant and what’s irrelevant, what’s destructive and what’s productive, what’s educational and what’s non-educational. They cannot even properly present or interpret the material they are working with (...) Even the finest lines, or the most harmonious exterior decoration, no matter how masterfully presented cannot fall into the category of true human beauty if they don’t reveal true, great and noble human aspirations or great and touching yearnings for progress, freedom and creation (...) and these aspirations cannot be felt, cannot be understood properly without understanding the science of socialism, the science of Marxism-Leninism which unraveled all mystery, made the fog go away, took the veil which covered historical events and mankind’s path off and irrevocably proved that man, a fighter and creator, despite all the dark forces which hold him back, has a right to – and resources to assert that right – a more dignified, more beautiful and more fulfilled life.” (Dr. Vojislav Đurić, *Muzeji*, 1949/2:4).

³²¹ Dr. Vojislav Đurić, *Muzeji*, 1949/2:5.

³²² N. Andrejević – Kun, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:3.

³²³ Besides basic instructions on organization and work of homeland museums, this brochure gives the text about the importance of the protection of cultural monuments, list and basic data (time of establishment, structure of collections, even data about objects) about museums in National Republic of Serbia, as well as text about the Law on protection of cultural monuments and natural treasures.

‘affirmation of idea of socialist patriotism’³²⁴, with the function of enhancing ideological homogeneity of the society: the main, i.e. educational function of museum, was supposed to be realized in the way that museum “will be organized in such a way that it will show inevitability of the progress, inevitability of triumph of progressive ideas (...); it will show great creative capabilities of our people; the beauty of Socialism; exploits that people are capable of, in the society where power lies with the masses; it will – in that way too – encourage the constructive enthusiasm, initiate self-denying work, great works within the socialistic project; it will develop feeling of pride with the people creating a great historical work, new society.” (Dr. Vojislav Đurić, *Muzeji*, 1949/2:7)

This new dominant museological discourse suppressed, as we have already mentioned, the existing one. As “instruments of political propaganda” (Krivošev, *Kultura*, 2011/130:299) socialist museums installed system of values in opposition to “the reactionary ideas (ugliness) of Capitalism – society of exploitation, misery, injustice and humiliation for a human being.” (Dr. Vojislav Đurić, *Muzeji*, 1949/2:7) Unfortunately, museums “suppressed any memory of those on the margins of the new system of values”.³²⁵

For Serbia of today – country without long-term strategy and consensus about basic priorities and common values of the community – it is particularly significant part of the mentioned ‘Uputstvo’ that speaks about planned and systematic approach as the only possible method for functioning of the museums. Task of the museum has been already determined with the state priorities (stated in previous paragraph), and so upon foundation of museum its type and what he will display are determined a forehand, and therefrom arise the tasks, organization of museum, structure of collections etc. (*Manual*, 1949:9, 14). In order to spread network of homeland museums, and since there were no conditions for construction of new buildings (of all the museums that we visited during our research only museum in Leskovac is situated in purposefully built object), existing buildings are used (as stated in the *Manual*): buildings “specific in its style, way of construction, or related to historical figures and events” (*Manual*, 1949:19). Unfortunately, *Manual* also offers basis for crucial role of the museum manager within its regular functioning and development (*Uputstvo*, p.

³²⁴ O. Manojlović Pintar, <http://www.mediantrop.rankomunitic.org/olga-manojlovic-pintar-hramovi-i-svetilista-patriotizma>, 2014.

³²⁵ See O. Manojlović Pintar, <http://www.mediantrop.rankomunitic.org/olga-manojlovic-pintar-hramovi-i-svetilista-patriotizma>, 2014.

17) – a role recognized as the only approach to the museum management in Serbia of today – that became extreme, i.e. it is not only a complete negation of positive aspects of autonomous socialism but also formalization and instrumentalization of existing positive legal regulation (more about this topic will be said in the next chapter).

5.1.2. Socialist museum – (theoretical) predecessor of the new museum

Socialist museum, as we have shown, had clear operating guidelines, which, though ideologically colored (perhaps because for its basis it has ideology which insists on equality, solidarity, equality among nations / religions / cultures / groups of different social status), showed emancipatory practice that will be described by the new museology about twenty years later (see: A. Milosavljević Ault, 2014:22). Significant part of the text *Uputstvo* points out the initiative of the state to introduce practice focused on the local community, contribution to individual and social development, participation concept, popularization of the museum contents, emphasis of the importance of the museum education, dynamic of the museum work, and priority of topics in relation to objects.

Analysis of the present museums' situation shows that museum people are not willing to separate i.e. when referring to 'socialistic museum' they mostly allude to the dictated structure of permanent exhibitions, while other principles of museology, promoted by the theory of 'socialist museums', are completely forgotten. Reason for this, as we believe, is not only financial collapse which after Socialism did not allow for change of permanent exhibitions (and so museums were considered 'doomed' to those left from the period of Socialism, with which they were not in concert³²⁶), but also human factor – museum people, who were not able to adopt other aspects of 'socialist museum' at the level that 'socialistic museum' designed them. Namely, as was proved, homeland museums, based on inadequate resources, succeeded to overcome all problems but shortage of human resources. Socialism did not succeed to create a real 'socialist person' i.e. 'socialist museum person'. People employed in the museums were not able to understand (and so to 'revive') operation based on "not

³²⁶ Permanent exhibitions in complex regional museums are realized on the basis of model suggested by *Manual* ("in order to adequately present economic, social, political and cultural history of certain area", Muzeji, 1949/3-4:7/8). Exhibition was supposed to comprise four basic topics: nature of the region, its history, National liberating battle and socialistic foundation, described in details in *Manual* (1949:16). State had the same attitude towards other museums: strict structure was already defined for other museum types (about the structure of historical museums see: O. Manojlović Pintar, <http://www.mediantrop.rankomunitic.org/olga-manojlovic-pintar-hramovi-i-svetilista-patriotizma>, 2014.).

only economic but also ethical principles of responsibility toward the community”³²⁷, labor self-management, principle of distribution of income according to work. Revival of these ideas was supposed to liberate museum person as a personality and as employee, to educate him for the conscious attitude toward work. Passage to a new ruling system in museums, suggests Milena Nikolić, was supposed to be seen as “part of the process of decentralization, transfer of functions to the bodies of social ruling, construction of communal system and direct democracy.” (M. Nikolić, journal *Muzeji*, 1962/15:90). Saying this, we do not forget that the stated discourse is promoted within political culture of dictation and domination: influence of the founders on museums was still extremely strong “since, as we believe, real life needed that”³²⁸ i.e. instead of natural development toward socialistic democracy based on Communism ideology they lead to the non-agreeing differences, bloody decomposition of the state, restoration of capitalism and elimination of all positive socialistic tradition. Thus, the emancipatory theoretical bases of ‘socialist museum’ were completely suppressed.

Focus on the local community

Regional museums were supposed to “collect, preserve and treat all objects – cultural, historical and natural material (handicrafts, drawings, pictures, records etc.) – that may serve as knowledge about characteristics, the past and circumstances / society, nature and economic activities of one’s place or region.”³²⁹ This work was supposed to “give to the museums grassroots attributes” (Manual, 1949:8)³³⁰ and so to “strengthen pride and awareness of the population, to develop affection for the homeland, mobilize all national forces for accomplishment and enhancement of the given tasks within economy and culture.” (Manual, 1949:9.)

Contribution to individual and social development

³²⁷ Vera Nenadović, *Muzeji*, 1962/15:41

³²⁸ Močanin?, *Muzeji i njihov pravni položaj*, *Muzeji*, 1962/15: 28 - 32

³²⁹ *Manual*, 1949:5 and Dr. Milenko S. Filipović, *Muzeji*, 1956-57/11-12:56; M. Panić – Surep, *Muzeji*, 1949/2:57; V. Petrović, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:47.

³³⁰ “If a place related to an important historical event is in question, then the museum will document the place too and present the historical period („Muzej ustanka 1941“, Titovo Užice). Museum in a mining place, for example, will present history of mining industry; museum in Leskovac is supposed to study and present history of textile industry etc (...) In certain places special museums may be established (...) archeological, historical, ethnographic, artistic or museums dedicated to one person, one event or to a period from our political and cultural history, or local museums, which will present only history of certain rural places or settlements.” (*Manual*. 1949: 8).

As first expert records about museums in socialist Yugoslavia testify, these institutions were expected to constantly consider the present state³³¹ and “to analyze our culture and social history in the past and present historical circumstances,”³³² – for instance “changes that political and economic liberation brought to our working class, changes that will happen with electrification and industrialization of the country” (ibid, 1948/1:4). Museums as ‘active scientific collective’ (ibid, 1948/1:3), ‘national schools’³³³, with their work “cultivate peoples’ pride and affection for all the positive and the progressive that nation created in a long historical period of its national life”³³⁴, they “complete visitors’ knowledge, perfect their working skills and their taste upon production”³³⁵, they “fight against religious prejudices, superstition, global mysticism, and raise our people in the spirit of socialistic patriotism”³³⁶, they “will correct non-scientific and wrong interpretations of the national history, develop Yugoslav patriotism and indicate the perspective tasks within socialistic project.”³³⁷

Underling the importance of the museum education

It has been already stressed that contemporary museum displays and interprets i.e. teaches the visitors. (Manual, 1949:16). Educational work is responsibility of the museum staff and reflects all segments of its work: exhibition installment (recognized as the basic instrument for educational and propagandistic operation of the museum), composition of texts and legends, lectures and interpretations in the museum.³³⁸ Their narratives, says Dramušić (Muzeji, 1965/18:103), museums must adapt to the age and education of the visitors, and link their work not only to pedagogues, but to psychologists too.

Concept of participation

³³¹ I. Živković, Muzeji, 1949/2:159. See also: Reorganizacija naših muzeja, Muzeji, 1949/3-4:1; N. Andrejević – Kun, Muzeji, 1948/1:4.

³³² N. Andrejević – Kun, Muzeji, 1948/1:2.

³³³ V. Petrović, Muzeji, 1948/1:47; Rad muzeja u Vojvodini, Muzeji, 1948/1:135; Dr. Vojislav Đurić, Muzeji, 1949/2:5.

³³⁴ N. Andrejević – Kun, Muzeji, 1948/1:3.

³³⁵ V. Petrović, Muzeji, 1948/1:47.

³³⁶ “At the V congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party, Đilas interpreted socialistic patriotism as mobilization for establishment of Socialism in our country, education of our people in the spirit of eternal love and loyalty to the home-land, based on the resources of our famous revolutionary traditions from the past, in the spirit of National liberating war, always being aware of Socialism (...) while deepening of hatred toward imperialistic enslavers, toward war initiators (...) education of the masses in the spirit of faithfulness and affection toward USSR and toward all democratic revolutionary movements in the world.” (Dr. Vojislav Đurić, Muzeji, 1949/2:5-7).

³³⁷ Reorganizacija naših muzeja, Muzeji, 1949/3-4:2.

³³⁸ See: prof. Vojin Dramušić, Muzeji, 1965/18:102.

By its social role and its mission museum belongs to people,³³⁹ and the masses in the museum should not feel “only as visitors, but as friends and cooperators too”³⁴⁰. Museum programs should be formed in such a way that visits “presents usefulness and enjoy”³⁴¹ for the masses, and the community should be included in the museum work through animation of ‘the trustees’³⁴² - cooperators-volunteers³⁴³ - who participate in identification of on-site material and in promotion of the museum in the community³⁴⁴. With work of the trustees it was expected of the museums “to sustain vivid connection with their territories and people of the territory, to become more vivid, more popular and to popularize science and scientific knowledge among people”³⁴⁵ (in 1950 this objective was defined as – one museum cooperator for each district). L. Bihalji gives suggestions that are even more similar to those that the new museology will articulate a few decades later: “We, who work in the Museum, must endeavor to overcome the oppositions between experts and laymen (...) Here begins a great process of real inner democratization of scientific and cultural institutions and transformation of the visitor from a stranger - who shyly and by chance steps into the museum - into a permanent guest, cooperator and friend.”³⁴⁶

Within the museums’ openness for the conception of participation the role of self-management was also important. Its role was to democratize the museums at the deeper level (with introduction of the new way of ruling) and to affirm them “as independent social units oriented not only to the inclusion of all members of the collective in relation to the decision making about the work of the institution, but also

³³⁹ N. Andrejević – Kun, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:2; L. Bihalji, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:52.

³⁴⁰ L. Bihalji, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:52.

³⁴¹ B. Drobñjaković, *Muzeji*, 1949/2:49.

³⁴² For this type of assistant in the period between two world wars, museums were using term “trustee” (example of Ethnographic museum in Zagreb from 1922). The term is not adequate since trustees is the name for the administrators within national authorities, and so may be source of misunderstanding. Author suggests the term “associate” since it includes activity on-site, and underlines relation with museums in which he/she volunteers. In other countries, especially Scandinavian, this is already a long-term and successful practice. (Dr. Mil. S. Filipović, *Muzeji*, 1950/5:48).

³⁴³ This model was particularly important for regional museums which, short of expert staff, had to rely on the capacities of local communities in order to achieve the minimum of resources needed for the accomplishment of basic tasks. Trustees could expect “moral recognition and regular reimbursement for any basic costs related to task they performed (travel expenses, postal charges, packing and transport of objects). Institution for protection of monuments at the end of the year rewards those who distinguished with their work and were more successful than others; reward incorporates the financial prize” (Dr. Mil. S. Filipović, *Muzeji*, 1950/5:51).

³⁴⁴ They are volunteers who helped museums with collection of objects, scientific material, following of on-site developments; they gave information about non-material heritage. They were selected ‘on the basis of their qualification and inclination and interest for the museum work,’ and “in coordination with educational bodies of the local national authority” (*Manual*:10). They were included from the phase of planing of the museum and were considered equally precious as mass organizations (Union of Veterans, Union of cultural and educational societies, union organizations of teachers, youth organization, Women association etc.) with which museums cooperated. Capacities of this cooperation, however, did not go as far as decision making (*Manual*, 1949:19). Status of expert associate is attributed only to teachers, who, with participation in the museum council, insured expertise in different aspects of the museum work (which was especially important in circumstances of already stated shortage of expert staff) – from setting up of the museum topic, through collection of the material and organisation of exhibitions, to other segments of educational work (*Manual*, 1949:20). See also: Dr. Mil. S. Filipović, *Muzeji*, 1950/5:50/51, L. Bihalji, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:52; Rad muzeja u Vojvodini, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:130/131.

³⁴⁵ Dr. Mil. S. Filipović, *Muzeji*, 1950/5:47, 50.

³⁴⁶ L. Bihalji, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:52.

to the inclusion of wider social community into this process through their representatives”³⁴⁷.

Making the museum contents popular

Cultural and educational mission of the museum is strictly defined: “it must be established as systematic and permanent work, realized under expert direction and on the basis of studiously studied program.”³⁴⁸ In first publication of the journal ‘Muzeji’, in 1948, basic guideline in relation to the public was described by Veljko Petrović as orientation to all classes, people of all professions and of any type of education (Muzeji, 1948/1:47).

“Permanent and occasional exhibitions, lectures, conferences, cinema-performances, festivals” (Uputstvo, p. 9), “music and literary performances related to the topic presented in the particular collection, TV concerts (...), preparatory courses for students of different high schools”³⁴⁹ - as basic instruments (of cultural and educational) activities of the museums are mentioned. Since it is intended for wider public, exhibition of the museum must present its material logically, affably and clearly, “it must explain application of each object according to its social role (in order to understand it as the production instrument within certain, real social relations)”. (Manual, 1949:15.)

In endeavor to make the museum public that will become regular visitor, its interests are followed³⁵⁰ according to age, level of general education etc. (intelligence class visits museums regularly; as for the young, the majority of it consist of students; and as for the adults, workers come in the least number; domestic and foreign tourists also come³⁵¹).

The most loyal partners of the museum, which provided regular afflux of visitors – schools – used museums for their practical classes (V. Dramušić, Muzeji, 1965/18:103; V. Nenadović, Muzeji, 1954/9:96). While Nada Golliner (Muzeji, 1954: xy) sees transformation of school as a great function of the museum,³⁵² Neda Andrejević-Kun (Muzeji, 1960: xy) is more critical: museums, namely, their

³⁴⁷ N. Andrejević – Kun, Muzeji, 1953/8:8.

³⁴⁸ Neda Andrejević-Kun, Muzeji, 1960/13:61.

³⁴⁹ Prof. Vojin Dramušić, Muzeji, 1965/18:103.

³⁵⁰ Eg. in review of the booklet (handbook) “Šole in muzeji” (Muzeji, 1961/14:130), composed and edited by Milan Brezovar, curator of the Muzeja narodne osvoboditve LRS, Branko Pleše, emphasizes that forms and methods of educational work must be adjusted to psychological and physical development of the students, type of school and given task.

³⁵¹ Data from: Neda Andrejević-Kun, Muzeji, 1960/13:62, 64.

³⁵² Videti Nada Muzeji, 1954/9: 99 -109.

educational and pedagogical activities, in time, almost exclusively reduce to the cooperation with schools, and students become a privileged museum public.³⁵³

Professor Vojin Dramušić stresses museum's cooperation with students of the final grades of vocational schools and students of high and higher schools who start working immediately after the schooling and are included into social life. Cooperation with them, he states, was extremely productive "in mobilization of this population in relation to the promotion of protection of cultural monuments, and spread of the network of the museums' cooperators as well as institutions for protection of the cultural monuments." (Muzeji, 1965/18:103) Museums cooperate also with Universities (students use museum libraries, museums employees are lecturers at Universities etc.), scientific institutions, libraries and archives (common exhibiting manifestations)³⁵⁴.

Reacting on concrete Yugoslav social reality i.e. "rising need for cultural elevation of the masses"³⁵⁵, who were main bearers of new social system, 'socialist museum' tends to transform itself into "school for working people" and cooperates with syndicates³⁵⁶ within attraction of "the masses of immediate producers"³⁵⁷.

Working on popularization of the contents museums get out of their buildings: museum pedagogues give lectures in schools, cultural centers, at national and peoples' universities, within work collectives and through broadcast devoted to cultural elevation of people³⁵⁸; (small, thematic) exhibitions are held out of their mother-houses and even out of places³⁵⁹ i.e. within peoples' universities and students centers. Insight into exhibiting activities of the museums in PR Serbia from 1945 to 1955 shows that certain museums in Vojvodina organized exhibitions in villages (ethnographic exhibitions, exhibitions of cottage industry, of museum material collected in those villages, exhibitions about National liberation battle etc.³⁶⁰). Out of the museums custodians had opportunity to become familiar with contemporary state of national on-site material culture.

³⁵³ Many forms of the cooperation were developed: seminars in museums for professors of history and **natural sciences**; organized school visits to the museums; lectures on certain topics from history (...) organization of so-called Museum circles (Muzejski kružok) in certain schools (...) Success of each form of cooperation depends on the level of qualification and engagement of the museum employees, and understanding and support of teachers. (Neda Andrejević-Kun, Muzeji, 1960/13:63).

³⁵⁴ Dr. Miroslav Despot, Muzeji, 1963/16-17:122-125.

³⁵⁵ Neda Andrejević-Kun, Muzeji, 1960/13:61.

³⁵⁶ Prof. Vojin Dramušić, Muzeji, 1965/18:103.

³⁵⁷ Neda Andrejević-Kun, Muzeji, 1960/13:61.

³⁵⁸ Prof. Vojin Dramušić, Muzeji, 1965/18:103; Dr. Miroslav Despot, Muzeji, 1963/16-17:122-125.

³⁵⁹ Dr. Mil. S. Filipović, Još ponešto o početku sakupljanja i rada muzeja u Srbiji in "Prvi naš muzejski inventar" or Etnologija (etnografija) u muzejima AP Vojvodine ????, Muzeji, 1949/3-4:7; Neda Andrejević-Kun, Muzeji, 1960/13:64; Prof. Vojin Dramušić, Muzeji, 1965/18:103.

³⁶⁰ Jova Sekulić, Muzeji, 1955/10:160.

We believe that emancipatory role of museums reflects in their (unfortunately only in terms of program) orientation to ‘a free working man who wants to learn’³⁶¹, and to the villagers.

Priority was given to the topic

General attitude toward planned work in the context of permanent exhibitions – in relation to the desirable objective³⁶² – included also approach which meant dialectic explanation of the events presented: “material is supposed to be related and explained in relation to social and economic system and political circumstances of the epoch in which it emerged and existed, and shown as reflection of circumstances and demands of the time.”³⁶³ Numerous texts emphasize that these exhibitions of complex material should be based on the priority given to the topic compared to the exhibited material. At the exhibition there will not be formed sections according to particular categories of the object or according to particular branch of science (e.g. ethnography, fine arts etc.)³⁶⁴ – but, within the given topic, it will be chronological exhibiting/usage of objects of different categories simultaneously / from different fields of science. Exhibition would gradually show the unique process of development of nature and a human being, as well as his activities from the old days until today”³⁶⁵, conditionality would be stressed, i.e. connection of phenomena in the development of nature and society of that region³⁶⁶, “particularly will be stressed specific contribution of that region or territory within general economic, political and cultural history of our people.” (Manual, 1949:15).

Museum Weeks were also organized – first one in 1954. Topics presented the issues that the museum staff regarded as the most actual. Thus, in 1962 topic was Museums and schools, and in 1963 Museums and tourism³⁶⁷. Commenting on the number of museums’ visitors, unsigned author gives an interesting understanding of difference between visitors of permanent and occasional exhibitions: the first ones are

³⁶¹ N. Andrejević – Kun, Muzeji, 1948/1:4.

³⁶² “It must be clear what is supposed to be achieved and what can be achieved with the exhibition. Only based on that a plan about exhibition can be made and additional resources researched. Each object for the exhibition must be thought over: whether it is for exhibition or not.” (Dr. Mil. S. Filipović, Još ponešto o početku sakupljanja i rada muzeja u Srbiji, in: „Prvi naš muzejski inventar” ili Etnologija (etnografija) u muzejima AP Vojvodine ????, Muzeji, 1949/3-4:7).

³⁶³ Nada Gollner, Muzeji, 1954/9:10; Narodni istorijski muzej, Muzeji, 1950/5:194.

³⁶⁴ Reorganizacija naših muzeja, Muzeji, 1949/3-4:4, 7, 9; Dr. Milenko S. Filipović, Muzeji, 1956-57/11-12:56; Dr. Verena Han, Muzeji, 1961/14:38).

³⁶⁵ Reorganizacija naših muzeja, Muzeji, 1949/3-4: 5, Manual. 1949.

³⁶⁶ Dr. Verena Han, Muzeji, 1961/14:38.

³⁶⁷ Dragoljub S. Janković, Muzeji, 1965/18:120.

visitors who did not come only because of the exhibition but because they were genuinely interested in the museum itself, and their number gives a real picture of the possibility of realization of visits in rural museums (Muzeji, 1948/1:135).³⁶⁸ In the texts published in journal 'Muzeji', all the time until the end of its publication in 1965, necessity for modernization of the exhibitions was also suggested – e.g. usage of modern audio-visual facilities – as method of actualization of the contents and larger accessibility of exhibitions.³⁶⁹

We would like to refer also to a few more aspects of 'socialist museum', referential for the present state in Serbian museums: discourse of collecting and preserving of objects, policy for selection of managerial staff and vision of the museum as part of social subjects' network (institutions, administration etc.).

Discourse of collecting and preserving of objects of 'socialist museum' is based on the postulate that it is "important to keep anything that will help science to make proper conclusions about people and their life in the present and in recent past," (Uputstva za čuvanje spomenika kulture, Muzeji, 1948/1:140) which includes material from the recent past and contemporary life³⁷⁰. Contemporary collecting, believes Dr. Milenko S. Filipović, is important, since it gives custodian the possibility to realize role of the chronicler of contemporary life: "spectator not only sees the phenomenon or object, but also, without difficulty, he may consider its cause and origin, see whether it fits into the system of national culture of a certain region and what are the consequences." (Muzeji, 1956-57/11-12:59).

Policy for the selection of managers: Social bodies, in charge of nomination of directors of regional museums, are notified through professional texts (which are, we presume, in coordination with attitudes of the governing nomenclature) "that it is for their own benefit to nominate for the place people of certain qualification for the job (...) who are well known for its goodness; if not really experts but worthy admirers, aware of the responsible job". (V. Petrović, Muzeji, 1948/1: 48.)

Regional museums were supposed to be considered not only as part of museum network but also of wider network of social subjects: Ministry of education, Committee for high schools and scientific institutions, institution for protection of cultural monuments, conservatory institutions, historical, artistic and archeological institutes of science academies, fine arts schools etc. (Manual, 1949:3). Their

³⁶⁸ On museums and public see also: Prof. Vojin Dramušić, Muzeji, 1965/18:103; Dr. Lelja Dobronić, Muzeji, 1954/8:10.

³⁶⁹ See eg: Dr. Miroslav Despot, Muzeji, 1963/16-17:122-125.

³⁷⁰ See: N. Andrejević – Kun, Muzeji, 1948/1:3.

expertise was related to the work in local community – collection of material and data on-site (Manual, 1949:22), and, as such, they were complementary with the capacities of other social actors³⁷¹.

5.1.3. Theory vs. practice of the socialist museum

‘Socialist museum’ was one more of the modernizing concepts of Socialist Yugoslavia, which could not be realized: emancipatory ideas related to the work of complex regional museums were only – ideas.³⁷² “Problem of museum’s orientation within actual life”, failure of “dynamical grip into immediate, surrounding life” influenced all aspects of museums / reasons for their existence – “time range of the material collected, actuality related to the treatment of topics, structure of collections, objectives.” (Zdenka Munk, *Muzeji*, 1956-57/11-12:9,10; and in Đorđe Mano-Zisi, *Muzeji*, 1951/6:4.) All aspects of ‘socialist museum’, criticized by the contemporaries, we see as characteristics of our contemporary regional museums in Serbia (where we conducted our research).

Cultural and educational function of the museum is still set aside compared to other functions. Reasons lie within the museum itself (museum experts did not see ‘educational mission’ as equal to their ‘expert and scientific work’ and so they were not adequately engaged within the field) and within insufficient capacities of other institutions, social organizations, and even different levels of administration (and so of wider community) to accept museums as new, potent subjects in the process of learning. “Educational work of the museums is limited, one-sided, reduced to pattern, and as such, to a limited circle of the museum public. Museum experts isolated themselves within the walls of their cabinets and collections; educational works is transferred to the so-called museum pedagogues, or rather museum guides, whose educational work mainly consists of interpretation of museum exhibitions and exhibits – on the basis of information received by custodian.” (Neda Andrejević-Kun, *Muzeji*, 1960/13:60 - 65)³⁷³

³⁷¹ The most direct cooperation is made with central museums and scientific centres: they contribute to regional museums with expertise (eg. courses and lectures) and professional services (eg. conservation, restoration, preparation, expertise upon provision of exhibits) (*Manual*, 1949:22)

³⁷² See: O. Manojlović Pintar, <http://www.mediantrop.rankomunitic.org/olga-manojlovic-pintar-hramovi-i-svetilista-patriotizma>, 2014.

³⁷³ The author states another role of museum pedagogue, who leads the museum’s educational work to a higher professional and scientific level: pedagogue with qualifications of curator leads and plans cultural and educational section in museum (...) For certain professional topics within this program museum pedagogue employs adequate experts. (Neda Andrejević-Kun, *Muzeji*, 1960/13:62) Three years after text by Andrejević-Kun, Dr. Miroslav Despot within the analysis of educational museum work,

Museums “rely on outside initiative or determination of immediate tasks i.e. they do not show understanding that they must undertake part of social responsibility” (Neda Andrejević-Kun, *Muzeji*, 1960/13: 61). Objects were not accurately collected: owing to irresponsibility of custodians³⁷⁴ or shortage of financial means material is lost for good³⁷⁵ (authors mainly state inadequate documenting of the period of socialistic establishment and history of the labor movement and The War of Liberation).³⁷⁶ Treatment of the collected material is neglected³⁷⁷.

For the public, the most noticeable deficiencies of the museums were routinely realized permanent exhibitions, which (according to Vera Nenadović) appear boring and unsaid; for understanding of complete picture about events additional (oral) explanations are necessary (*Muzeji*, 1961/14:xy). Museums did not succeed to apply concept of complexity in exhibitions i.e. exhibition of collections stayed isolated, even within separate ‘rooms’ (Dr. Milenko S. Filipović, *Muzeji*, 1956-57/11-12:56); history of National liberation battle (presented as separate section or within historical one) was often presented obscurely and without logical coherence related to the history of the region (Dušan Plenča, *Muzeji*, 1954/8: 47); portrait of socialistic establishment, “as result of the battle between labour class and National Liberation War” is missing or inadequate³⁷⁸. Thematic exhibitions are mainly “result of professional interest of individuals employed in the museum; rarely of one and defined program of the institution, and almost never it is need for elaboration of the topic through the museum’s material and scientific results, which would be of wider importance for the community, not only for experts.” (Neda Andrejević-Kun, *Muzeji*, 1960/13: 65) Permanent exhibitions, situated in some of the museums that we visited

says that it is cooperation with primary schools that is only alive and versatile, but museums, generally, did not completely realize their educational and pedagogical activities and propagandistic tasks (Dr. Miroslav Despot, 1963/16-17:118), while prof. Vojin Dramušić in 1965 (*Muzeji*, 1965/18:102) museum’s pedagogical work describes as ideal: “active and versatile activities, expertise, various target groups”.

³⁷⁴ “Managers and curators understood their scientific work in the way that they used their place in museums to write for years a special scientific research or article; it was “scientific” advancement for them, while work on completion of museum collections was considered as forced and unscientific. Practically it means that museums printed publications in 1000 or 500 copies, of which about 100 were sold, some were given to different institutions, and most of it stayed in storehouses. Therefore – museum collections, which were supposed to educate thousands of visitors, stayed undeveloped, incomplete. This practice is understandable considering pre-war middle-class society, but today it is intolerable.” (M. Panić – Surep, O potrebi preuređenja naših muzeja i postavljanju linije njihovog daljeg razvitka, *Muzeji*, 1949/2:55) Vera Nenadović as one of the reason for incomplete collections states collecting “without clear orientation about its objective” (*Muzeji*, 1961/14:26). This refers to ideological instrumentalization of the collecting process but also to the impossibility of curators to follow social changes.

³⁷⁵ M. Panić – Surep, O potrebi preuređenja naših muzeja i postavljanju linije njihovog daljeg razvitka, *Muzeji*, 1949/2:55.

³⁷⁶ Vera Nenadović, *Muzeji*, 1961/14:25.

³⁷⁷ Dušan Plenča, *Muzeji*, 1954/8:49.

³⁷⁸ “Method of thesis and antithesis is missing, i.e. general conditions and causes of working class battle are not presented – capitalistic exploitation and class and national oppression, role of foreign capital etc. Within presentation of The War of Liberation causes and conditions of revolution and national liberation in context of World War II, i.e. occupation is not explained; and especially, specific circumstances and relation of forces in the region are not explained. In that way, exhibitions in museums are not historically interpreted and certain documents appear isolated. They speak about individual events or memories as such. At best, they speak about occupying tragedy and fight against the occupier or about war as such.” (Vera Nenadović, *Muzeji*, 1961/14:xy).

during our research, and which are, within general questionnaire declared as new (not even as old but completed!!) include structures and contents as stated in *Manual* from 1949 i.e. they are the same as they were at the initial exhibitions of the 'socialist museum'. At them – but, unfortunately also at the new exhibitions set up after 2006/2007 – are visible the same deficiencies as stated in criticism about exhibitions of 'socialist museum' (more about this topic will be said in the next chapter).

As we have already stated in the previous text, structure of the visitors is unsatisfactory because the majority of them come from group, school visits. Though bringing of visitors was dealt by massive and syndicate organizations and army, for expectations of that time results were not satisfactory³⁷⁹ (for standards of today this method of animation resulted in unthinkably large response). Cooperation with laboring young people was out of reach of the museum educational activity (Neda Andrejević-Kun, *Muzeji*, 1960/13: 64), and cooperation with the section for production was unsystematic (Dr. Miroslav Despot, *Muzeji*, 1963/16-17:122-125). Museums did not much use possibilities for work out of their objects in order to develop cultural and educational activity and promote their work³⁸⁰.

People employed in museums criticized introduction of self-government as (as V. Nenadović writes) "introduction of economical methods" into scientific and cultural institutions, as "commercialization of cultural and educational work", for which there is no place at the moment and results of which will be "abolishment of institutions that are not capable of realizing the sufficient income." (Vera Nenadović, *Muzeji*, 1962/15:41)

In review of Dragoljub S. Janković about difficulties in the first 10 years of organization of "the Museum Week" are also visible symptoms of behavior of the people employed in the museums but also of relation between community and museums: insufficient resources, insufficient understanding of media, insufficient understanding and help by teachers; and as difficulties of subjective nature he states ill-timed application of thematic and other exhibitions, insufficient correlation with the terrain, bad propaganda, insufficient engagement in work with media, omissions within evidence of the achieved results. (*Muzeji*, 1965/18:120)

The main reason for such a state certainly lies in the capacities of those employed in the museums. Vera Nenadović, visiting museums in Serbia in 1961 (she

³⁷⁹ Rad muzeja u Vojvodini, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:135.

³⁸⁰ Neda Andrejević-Kun, *Muzeji*, 1960/13:65.

visited 13 museums) proved that only 2 museums have experts for history, who completed their studies in post-war period. New staff is arriving, but without necessary experience in the museum work, so that “in the museums, especially in those located inland, usually work amateurs and admirers without necessary knowledge“. (Unsigned author, *Muzeji*, 1950/5: 217)³⁸¹

5.1.4. Museums of National Liberation War and of socialist revolution

Socialistic ideology had its special manifestation within establishment of museums of National liberation war and socialistic revolution³⁸², which were the most obvious examples of moral and political role of the museum in Serbia / Yugoslavia. Interpreted as “product of peoples’ aspiration to evoke and keep memory of glorious days of The war of liberation”, through museum exhibitions and collections (Plenča, *Muzeji*, 1954/8:45), special flywheel they got in the second half of the year 1949 with systematic engagement of Union of Veterans of the People's Liberation War in relation to this issue (ibid.). In Socialist Yugoslavia there were altogether 24 independent museums dedicated to National liberation war, about 100 sections within other museums and 17 memorial museums, besides hundreds of memorial institutions of smaller capacities than the museum³⁸³.

These political and historical museums were formed in order to “educate the masses in the spirit of those traditions of National revolution without which our contemporary social system, our freedom and independence are unimaginable,” states Plenča³⁸⁴. Strict thematical structure was defined³⁸⁵, which presented the basis, while essence was supposed to be realized through scientific analysis of the events, i.e. “through presentation of conditionality of their origination and consequences that they

³⁸¹ Eg. so called “historical collections are lead by archeologists, ethnologists, art historians or ex high school teachers (...) even pensioners who do not have any qualification for this work “ (xy, *Muzeji*, 1961/14:26).

³⁸² L. Bihalji in 1948, in the phase of planning of their formation, calls them museums of national liberating war (*Muzeji*, 1948/1:49) and in the text in the same journal in 1959 (*Muzeji*, 1959/5:17) they are named Museums of national revolution. Today they are mostly referred as Museums of the revolution.

³⁸³ In Serbia, in the period from 1950 to 1960 museums was formed section of labour movement and of national liberating war was formed in 21 museum, while besides permanent exhibitions, about hundred exhibitions were organized on the topic of history of the labour movement and national revolution. Independent museums concerning this topics in Serbia were Museum of labour movement and national revolution in Novi Sad (*Muzej radničkog pokreta i narodne revolucije u Novom Sadu*), Museum of national liberating battle in Aranđelovac (*Muzej narodnooslobodilačke borbe, Aranđelovac*), Museum of labour movement and national liberating battle in Vranje (*Muzej radničkog pokreta i narodnooslobodilačke borbe, Vranje*), memorial museums: Museum 5 July (*Muzej 5. Jula*) and Museum of illegal printing houses in Belgrade (*Muzej ilegalnih štamparija*), as well as Museum in Stolica (municipality Šabac). (Sonja Jankov. 2014. Retrieved from http://www.b92.net/kultura/moj_ugao.php?nav_category=1086&yyyy=2014&mm=06&nav_id=855883).

³⁸⁴ Dušan Plenča, *Muzeji*, 1954/8:48.

³⁸⁵ See *Narodni istorijski muzej*, *Muzeji*, 1959/5:18, 19.

had within economical, social and political aspect” (unknown author, Narodni istorijski muzej, Muzeji, 1959/5:18, 19).

Analyzing position and characteristics of these museums and collections, Sonja Jankov proved that museums of National liberation war – though expected to be highly privileged – did not get buildings adjusted to the work of the museums; neither of these museums in Serbia, out of Belgrade, had conditions for conservation and restoration of damaged documents; National liberation battle sections established within museums mostly did not have exhibiting space (in somewhat favorable position were museums in Užice, Zrenjanin, Zaječar and Kikinda); in National liberation battle sections about 90% and somewhere even more, museum material was archival, while other material, failing budget for provision of new objects, was mostly gained through presents. (http://www.b92.net/kultura/moj_ugao.php?nav_category=1086&yyyy=2014&mm=06&nav_id=855883, 2.06.2014).

With few exceptions, all museums of National liberation war are renamed until mid-1990s or they completely disappeared. As our research showed, in some museums (Leskovac for instance) parts of permanent exhibitions of regional museums, dedicated to National liberation war and established in 50s and 60s, still exist, but they are not for visitors (though officially they are not closed for the public).

5.2. Discourse of the institution – institutional discourse of the regional museums in Serbia today

The Discourse of the institution tells about the functioning of the museum institution itself, its nature and purposefulness. Bojana Spasojević considers it as a connection, among other components of museum aura in the unique structure (author explains museum aura as an irony “comparing it with the model of medieval temples and Christian ritual pilgrimage” (Muzeji 2009/2:42).

5.2.1. Scope of museum's work, mission, topic

It is expected that the essence of the institution – “museum mission, actually its purpose and meaning in a community, including being different from other museums” (Petrović, Muzeji 2009/2: 74) – is defined by the founding act. However,

the inspected Founding documents on the regional museum (data from the research to be added) do not contain all of the elements; moreover, they are just present in the general guidelines for basic activities of museums: (data from the research to be added). Responding to the questions regarding the scope of the museum, its mission and topic, interlocutors didn't refer to any existing institutional act; rather they (almost all answers) referred to the modern concept of the museum as "dynamical and active institutions which should seek to meet the public, to evoke its interest, to attract it and help it in the understanding of the heritage".³⁸⁶ The concept of the museum as 'a tool for social awareness' (Hancocks, 1987), is "responsible for the present and the future of the community they serve" (*J. Milutinović, 2003: 143*), which "provides answers to our questions, our problems, or gives us at least the elements to formulate a response by ourselves" (H. de Varine Bohan, 1977: 15- 16) and, its work is based on community needs. Such a concept was completely strange for our interlocutors. For them, the main task of the museum is to present a collection. The mission of a museum defined (for example) as "to help us understand ourselves and our position in the world, to inspire us and encourage us to explore, to generate positive changes in our lives." (*J. Milutinović, 2003: 45*) they *consider* to be abstract, what's more, they consider that museum fulfils it by its very existence, i.e. they are not able to 'translate' it to the language of possible museum activities outside the common practice (this will be described in the following text).

If we were to find our stronghold in theory, according to M. Jovanoviću (1994), and based on the division of the museums under the administrative jurisdiction, content and purpose, regional museums in Serbia (museums of local history and city museums) "have an obligation to explain and document past individual regions through the diversity of materials, to collect materials and information on the material and spiritual/immaterial culture. (*J. Milutinović, 2003: 42*)". We have contextualized regional museums as "social museums" from the perspective of expected models of processing the topic(s): museums devoted to the life of the local community (less administrative territory) in which multimedia approach "highlights different components of social life." (Xy/xy); as a "heritage centers" (Shema Edsona and Dina³⁸⁷), and its backbone is more history than science and arts.

³⁸⁶ Andre Gob-Noemie Drouguet, *Muzeologija. Povijest, razvitak, izazovi današnjice*, Zagreb, 2007:221.

³⁸⁷ Gary Edson i David Dean, *The Handbook for Museums*, 2. Pub:1996., London, Routledge, 1996, p. 8 (found in u A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 44)

Regional museums which have been analysed do not have priorities that are transparent, communicated with the employees, audience, and community. We could say that directors and curators are largely driven by the private interests or individual professional priorities. Documents we could get a hold of are the texts the managers had produced when applying for the post or the ideas which each curator (without previous team work) submitted for the annual plan. Projects that were not implemented in the final annual plan were usually 'refused' by the director due to budget cuts. No professional reasons were offered – no further discussions organized. (data from the research to be added)

According to the concrete priorities for day-to-day activity research conducted in Serbia in 2009 shows that the last item of the priority list in the curators' work is working with the audience³⁸⁸. (data from the research to be added)

5.2.2. The relation between museum and founder

According to the criteria of museum management - regional museums included in the research are state institutions (according to: I. Maroević, 1993: 79)³⁸⁹. According to the Statutes (Statute is the basic founding document of the museum) they are public museums, governed at the local level and as such 'type' museums, they are the most numerous in Europe (information from A. Gob N. Other, 2009: 46). Local and central governments³⁹⁰ are a major participant in the development of regional museums. "Their role is being played out on different plans: normative, control, organization, financial." (A. Gob N. Other, 2009: 286) The state determines the standard by (non)existence of the laws and regulations on heritage protection, establishing and organization of the museum, their recognition; as well as about conditions for employment (e.g. ban on public sector employment or employment opportunities with special permission by the administration) and recoupment for work (coefficient system). In some museums, local authorities are also organizing functioning - municipal services are directly responsible for certain segments of the museum operationalization (data from the research to be added).

³⁸⁸ Martinovic, Jokic, 2009:16 and Vukanović, 2009:249

³⁸⁹ Private and independent museums; museums of cultural and educational institutions – school museums, university museums, independent museums; museums not having a mark of cultural entities – museums of enterprises, factories, companies and associations (acc.: I. Maroević, 1993:79).

³⁹⁰ At the beginning of 21st century, central and local government is still the main factor in the development of European museums. A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 287

All museums, which were analysed, are totally dependent on the financial support from local governments. Minimum 80%, and in most cases more than 90%, of the budget is invested by local government³⁹¹. The remaining funds, in the majority of cases, are from the national budget and, only a small part comes from its own revenue. Full wages, running costs (electricity, telephone, heating, liquid material procurement, etc.) and the key budgets for programs are covered by local resources. Larger investments are sporadic, but, also based on the budget that local communities receive from the tax payments (data from the research to be added, npr. The museum of Prijepolje is an exception because the money for its infrastructure has been received by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia).

According to the world wide practices, insisting on the diversity of funding sources and "reduction of financial support from the authorities is used as an argument to justify the development of commercial activities of the museum while search for the sponsors" (A. Gob N. Other, 2009: 298) are recognized as good qualities. In contrast, in the analysed museums, reduction of the local budget is the reason for lessening the scope and visibility of the museum activities. Museums are totally dependent on the city budget, so we can see the reason why they are focused on obtaining legitimacy of local authorities and not from the community³⁹². "The state as a patron" multiplies the legitimacy, increases and translates the whole structure into the field of political action, which has conditioned it, in the initial instance." (Bojan Spasojević, Museums 2009/2: 42) Professional dialogue between management and founder of the museum, as equals, is absent. Even in the most extreme situations - when funds are reduced, when director is instructed by the politicians to employ unqualified staff – museums management does not take a public action. Museums have accepted (and, even, facilitated) the election process for the director in which a main selection factor is his / her relationship with the local political nomenclature (as happens that the same person can be chosen and fired, several times, in relation to their affiliation to the political party governs 'in the moment') (data from the research

³⁹¹ Cultural institutions to a great extent depend on resources, received from the budget and less on own incomes. According to the Law on the budget of the Republic of Serbia for 2014, particularly in case of the republic institutions of culture, it is foreseen that own incomes of budgetary users shall be 93% of the Ministry of culture budget. Even in the case of local cultural institutions (according to data of researches conducted from Institute for cultural development research on „Cultural resources of cities in Serbia“ and „Cultural resources of counties in Serbia“) can be observed that they ensure a very small part of their resources from their own incomes (in an average 5% to 10%), while they receive from the local self- government budget from 75% to 98% of financial resources necessary for work. (Cveticanin, still unpublished, 8)

³⁹² This is not surprising given the fact that the civic culture in Serbia is very low and that the local administration does not consider 'administration that belongs to citizens' rather than an administrative apparatus with absolute freedom and autonomy in the management of the funds collected through payment of taxes (here we emphasize that taxes are talking about are not categories elective than compulsory payments).

to be added). There is no information that the local political nomenclature participated in the program definition of institution (interlocutors told us that in this area they have full freedom (data from the research to be added) but, our conclusion is that the mode of election and dismissal of directors is a clear indicator of power, which in Director creates a strong self-censorship, later then transferred to the collective, in fact the public discourse of the museum. Also, communication with the founder is indicative, that respondents describe as one of a 'complete lack of interest' and 'formalism' which further frustrates them (museologists), because they feel totally left in an empty field of liability without 'clear responsibility': the majority of Museum Directors who participated in our survey deems that the "task" of museum institutions is "to follow needs and endeavours of the founders" (Martinović, 2011:47) which is virtually '(in) possible'³⁹³. Cultural policy of the Republic/ State or cities is not defined, it depends on the affinities of the founders, i.e. current political nomenclature (which, very frequently changes and has no awareness about the needs for continuity) towards certain institutions/ program direction/ activities. Since 2006 in Serbia six ministers of culture were changed, who, even when they belonged to the same political parties, had different perceptions of priorities in the field of culture³⁹⁴.

Cultural institutions (including museums) were liable to undergo political influences/ control³⁹⁵ and ability, as Mr. Cvetićanin states, "to enjoy in a state of pseudo-autonomy" and ostensible independence in terms of "requests made by the public, the market and players whose acts take place on the market, depend on the market and are valued on the market". (Cveticanin, 18). In such conditions lasting for decades, museums were looking for short-term solutions for survival³⁹⁶ and did not

³⁹³ Communication with the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, Province Secretariat for Culture and Information of Vojvodina, Secretariat for Culture of the City of Belgrade, departments for culture of cities/ municipal administrations, was based on 'signals' of founders which were articulated through decision on approved budget which is allocated as a response to attached plan and program of institution for the following year- without explanation (thus are reports for previous year accepted without evaluation).

³⁹⁴ Analyzing the position of small museums at a time of transition in the last decade of the 20th and the first decade of the 21st century, M. Babić sees that providing continuity in the work of the museum (which he sees as the main factor for the stability of museum development) directors' responsibilities themselves. (M. Babić, *Menadžment malih muzeja u vremenu tranzicije*, Muzeji, No. 1, (n.s.), Belgrade, 2008: 72). In this effort, he said, is crucial to their ability to obtain support from political power (even if minimal) - and what is even more complicated if the changes of ruling parties very common (Ibid: 73). While the politicians do not decide to close the museums, they are in principle opposed of increase in the number of employees so that some museums are working with three employees (for example) - of which one is the director (data from the research to be added)

³⁹⁵ "Political control is reflected in establishment and replacement of managers of these institutions (once upon a time immediately and nowadays behind announcements of public competitions); employment of human resources from political parties after each cycle of parliamentary and local elections; and high level of censorship (self-censorship) of the program makers in cultural institutions so that they couldn't do something that might harm their relations with political power centers (their survival directly depends on them). (Cveticanin, 9)

³⁹⁶ "museums brainstorm internal development strategies, in order to strengthen the function of each museum institution respectively" (Martinovic, 2011:45).

manage to find a model of work that would enable feasibility of a long term strategic plane.

The autonomy of the museum is quite limited in the management of facilities, and, in the last 5 years, in the management of human resources, as well. The data were not easily reached in conversations with the directors of museums. They were very vigilant and persistent in an attempt not to criticize relation between local administration and the museum (except Bora, data from the research to be added). On the other hand, in interviews with the curators, we have received information about the employment politics. Even more, as the curators say, employment through political connections would not have been such a problem that it does not involve the employment of unskilled personnel and/or personnel without any prior relevant working experience. The employees, often, give the same argumentation, in relation to the directors: they are the political party protégées without adequate education, knowledge, skills, capacity (data from the research to be added). Analysing the work of the museum, which can be considered as successful, it is apparent that the directors have achieved these results thanks to the political links. (Data from the research to be added). An example is a Museum in Valjevo during the director's familiarity with Dinkić, museum of local history in Knjaževac).

None of the museums involved in the research showed initiative towards winning independence - e.g. by providing some form of reduced financial dependence. One of the few museums that during the past years implemented various models of co-financing, not only through cooperation with other levels of government, but also through cooperation on many international projects (data from the research to be added - Museum in Knjaževac: Change of director, unfortunately, came in 2015. in the stage of incompetence to administer project funds (it was budgeted for upgrading existing infrastructure, precisely adjusting space for visitors with limited mobility).

We did not get clear data on the structure of the own incomes to museums. It remained unclear whether and how much they contribute to the stability of their own work by incomes raised from activities like: ticket sales, shops, selling products and publications that are distributed outside the museum³⁹⁷, cafeterias (the only museum

³⁹⁷ Most of the museums have published or productive activities of various items (reproductions, copies of sculptures, different items that resemble a museum or any of its parts), which are generally not distributed outside the museum store. Publications are largely distributed free of charge (navesti primer), or by selling at prices that indicate the impossibility of free sale (navesti besplatne), or eventual sale / purchase of the representative purposes. (Pazar – 20EUR)

in Valjevo), renting space or other activities. Some Overall, we found that revenues from tourist visits are sporadic, although local authorities insist on the discourse of the museum as active participants in the development of cultural tourism (data from the research to be added). Possibly, archaeological or natural sites, including the museum charge have a large number of tourists (data from the research to be added: a cave in Arandelovac, Borino village in ...).. Even this, however, doesn't generate substantial income, in counting that museums don't have developed supporting activities (if they have it, the offer is basic) and their visitors / tourists are not from those with 'deep pockets'.

The practice of *patronage* (sponsoring) was not observed during the research which is not surprising in a culture in which the financial resources of the companies are distributed based on political party or priorities, actually based on political decisions (after sport, humanitarian activities, eventually the order comes to highly visible, popular culture)³⁹⁸. Gifts and legacies are represented through non-financial benefits: collections, real estate and individual objects (data from the research to be added). Curators noted that the impoverishment of the population growing practice of offering potential exhibits to museums for purchase.

Additionally, the scope of the budget provided by the founders gets another dimension through the perspective of its distribution: data provided by Cvetićanin (Cvetićanin, 9) show that only 10/20% of budget resources is used by institution for program activities while the rest is spent on fees of the employees (about 60%) and material costs and investments in the maintenance of the facilities and equipment (20%-30%). Thus, most of the museums are used to this ratio instead of having their goals as a driving aim to generate money for programs, they are tailoring their program according to the budget approved. (data from the research to be added)

5.2.3. Management of museums

Museum Management relies on the work of the administrative and supervisory boards in which 1/3 of the members are employees and other members are nominated and appointed by the local administrations; actually by a political party that won the elections. Selection procedure of the members for management and supervisory

³⁹⁸ Although out of the our scope of the museum that analyze an illustrative example is from the City of Belgrade, which funds from the budget gave to the concert for Madonna and Robin Williams in a situation where the facilities Belgrade City Museum literally collapsing.

boards are influenced by the politics to such a level that representatives from the employee's levels must have the approval of local authorities - and not just (for example) professional or trade unions/Syndicate of the institution ³⁹⁹. The Management and Supervisory Board have the function to control if the legal norms are respected, use of (public) resources available to the museum and, without the consent of the Steering Committee it is impossible to adopt a work plan and hire or engage new employees.

Election of Director is regulated by the statute of the institution. After insight into collecting statutes, directors should have the following formal qualifications and proven ability: (data from the research to be added).

Employees, as it is already explained participate in administrative bodies' throughout Steering Committee and Supervisory Board. Institutions which have active employees in trade union organizations are giving the additional possibility to participation in institutional work. It is important to stress out that trade union organizations in Serbia, as well as its branches from the field of culture, are demonstrated its high political instrumentalization⁴⁰⁰ in the last years.

Our research showed that the capacities and aspirations of Directors are not such as to be essential innovation in the museum work - which is certainly not possible without radical intervention into the very organization of work.

Directors (with a few exceptions (data from the research to be added)) do not support the practice of strategic or any other planning of the work (only plans applied are the once related to adoption of the city budget or edibility for funding; briefly if it is necessary to submit any plan or working program for the following calendar year (data from the research to be added - adoption of annual plans and reports mainly is a town halls formality). The histories of the institutions analysed show a continued application 'push-and-pull' strategy that directly depends on character of Director.

The work towards achieving a long-term vision of the institution and its role in the community, we saw only in the example of Kikinda and to some degree in Valjevo. Whatever, they are based on the energy of the individuals rather than developed collective capacities of the Museum working model based on strategic planning and continuous evaluation (data from the research to be added) - according to description of respondents, the involvement of local authorities.

³⁹⁹ This is not a formal agreement but 'unwritten' we could even say the 'private' or 'customary'.

⁴⁰⁰ His experience working as Secretary of Culture of Belgrade had a chance to cooperate directly with branches of culture unions. Our conclusion is based on that experience but, because of the nature and scope of the text will not be further elaborated.

5.2.4. Planning and evaluation

Even though findings of the other researchers are showing numerous procedures in the long-term planning exhibitions⁴⁰¹ in the museums, our results are showing that these data are relative. Our research showed that museums do not have strategic plans, and that existing plan is made under pressure of the procedure of planning the city budget. These plans are only partially developed respectively they are more lists of the wanted activities than systematically brought plans associated with the mission and vision of the institution and priorities of the founders. Vukadinović is determined by the fact that the evaluation process of the exhibition exists in 47.8% of museums that responded in his questionnaire (2009:252). Our study did not reveal a structural evaluation - clear dynamics, methodologies, parameters and indicators. The only indicator that we found in some of the museums is the attendance of exhibitions - and just as the number while the structure of the visit is part of the institutional memory of the collective. (data from the research to be added – Valjevo as an exception).

5.2.5. Human resources

The role of staff of the museum goes far beyond their involvement in the reception and meeting the expectations of the audience⁴⁰². Financial terms of the museum, the constraints imposed by work in the public sector, the general state of society, the expectation that the museums before setting new approaches to work are some of the real coordinates the work of museum workers in regional museums. The directors, curators, and others employed in museums exercise their working rights in accordance with the laws and regulations that apply to all employees in the public sector in the Serbia. This is even more important bearing in mind the fact that museums have very little own income. They are not showing any initiative in allocating funds to projects and therefore have no space for the possible engagement of professional associates (not even on temporary basis). The tendency of reducing

⁴⁰¹ Research of the M. Vukadinović is showing that 85,5% museums included in her research are planning exhibitions in advance, and 74% of them are planning long-term exhibitions (xxxx)

⁴⁰² This role are highlighting eg. Gob N. Second (2009: 301) and John H. Falk and Lynn Dierking D (Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning, 2000 xy)

the number of employees with the status of civil servants museums did not state that essentially rethink their business and come up with a solution that will lead to a more agile institution's culture. On the contrary, as first of them turned into 'warehouses' of the employees data from the research to be added – in the museum in Leskovac is hired ... people) others (data from the research to be added). All, however, agree that working culture is frustrating, but expected, considered the fact that the institution directors appointed only a few assistants as interested and active, in accordance with their work obligations.

Findings by other researchers suggest that museum employees believe that causes of 'their' current situation (more precisely – of the current situation of the museums) are mostly due to external factors: lack of financial resources, and insufficient use of professional capacities of museologists. For that, again, are to be blamed factors which are beyond the respondents powers: manner of organization of tasks, material conditions - space, technique, money; bad communication (Jokić, 2010:39, 40)⁴⁰³. To a great extent, interviewees are reserved about the small size of audience related problems supposing that personally they don't have much influence on the size of audience)⁴⁰⁴. This finding points out an alarming fact that those who should be responsible for changes in the work of museums – *curators* – “tend to withdraw and lack initiative, using as an alibi a need for adaptive behaviour (thinking that other type of behaviour would not lead to the desired outcome)”. (Jokić, 2010:49). As shown in other studies museum employees share awareness of the need for change in the museums' work methods⁴⁰⁵ and in spite of dissatisfaction related to certain aspects of work⁴⁰⁶, even 2/3 of the them (data relates to the employees of the cultural institutions in general, but is 'transferable to museums) are “generally satisfaction with their work”⁴⁰⁷ (the rest 1/3 includes mainly those who do not have clear attitude and each tenth worker is unsatisfied). Our conclusion is that, absurdly, museum workers praise potential change, but such as not implying any change of their position (benefits, workload, work methods). The researchers, whose findings

⁴⁰³ 50.2% experts in museums believes that their „personal professional capacities are insufficiently used“ (Jokić, 2010:7).

⁴⁰⁴ Average mark about impact is given by 32.7%, while 9.5% of museum experts believes that the impact is huge or, even, very huge. (Jokić, 2010:47)

⁴⁰⁵ However, there are visible changes in the mind frame of curators and in museums in Serbia, along with entrance into new century, but through the conducted research came conclusion that a certain period of time needs to pass before our institutions become “attractions” with their exhibitions, new installations, cultural hubs, entertainment areas, new knowledge and even interpretation of art, history, present moment. (Martinović, 2009:78)

⁴⁰⁶ “On one side people are not satisfied with their salaries, technological equipment of the work post, working area, instability of system under influence of political changes and social marginalization experience in the field of culture.” (Jokic, 2010, 6)

⁴⁰⁷ There are also records about satisfaction with the type of job which is usually in compliance with professional affinities, ensures relative freedom in thinking and implementation of programs and mostly includes availability of contents from the field of culture. (Jokic, 2010:6)

we took into consideration, hold the museum employees in low regard, stating that their lack of capacities to ensure resources to express their imagination presents one of the significant factors in the nonexistence of innovations in the museum work. Museums employees (although stating that their professional development is enabled by 78% of museums) estimate that the present structure of the museum employees enables successful work of almost half of the museums (46%)⁴⁰⁸ This leaves us with the crucial question: What influence (such) museum curator has on the assessment of the cultural heritage and how she/he can help a community's understanding of history? What is her/his influence on the operation of the museum as the learning experience?

What we have encountered is the almost 100% approach of curators as being 'protectors' and 'collectors' rather than contemporary curators. We could say that most of them are intransigents setting the tone "for their respective museum's programs, staff approach, and external perception". (Kate Bellamy and Carey Oppenheim Eds., *Learning to Live - Museums, young people and education*, Institute for Public Policy Research and National Museum Directors' Conference 2009: 47). They "can be seen as self-centred – not caring for cultural responsibility" (ibid.). In the museum "little will change in an Intransigent's organisation until he leaves his post – and with luck he will have able learning staff, who will deliver excellent programmes in spite of his obduracy (...) / in a context of subversion, embattlement and low staff morale which is neither healthy nor productive." (ibid.)⁴⁰⁹ We believe this to be linked with the degradation of museum professionals who regressed to certain fear of the audience dressed in "elitist, anti-popularistic defence of heritage which at best is regarded as a sacred charge laid upon a sensitive minority of custodians for future generations and at worst the attempt to maintain a monopoly for a few self-chosen arbiters of public taste." (J. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 1996:12). Essentially detached from their community "such arbiters, and such a minority (ibid.) are decreasingly representative to increasingly perform public needs. That led us to the situation of 'self-sufficient elites' who

⁴⁰⁸ Total number of the personnel employed for indefinite period of time in 74 museums, according to provided data, is 1.537 (12% with elementary education degree, 32% with secondary school degree, 6% with post-secondary school degree, 43% with high school degree, 8% with master or doctoral degree. (Martinovic, Jokic, 2009:15)

⁴⁰⁹ We could say that few directors we could see as narrow pragmatists – to a certain, small extent, "public-centered – with a primary concern for the museum's public role (in the sense of its profile, rather than its relationship with its audience) and a secondary concern for its engagement with individuals" (...) influencing their museums to "provide fertile environments for outstanding learning programs." (Kate Bellamy and Carey Oppenheim eds, *Learning to Live - Museums, young people and education*, Institute for Public Policy Research and National Museum Directors' Conference 2009: 47).

deserted the community⁴¹⁰ and who operate to sustain their own 'circle' of likeminded through political lobbying, and "through semi-official agencies, of public finance and state sponsorship." (J. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, 1996:12)⁴¹¹

The other characteristic of curators we have met, in regard to our topic, is their relationship to 'educators' / guiders / museum 'pedagogues'. This is the situation of ignorance rather than of conflict (see more at J. Milutinović, 2003:37). In the tradition of the early 20th century, 'the curators have devoted themselves exclusively to their collections and alienated from the visitors' (ibid.) (data from the research to be added).

5.2.6. Infrastructure

- Museums are mostly in the facilities that are not purpose built for museums (except in Leskovac and Arandelovac). That has its limitations.⁴¹² It is, even, estimated that infrastructure poses direct threat to the collection in 28% of museums.
- Only 15% of museums provide access for people with disabilities or special needs. (data from the research to be added)

5.2.7. Collaborations – partnerships

"Partnership is critical to all aspects of a museum's work and is especially important for museum educators trying to make contact with a wide cross section of people. (...) No single education department can employ enough experienced staff to develop and run the range and type of programs all these different groups need." (Kirsten Gibbs, Margherita Sani, Jane Thompson, *Lifelong Learning in Museums - A European Handbook*, xy:52) George E.Hein (*Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 171) are

⁴¹⁰ Book "Dominantna i neželjena elita" Latinka Perović, 2015, but many other public figures and intellectuals expressed the same such as Aleksandar Tijanić, Vesna Pešić etc.

⁴¹¹ "John Holden recently wrote that 'What is at work here is the belief that only a small minority can appreciate art, and that art of quality needs to be defended from the mob. If the mob gets its hands on the art, the art will be destroyed. Therefore art must be kept as the preserve of the few, because only the few understand and value it' (Holden 2008: 14). His words could well apply to any Intransigent in the context of learning. He writes that the 'cultural *aristos* necessarily wishes to exclude the public, the *demos*, from its ranks, because to admit the *demos* would undermine its own status' (ibid: 21). Our Intransigent is Holden's cultural *aristos*. In his Foreword to Holden's paper, Nicholas Hytner, artistic director of the National Theatre, writes that Holden 'takes on the cultural snobs, for whom a democratic culture is a debased culture, and he challenges cultural professionals to acknowledge their responsibilities as educators and public servants'" (Holden 2008: 7). (Kate Bellamy and Carey Oppenheim eds, *Learning to Live - Museums, young people and education*, Institute for Public Policy Research and National Museum Directors' Conference 2009: 47)

⁴¹² "Open Museum can be achieved first of all, in the true sense of the word, through proper architecture, wide open to the outside, to the city" A. Gob N. Druge, 2009: 97.

giving overview of potential partners for museum education service: libraries, other museums, other educational institutions, other institutions; while Gibbs, Sani and Thompson are extending it to “formal and informal education providers, adult learners, refugees and asylum seekers, cultural minorities, teachers, community groups, pensioners, children with special educational needs, teenagers, single mothers, librarians, archivists, people with disabilities or mental health difficulties.” (Kirsten Gibbs, Margherita Sani, Jane Thompson, *Lifelong Learning in Museums - A European Handbook*, xy: 52). The partnership brings in specialist knowledge, contact with their networks and audiences.

The major handicap in the work of the Regional Museum, as we consider it, is a lack of essential connectivity of museum network with other cultural factors at the local and regional level. This connection is even more common among the regional museum at the national level than the reference entities in the local community (except linear cooperation with schools). (data from the research to be added - Prijepolje)

5.3. Discourse of collecting and preservation

"The function of heritage preservation in the museum involves a set of activities and appropriate care about management and protection of collections: collections should be procured, maintained, stored, its persistence should be provided, taking into account any other museum functions." (A. Gob and N. Other, 2009 168) Conservation of cultural heritage is a planned creation of museum collections; it is "socially multifaceted, scientific, professional and humane process directed toward the preservation and interpretation of perceived value in the material world that surrounds us" (I Maroević, 1993: 169). Protection of cultural heritage means "the selection of the protected within the totality of heritage". (J. Milutinovic, 2003: 48) As such, it is a form of cultural politics, "it is about the link between ideology, public policy, national and community identity formation, and celebration, just as much as it is about technical issues." (Logan, Reeves, Taylor & Francis, 2008: 13) In this context, we do not relate the 'dominant ideology thesis' ("museum collections are assembled and presented to legitimate a particular political jurisdictional entity or ideology" xy: 39) only with the national state but with the elites and social groups of different 'background' with the power to dominate public discourse (even that of the national

state) with their ideas and world views. The institution uses musealisation process to legitimize, but it is legitimized by the same process. Power (in one case power in one case of individual and, state in the other case), is "deflorated through institutions. Relics gained the temple to be stored, by the birth of the museum. (Bojan Spasojević, Museums 2009/2: 42)

Many theorists have emphasized the importance of the central role of the objects in the museum experience and thus, in the process of learning in the museum as well. (JH Falk, JJ Koran, LD Dierking, 1986: 503, 505; HH Shettel, 1973) The dominant means of museum expression is a central element of the exhibition (permanent exhibitions, too), still, and it has great potential with its "visual, sensory, emotional and social aspects". (J. Milutinović, 2003: 155) The recognition process of this potential by itself (purchase of exhibits), its processing and exposure to the public (related to other objects and other elements of the exhibition) "means a certain construction of history "(P. Vergo by: GE Hein, 1998: 119-120). "It's not a matter of simply illustration of the objects in two or three spatial dimensions, museography should make objects speak also. They are silent witnesses, those who cannot say anything by themselves and the exhibition is right one who gives it a sense that we understand. But, it is necessary that exist. "A. Gob N. Other, 2009: 120

Traditional museology implies objectivity (as much as is possible) or preservation of the documentary value of the object *per se*, purposely to avoid its abuse which is a danger in museum work; highlighting in a strict language of ICOM " Code of Ethics."⁴¹³ (Milosavljević Ault, Časopis Kultura, 2014/144:17)

Starting from the assumption that the curators of the museum are professionals whose work is in accordance with professional and ethical standards, it would mean that amendments and extensions of collections should have the following parameters: "protection, filling in the collections, ensuring the representation and protection of local heritage" (A. Gob N. Other, 2009: 171/172).

In this aspect of the discourse about the museum, our data collection and analysis were related to research, collection, conservation, registration and documentation of materials that testify about life in the period of socialism in Serbia. Scrutinizing the museums' selection mechanisms and the possibilities and limitations of collecting we have asked questions within the survey we conducted and it was

⁴¹³ ICOM Code of Professional Ethics, is one possible norm from museum practice. The last time revised 2004. year, available at: <http://archives.icom.museum/ethics.html>.

discussed during the visits of selected regional museums (referred to the role of the museum as a participant in the process of heritage preservation). As the dominant factor is observed very small number of museums that have collections related to the period of socialism in Serbia, and that the structure of these exhibits is based on photographic material and the elements from the collections of fine arts (data from the research to be added). Arguments that are most often cited as reasons for omitting listed items - lack of funds for the purchase, lack of storage space, lack of space for expansion settings - not considered valid.

In particular, the issue of procurement exhibits is discussed. It was found that the museums do not have a defined procurement policy. New exhibits in museums are coming by *ad-hoc* actions of curators, based on funds available at the moment and actually offer. Lack of funds for the purchase of exhibits is most often cited as an argument for the impossibility of collection enlargement in their temporal scope. If there are the funds for this type of museum activities they are used to fill up the existing collections of artefacts from the period before World War II. If there were procurement policy, it could document (non) existence of the museum interest in the second half of the 20th century. If there was a procurement policy it would instruct curators to monitor the existence of the desired exhibits, and, even manage to secure them for the collection as a gift. It is certain that today, due to a greater number of items related to this period, their price is lower than it will be in any subsequent period when they become less available (here especially we take into consideration agility of private collectors, owners of cafes and other public spaces, which collect objects from the period of socialism for personal collections, further sale or use as scenery in their facilities).

In interviews we have performed, curators and directors have argued this situation: "saturation by topic of socialism in the past period and opened opportunities for museums to deal with issues in the period of socialism was not available" (Jančić), lack of funds for the purchase of (data from the research to be added), that there is still no needed historical distance (by curators the tied flow period is 50 years (data from the research to be added), Directors cited incompetence or, curators inactivity of which are expected to deal with the theme and period (data from the research to be added Zrenjanin, Bora). All respondents, however, expressed the view that the material on everyday life from period of socialism is important, some ethnologists

have emphasized that they plan to start dealing with, some of Directors asserted that they have already (but unsuccessfully) tried to communicate with the curators..

What however, can we conclude from the structure of collections, their documentation, revision, and (lack of) acquisition plan?

- That the messages that passed the inheritance from the socialist period, according to the museum, are not relevant to the community⁴¹⁴.
- That the material from the period of Socialism is not worth documents⁴¹⁵.
- That is not valid for the interpretation⁴¹⁶ – those exhibits that are 'mistakenly' found in settings outside the context of the resp. Their aspects related to the period of socialism are not interpreted or are closed to the public or from the times of socialism when they are placed in permanent settings are not re-contextualized.
- As such, is not a legitimate subject of the musealisation⁴¹⁷.
- Such relationships socialist period is excluded from the process of learning in a museum.

Analysing the position of the museum on the cultural market, and in the complex field of inheritance (here we mean both on-line discourse, the discourse of the artists, the existence of private collections and museums), we noticed that the competition in collecting heritage is becoming stronger. Researcher Tijana Jakovljević shows that the authority of the museums in this segment of their work is still, formally, is not called into question, and studies show that the ability to find family objects in the museum is still considered a social prestige. (Jakovljevic, Jovanovic, *Museums* 2009/2: 90)⁴¹⁸. Our findings are, also in this segment, different from those previously mentioned - the reason for this is perhaps the fact that our findings are based on the field work, and not only on the data collected through

⁴¹⁴ Maroević (1993: 92-3) sees museum objects as sources and carriers of information, and considers that museology is "part of information science that covers the study of the identification, protection and communication museality material testimonies of culture and nature (primarily museum exhibits) for the protection of human heritage, P. Van Mensch, 1986: 35). Van Mensch within museology is paying the greatest attention to the museum as well as to the data and information; Foreign ... *Theory of museum documentation (selection)* deals with the phenomenon of museum objects as the primary document that is selected or separated from the totality of the phenomenal world in the museum a reality. The selection of subjects is an important element of museum work, and, among other things, carried out and therefore in order to protect objects of intense deterioration and thus preserved for the future. J. Milutinovic, 2003 47

⁴¹⁵ Stranski Theory of the museum documents divides by the same author on the identification and selection museality carrier museality, whereby "museality is based on an estimate of the relationship of man to reality ..." (ZZ Stránský, 1970b: 50). Identification museality is a process that begins the process of selection of items for the museum, however, it is not detected directly, "knowledge museality approaching gradually, according to our knowledge deepens and complete" (ZZ Stránský, 1970b: 51). According to J. Milutinovic, 2003 47.

⁴¹⁶ "The interpretation and transmission of its messages, as well as forms of organized and institutionalized human activity (mainly museums) to achieve the goals of" Maroević (1993: 92-3); "Museology should open broad prospects context, expansion and variability of meanings of museum objects, their multifarious usability, and the possibility of expansion of the museum reality in the life of man." Maroević (1993: 92-3) (according to J. Milutinovic, 2003: 47)

⁴¹⁷ Calling museum item that bears the features museality museum exhibits, Stranski considers that its content is inexhaustible and that he is therefore a potential carrier of information that can be detected in the future ... (ZZ Stránský, 1970b: 63 by J. Milutinovic, 2003: 48)

⁴¹⁸ See Tijana Jakovljević, Ivana Jovanovic, Museums competitiveness in the market of culture, *Museums* 2009/2: 91

questionnaires. To us, namely, the fact of little number of visits to the museums, shows the crisis of authority - which stems from the public discourse of the museums, which is, again, based on their interpretation of the material from the collections. The presence of material from the period of socialism and its contextualization, showed by organized thematic exhibitions, have numerous visits (data from the research to be added) have numerous visits – so we tend to conclude that the extension of the period which museums deals with increased their actuality, and thus, has also visited. Curators are drawing our attention that, due to the difficult financial situation, until they become very wealthy museums donate materials (legacies) while the rest of the population tries to for relevant material for museums give money to, at a minimum, to repair their household budget (these situations we attended during field research – (data from the research to be added).

Some studied preformed in Serbia in 2009, confirms our findings - the most important priorities for majority of museums are “documentation, revisions, digitalization, museum space - adaptations and /or obeying for the new buildings”⁴¹⁹. In these, the priority the activities, museums showed very poor results: a large percentage of the museums does not have data on processing of collections (if they have it, about 56% is processed), a large percentage do not have data about the conservation of objects (if they have data, from all registered objects 9.2% are conserved - here we can add 7.9% of objects which are not subject of conservation) and there are not information about 61.8% of the objects⁴²⁰, categorization of cultural properties is made in 40.6% of the surveyed museums (M. Vukanović , 2009: 247-250). In the period 1999/2000 to 2009/2010 revision of the collections was performed in only 38% of museums (which need to be done every 5 years by the law). Documentation about immaterial structure has 46.4% of the surveyed museums, a fact that speaks that "this exceptionally sensitive structure still has insufficient attention" (Vukanović, 2009: 252). In contrast, other researchers are noticing problems of museums that have a professional nature (digitization, data processing, documentation are inadequate) justified by overall difficulties of the economic situation in society. (Vukanović, 2009: 255).

Considering the facts we have analyzed above, we were left with an open

⁴¹⁹ Martinovic, Jokic, 2009:16 and Vukanović, 2009:249

⁴²⁰ Reasons given by the museums for not having the data referred to financial reasons and the lack of conservation workshops within the museum (though not able to conserve objects), lack of space for storage (objects are not available or simply not classified) etc. In the last ten years the revision and the list of collections is made in 50.7% of the museums surveyed by Vukanović. (2009:248)

question about the role of museums in 'saving' objects that testify to the unmentionable and 'invented' a past, past that is reflected in controversial historical, 'historical' and private narratives? What is heritage without a museum? What is life, like of an object (immaterial heritage as well) that testify about past, is it possible? We found the like-minded expert in Hooper-Greenhill (1992) who "has argued that four questions are now central, which either were not asked previously or were assumed to be answered by a consensus which now no longer exists: why are collections assembled, what is considered collectable, how is a collection to be classified, and how are collections to be used?" (J. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, 1996: 36).

5.4. Scientific function

The study / research is a process that deals with exploring and interpretation of the scientific value of cultural and natural heritage (P. van Mensch, according to I. Maroević, 1993: 185). "This function also includes the professional and scientific processing and validation of the value and importance of material collected in the museum collections" *J. Milutinović, 2003: 49*

After examining the results of the research we found that in the period from 2007 to 2013 from 92 surveyed museums, (data from the research to be added) studied and researched the period of socialism. Regional museums that we had visited on their activities in this area generally provided inadequate information. We found, in fact, that the study and research of this period was organized in relation to the preparation of temporary thematic exhibitions (data from the research to be added), preparation of technical publications related to the functioning of the museum (data from the research to be added), preparation of publications issued by the museum and they are not directly related to the functioning of the museum (*data from the research to be added*).

Authors of publications did not respond to the question why, in addressing these topics, they keep on publishing articles and why this knowledge is not capitalized with exhibition or developed as part of the permanent exhibition. The most characteristic examples are (*data from the research to be added*). In the first case, an extensive monograph on the history of ... (*data from the research to be added - Bora*) very thoroughly deals with the period of socialism as well. The authors, who have a lot of experience in managing museums, felt no need to introduce any part of these

findings in their permanent exhibition (*data from the research to be added – intangible Heritage*).

We have had cases that museums' management officials who are engaged in research on the field did not think of showing any interest about the socialist period. The most common answer is that this "simply did occur to them" (*data from the research to be added*)

The fact is that some directors and curators, because of the personal and professional interests gave a significant contribution to the analysis of the museum work in this period (Krivošejev, director of the museum in Valjevo), and motivated by their ideological positions (director of the museum in Užice (made a significant contribution to the protection of capital copies of movable and immovable material heritage (Tito's bust after the relocation from the square was placed in the courtyard of the Museum, Memorial park Kadinjača also has been subject of study and - physical - maintenance of the museum). We emphasize that in their case as well, the practice of crown musealisation - organizing of the thematic exhibitions and introducing the material into a permanent setting, was missing (again arguments were lack of space, lack of colleagues' agility).

5.5. The communication discourse (presentation, animation)

Every aspect of the museum visit influences the creation of meaning: from the easiest way of finding the museum, parking problems, museum architecture, ticket payment method, courtesy of the museum staff, to the experiencing of the museum exhibition. If we consider the museum experience from the perspective of learning we have in mind the factors established by D.L. Perry, "a visitor has to be intrigued and surprised (curiosity); a visitor should have a feeling of competence (reliability and safety); visitor needs to understand that he has to make some changes (challenge); a visitor should have a feeling of control over the situation (control); it is advisable that the experience in the museum has to be fun and enjoyable (game); a visitor should be engaged in social interactions (communication) (according to: G. E. Hein, 1998: 151-2)⁴²¹. Therefore the concept by Stranski (1970b: 63), who distinguishes three types of museum communication: communication presentations (museum exposure /

⁴²¹ Anita Olds (1990) stresses that museum visitors need: Freedom of movement. Comfort. Competence. Control. (*George E. Hein, Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 158)

permanent exhibition, the museum exhibition / temporary exhibition and exhibition / mostly mobile exhibition), communication edition (transfer of information is done through publications) and general communication (various forms of communication that are not specific to museum activities, and can be applied by: lectures, films, television broadcasts and so on.) (~~according to J. Milutinovic, 2003: 47~~) we will add considerations of the universal elements of museums⁴²² as learning environment: organization of the space, different aspects of the visual communication with the visitor data from the research to be added)⁴²³ The central place within the discourse of the museum (presentation) will be given to the permanent exhibition, but with presenting other aspects of the communication / animation strategies of the museums we would like to implement the holistic approach to museums experience – discourse built through different aspects of its public work.

In only 13, 5% of museums exists some form of the museum membership program while in only 8% there is a Kid's Club.

5.5.1. *Museum space*

Our first contact with the museum – or, from the perspective of the museum – the first impression that sets the tone in communication with the audience, is the space (its location, its appearance, and its general atmosphere). Considered to be one of the aspects of the learning in museums, museum environment⁴²⁴ influences not only how people behave but “what they observe, and what they remember”. (John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, *Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, 2000:xy) This aspect of the museum discourse happens most often “subtly and / or subconsciously” (ibid.) but it should be treated as a part of an well thought

⁴²² “Universal design is a relatively new expression of an idea that has been around for a long time: creating environments and artifacts that work well for *everyone*, including people with disabilities. Far from being simply an architectural or an accessibility concept, universal design in a museum is an educational concept incorporating all factors that limit access. The principal barriers to access to museums are social class, poverty, educational disadvantage, ethnic and cultural background, disability and an individual's own attitudes. These factors often operate in combination, so that a successful strategy to overcome them requires a coordinated programme. (Anderson 1997:61)” (*George E.Hein, Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 168)

⁴²³ “Part of educational activities of museums should be regarded as a system of orientation, ie. all forms of interpretation and presentation of the museum in order to improve conceptual and spatial orientation in the new environment.” (DP Ausubel, 1981).

⁴²⁴ “The museum environment plays an important role in promoting understanding of the works, effectiveness in raising the intellectual curiosity of the users and involving them in a unique experience, rich in cultural and emotional values. Visitors who feel physically comfortable, welcomed and orientated in museum spaces will enjoy their visit more and learn more as a result. ” Kirsten Gibbs, Margherita Sani, Jane Thompson, *Lifelong Learning in Museums - A European Handbook*, xy: 93. The relevance of this subject led the European Museum Forum to devote its 2005 Workshop to this theme, the conclusions of which can be read on: www.collectandshare.eu.com under “reports”. The importance of the environment to learning is also recognised in the UK Museums Libraries and Archive Council's best practice framework for access and education, “Inspiring Learning for All”, where it refers to ‘Places - Creating an inspiring and learning environment that supports learning.’

"organization of materials and forms in such a way as to fulfill a specific purpose."⁴²⁵ – to “attract and pull in the visitor” (Falk and Dierking, 2000:xy).

By their traditional style the buildings of all museums analysed are old (except Leskovac and Arandelovac), based in the city center (except Arandelovac), it “suggest a bank, a courthouse, or other public building entered only when necessary, rather than a place that is desirable for learning and enjoyment” (Hein, 1998: 157) and “are often designed with little concern for the needs of visitors for privacy and comfort in order to learn”. (ibid., 1998: 159)

For the visitor the first contact with the museum is the key - it not only shows the relationship of the museum to the visits but can be one of the decisive factors for the return of the visitors. “Affability to the audience is an obligation for the museum if it wants to fulfil the functions awarded by society: physical reception (furnished space and comfort), moral reception (open museum, hospitable museum) and intellectual reception (message, susceptible discourse for the most visitors).” (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 95) This includes the organization of the reception, information area, ‘museum shop’, making orientation transparent and easy, creating meeting points, opportunities for interaction (concept of “sociability in museums”⁴²⁶). Colors, lighting, elements of interior design, operational functions (if and where could visitors leave ‘things’ that will make their visit less comfortable, as with which they can identify the way to toilets, the transparency of the position of the different contents offered etc.)⁴²⁷ General atmosphere contributes to a more pleasant beginning of the visit. “Different types of assistance are offered during the visit, so that they can best meet the maximum visitors’ expectations: visits with guides, animations, audio-centres for documentation.” (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 98) The additional proof of museums awareness of its role in democratization and openness is shown in their concern for the audience with “Reduced mobility, for the people with visual and hearing deficiencies and all other categories of visitors for that one detail can be an insurmountable obstacle for the visit to the museum.” (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 95)

In most museums, not only is the entrance not clearly marked, but, upon entering, it is not clear what the content and organization of the museum settings are, also what is the proposed route for the walk, what is 'intention' of the authors. In

⁴²⁵ designer Marjorie Elliott Bevin, 1977:10.

⁴²⁶ Volume No. 5 (1994) of the journal *Publics & Musees* dedicated to this topic. In him we find the article Manon Niquette, "Elements critiques pour l'analyse de la reception et du partage des social connaissances", p. 79-97, where the author critically analyzes the state of research, mainly based on the Anglo-Saxon area..

⁴²⁷ See John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, *Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, 2000.

museums where this effort is made it is insufficient, e.g. Zrenjanin... In museums we visited, even with entrance halls and spacious outdoor (Leskovac, data from the research to be added) they do not create a feeling of comfort and openness. One gets the impression that they are 'transitory spaces' which are not expected to retain visitors. Their function is to provide overall information which will facilitate orientation of visitors⁴²⁸, also there is no content and activities for visitors of the museum. This situation is repeated in other museums, where the lack of space, (data from the research to be added) the most common argument for that same situation is: "referral signals, small plans, explicative texts ... titles and subtitles" do not exist (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 96) "Welcoming different learners, each with his or her own combination of learning needs" (John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, *Learning From Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, 2000 xy) is totally overlooked. Our museums completely ignore the organizers of the progress (conceptual, review and topographic organizers progress, C. G. Screven, according to G.E. Hein, 1998: 138) giving up possibility to help visitors "to plan their visit to the museum, exercise plans and estimates progress." (J. Milutinović, 2003:156). The rarest participants are conceptual organizers that should enable introduction to the subject, concepts, i.e. intellectual structure of museum content. Review organizers (short presentations about what you can see, do and learn in the museum) as well as visitors notation about what to expect at the museum and provide them with information about where they are currently located and where they can get topographical information (maps, graphics, etc.) - in 'our' if they exist they are not enough noticeable, more precisely, they are not in the proper size and position. (data from the research to be added)

The only corrective to this situation is museum staff who can offer adequate explanation, interpretation and answers to the question of space and its organization. The visitor who comes to the museum with doubts and uncertainties can gain help only if he/she has a guide, educator, a person who is selling tickets or any other person (even the security) at their disposal, which will, with more or less

⁴²⁸ "Museum and gallery orientation and signage caters for a wide variety of age, social, national, cultural and other special interest groups, and relies on a mix of audio, visual and digital aids to capture their attention. (John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, *Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, 2000:xy) According to environmental psychologist Gary Evans, several physical features are known to support good orientation and navigation. These include interior settings that conform to relatively simple, overall geometric patterns; well-marked and bounded distinctive subsections or districts; interiors with views of the surrounding external environment; and spaces with interior grid patterns (i.e., parallel interior hallways and ninety-degree intersections) that indicate both direction of movement and extent of progress as the path is traversed. All of these attributes enhance visitors' ability to navigate easily through the building on their own. (John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, *Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, 2000:xy)

qualifications provide the necessary information related to the basic directions of movement and orientation.

Museums also do not make the effort to introduce visitors with the institution: history of the institution, buildings, collections, working methods of the museum, etc. (T. Šola, 2002) possibly can be found on the website of the museum but they are rarely incorporated into the very setting.

All mentioned are not only signs of museums not considering the concepts of 'learning environments'⁴²⁹ but contributing to feeling of insecurity of the new visitors and promoting 'dependency model': visitor depends on the employee of the museum in order to establish even basic communication with the 'institution'.

5.5.2. *Complex permanent exhibition*

Research shows that exhibition⁴³⁰ is elementary⁴³¹ and most prominent⁴³² part of establishing discourse *communication*⁴³³ of a certain institution: in Serbia, visitors come to the museums most often to see an exhibition (72,9%)⁴³⁴ - rather temporary exhibition (58,1%) than permanent (30,4%) – based on the advice of close persons (31,7%) in order to learn something new (43,9%)⁴³⁵. Quality of an exhibition has the biggest influence on their opinion and impression of the museum (54,6%). (Martinović, 2009:31).

In the museums of Serbia, there is a disproportionately small number of permanent exhibitions. As research shows (V. Krivošejev, I. Damnjanović, 2014, <http://article.sapub.org/10.5923.s.tourism.201402.04.html>) out of 40 municipal

⁴²⁹ "The Constructivist Museum, recognizing this fundamental component of developing learning environments, is concerned with visitors' orientation. Both the physical surroundings of the building and its grounds and the orientation within those surroundings need to be considered." (George E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 160)

⁴³⁰ The word exhibition, hereinafter, stands for a public representation of a certain theme, messages and objects inherent in museums, be they a part of a permanent or temporary exhibition.

⁴³¹ Maroević (1993) points out that exhibition is an elementary form of museum communication because it represents an organized system from within and with the help of which museums present to social and cultural public messages contained in the museum's exhibits. (acc. J. Mihutinović, 2003: 49) "A museum's function should not be limited to the act of exhibiting nor be reduced to exhibiting halls. However, exhibitions are the most prominent feature of a museum, a feature by which a museum is most often recognized by the public. A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 104-105

⁴³² "People respond powerfully to exhibitions. Exhibitions, like all successfully constructed images, can dramatically affect people. (Freeberg 1989.) They can make people feel good or bad, they can "elate and excite, arouse and satisfy, anger, shock and depress. Indeed [exhibitions] can play havoc with the emotions." (Belcher 1991,41) *Successful museum exhibitions can move visitors to higher levels of understanding across a large range of topics.*" John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, *Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, 2000.

⁴³³ T. Šola (1986:89) points out that museum communication is necessarily a creative process: "The purpose of every proper museum communication is to provide arguments for efficient understanding of specific problems, phenomena, relations, time and space connections... The purpose of that creative communication is developing a sense of caring about the world around us and its future. The past in the museums is just there!"

⁴³⁴ As for museum program, high-educated visitors (41,9%) mainly chose lectures, performances and discussions, while the students and the pupils (45,4%) opt for workshops. (Martinović, 2009, 31)

⁴³⁵ Other reasons for visit are: creative inspiration (20,4%), presence to exiting event (18,0%) or relaxing from daily obligations (16,1%). (Martinović, 2009, 31)

museums - with jurisdiction expanded to several surrounding municipalities - in the period 2006 -2008, 11 of them, did not have an active complex permanent exhibition (7 of which did have a thematic exhibition). Of 29 with central, permanent complex exhibitions 16 also had one or more thematic exhibitions⁴³⁶. Central, complex, permanent exhibition⁴³⁷ of some museums are closed, because of devastation of museum facilities, ongoing investment works or because of the absence of the space for such content, we can see big differences both in their ages and in the space they occupy, but also in an approach to the way of presentation. Permanent exhibition are mostly made with the opening of the museum, and since then they are seldom changed in conceptual and visual sense. Although evaluated by experts as, in general, outdated and conceptually outdated⁴³⁸, even that some audiences consider them to be ‘similar in all towns’⁴³⁹ data show the significant increase of the number of visitors⁴⁴⁰.

In the period from 2007 to 2010 the following museums presented a new permanent (complex or thematic) exhibition: the National Museum in Valjevo, the National Museum in Kraljevo, The Knjaževac Town Museum, The Gallery of Matica srpska in Novi Sad, “Ras” Museum in Novi Pazar, Pedagogical Museum in Belgrade. (Martinović, Journal *Kultura*, 2014/144:76) (data from the research to be added)

As in the observation of E. Hooper-Greenhill (1999) our insight into the work of the regional museums in Serbia indicates that their preparations for approaching the “interpretation” of a complex permanent exhibition were in best case (but not in the majority of cases) discussions about the conceptual approach which would be applied in a concrete design of an exhibition/questioning the choice of the exhibiting technologies. Our research shows that in the discussions about the functioning of the permanent exhibitions the curators and the directors didn’t take the museum’s identity, its concept and desired audience as their starting point. Instead, they focused

⁴³⁶ Out of that number, 8 museums have open-air dependencies. It is either a village folk museum, museum displays at archaeological sites or historically famous places – in V. Krivošev, Muzeji, menadžment, turizam: ka savremenom muzeju od teorije do prakse, Valjevo, Narodni muzej Valjevo and NIP Obrazovni informator, 2012

⁴³⁷ We are using the same classification as in the Krivošev, Damjanović analyses (American Journal of Tourism Management, 2014) in order to be able to compare the results of our research findings and their conclusions. Therefore we will look into two types of permanent museum exhibitions – complex / encyclopedic (through the use of the most diverse exhibition materials present several "themed stories" from various periods, with topics arranged mostly applying chronological principle)⁴³⁷ and thematic (which present, more or less chronologically limited historic themes - process, person, event - and in practice they appear in two forms, as a museum indoor exhibits and open air ones).

⁴³⁸ D. Martinović, 2014:88; Krivošev, Damjanović, 2014.

⁴³⁹ Krivošev (in Martinović, Jokić, 2009:35): that (many) pupils visiting the museums within excursions are motivated by their teachers to see the current exhibition program of the museums rather than permanent exhibitions because they are considered to be similar in all towns.

⁴⁴⁰ From 712.624 visitors in 2006, 720.756 in 2007 to 1.167.796 in 2008. (Martinović, Jokić, 13, 19, 34/35 i 73) As the museums with the highest attendance of permanent exhibitions, Martinović states that Muzej Srema (in Sremski Karlovci) with the percentage of visiting the permanent exhibition of 65,0%, National Museum in Valjevo (64,6%) and National Museum in Kikinda (62,5%). (Martinović, 2009, 20).

on the need to represent all of the collections with the most representative exhibits.⁴⁴¹ Unfortunately, in the majority of cases (take Valjevo as an example) the collections dictated the conception of an exhibition and the agility of curators and their communication with the directors had an influence on the position and the scope of presenting an exhibition. (data from the research to be added)

The curatorial team has almost never discussed the interpretative strategies which visitors could use or thought about, based on the research on museum audience, how the exhibiting concepts and techniques will encourage visitors to have their own interpretations. Interpretation was not approached to as a process which engages the visitor so that he/she could find meaning in his/her experience of the museum and its exhibitions. (Huper-Grinhil)⁴⁴². Instead, it was approached to as a need of an individual curator to present the material from the museum's collection. (data from the research to be added) Researching into the criteria which served as guidelines for the curators and those most responsible for the creation of new exhibitions D. Martinović found that "their idea, in the majority of cases, was to exhibit the best work form the museum's collection". Exhibitions' authors were satisfied with presenting objects, sometimes even not in logically organized exhibition content. (data from the research to be added)

In cases of a more complex exhibition (data from the research to be added) one can clearly see a director's and/or authorial team's approach which tried to put together a material from a complex museum exhibition into one chronological narration. (data from the research to be added) We could say that the starting point in all of this was insisting on organization of monographs and retrospective exhibitions without devised techniques of mediation and interpretation⁴⁴³ related to museums outlook on the world or on the intention to motivate visitors to articulate and express their view ("they don't offer any clear relation to an alternative explanation of a certain phenomenon.", G. E. Hein, 1996:14). As well as in other museums which are based on traditional museum practices, an exhibition "reflects the viewpoint of the curator, translated into a 'public friendly' exhibition by the designer." (Gibbs, Sani, Thompson, 2004:44) Those who are knowledgeable in learning and learning styles

⁴⁴¹ D. Martinović came to similar conclusions in: Nove stalne postavke u funkciji transformisanja muzeja u Srbiji, *Journal Kultura*, 144/2014:83

⁴⁴² Or even, to be more complex, having in mind the individuality of interpretations, the existence of different groups of interpretations, different learning styles etc.

⁴⁴³ Exceptions to this rule (braver programs, openness for aesthetic experiments, aspiration towards contemporary world trends – as is described by Cveticanin, unpublished, 22), mainly are the result of individual capabilities of managers and/or ambitious personnel, as well as - in case of republic institutions - striving to global recognition and exit to global market.

(educators, presentation staff, cultural mediators and interpretation staff) were not included in the process of the planning or realization of the permanent exhibition.

In the designing of new exhibitions the only 'contextual' factor which was taken into consideration was related to the financial interest of the founders (there was no prior research or considering of e.g. local and regional sociocultural context, museum context and educational context). This scarcity most definitely had an influence on the fact that many exhibitions presented to the public as new were in fact slightly altered versions of previous exhibitions. (data from the research to be added). An extreme example of new permanent exhibition is partially changed extensive permanent exhibition in Leskovac. The exhibition is changed on the first level, the the museum visit also takes place on the second level where the old permanent exhibition is and the third level – where parts of old permanent exhibition can also be found– is not open for public (the reason for this is the theme of that part of exhibition).

Although the museum had the data about the structure of visits (curators know that the great majority of visits comprises primary school audience which comes in a the form group visits) new exhibitions were not used as an opportunity to cater the different needs of the visitors – e.g. creating special contents for the existing audience and contents and approaches which would attract new audiences, applying some of the existing theoretical frameworks/learning from the existing museum practices that “consider the various stages of intellectual development in audiences, as well as the wide range of socially mediated ‘developmental stages among all visitors” (*Hein, 1998:176*⁴⁴⁴) Although more than 80% of museum visits are made up of organized visits of primary school audiences the exhibitions are not tailored to their needs and abilities. Museums ‘compensate’ that by an additional binding component which, we may say so, further undermines the independence of the discovery process: coming to an exhibitions is not only connected to school activities (young learners come as a part of an organized school visit/school activity), but these groups are also welcomed by guides appointed by the museum which further hinders independent research.

The very concept of exhibitions, we were told, was made with the idea to make museums accessible to the wider public. The exhibition itself, by its museographic approach, texts and scenography is not supposed to cater the needs, capacities and preferences of any specific target group. Although the majority of

⁴⁴⁴ Heir writes in detail about strategies for exhibitions being ‘developmentally appropriate’ (*George E.Hein, Learning in the Museum, 1998*)

visits consist of organized groups of school kids (primary school), they are not defined as the primary target group and thus their age-specific needs are not incorporated into the permanent exhibition, i.e. the content of a museum exhibition is not harmonized with the understanding of the target visitor group.

Elements in an exhibition, “based on criteria such as pleasure, intrigue, intellectual challenge⁴⁴⁵, and life connection, which are often explicit goals of exhibit development teams” were not considered. (Leinhardt, **Crowley**, Knutson eds, 2002:xy).

Just as the questions about the ‘theme’ and the ‘purpose’ were left without a clear answer (interlocutors most often gave answers by talking about the structure of the collection, space size and limited financial resources) so were the questions about the period which the exhibition covers left without a precise answer. In the official museum documents this period is marked as “to date” (data from the research to be added) and as such it also used as a reference on the museums’ websites. (data from the research to be added). All complex permanent exhibitions deal with quite old historic periods: some with periods before the beginning of the Second World War (data from the research to be added), some include a short narrative about the Second World War (data from the research to be added) and only one museum (in Leskovac) within a complex permanent exhibition explores the period of post-war – socialistic – construction - but this part of the museum is closed for the public, although that part of the building is officially open. Even that type of museum exhibition content (which excludes a more modern historic periods) is not connected with the “real world, real life situations”. (*J. Milutinović, 2003:151*)

The following elements of different types of exhibiting can be seen at exhibitions:

- linear exhibiting, objects taken out its social context. There is no room for ambiguity or unexpectedness and the meaning of the exhibition is found in its “objectivity” (P. van Mensch, 1992) (discourse elements *Taxonomic exhibitions*) (data from the research to be added)
- thematical approach to organizing exhibiting materials - – the exhibition parts are conditioned by structure, i.e. the exhibition structure is divided into units according to the museum’s collection and later ‘segmented’ in the museum itself (discourse

⁴⁴⁵ On “seduction, enticing the learner by the lure of the familiar, the comfortable, the known, to explore more deeply; the lure of a challenge” and “the problem of match (Hunt 1961)” see *George E. Hein, Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 176

elements of *Narrative exhibitions*) (data from the research to be added) Exhibitions are organized in regard to the local landmarks, (data from the research to be added – documents or objects of great local importance, original maps, some local craftsman's masterpieces and/or in some parts in regard to archeological themes, (data from the research to be added – crafts, fire, arts, death), ethnography (data from the research to be added – age, kitchen, bedroom, fieldwork, mine...)

- we can notice also the trend of museums to replicate "reality"/authenticity of musealized past (exhibitions with primary experience, discourse elements *situational exhibitions* - P. van Mensch, 1992). (data from the research to be added). Exhibitions in these parts present objects together with the elements of social and physical surrounding, i.e. they clarify their primary function. These 'multiple representations', however, do not represent "the natural complexity of the real world" are not in "a context which will be familiar to the majority of visitors". (*J. Milutinović, 2003:151*).⁴⁴⁶

In the majority of museographical approaches the museum organizes these elements chronologically and objects are presented in different exhibiting halls according to their place in the museum collection (data from the research to be added) or the chronology presents basis for representing every thematic collection. (data from the research to be added)

All of these elements are combined together in a structure with a clear beginning and end, and are intended to be visited in a certain order. It was impossible to understand any type of a hierarchical arrangement of subject (from simple to complex) and, therefore, only the dimensions of the objects could be used as focal point that would be used by those not being interested in all the materials exhibited. This, though, would not allow for the whole narrative of the exhibition to be followed.

When it comes to the style criterion all exhibitions deeply acknowledge the aesthetic qualities of the exhibited item. There is a trend of evoking a certain period, ambient, period style (*Evocative exhibitions*) by which the visitor's attention is directed only to one form of reality which isn't clearly explained. (data from the research to be added) We consider all these exhibitions to be didactic/educational but in a way that they 'hide' their interpreting intention behind 'stating the facts'. According to the exhibiting techniques all exhibitions are static: they are based on

⁴⁴⁶ They can provide unified wholes in different ways: guidance, secondary materials (texts, drawings, diagrams, photographs, models, replicas), reconstructions, actors' participations, audio-visual presentations, information centres etc. (Ibid, 2002). *J. Milutinović, 2003, p. 152*

authentic museum material with exhibits arranged in a neutral catalogue manner. (Lj. Kanižaj, 1987). If challenged to be clearer and to define the subject/theme of the exhibition we could eventually say that the traditional presence of the ancestors of current local community members in a particular geographical area⁴⁴⁷ and their history are represented through great historical events and periods. There aren't many elements referring to everyday life (data from the research to be added) but the narration about the great people from the area in which the museum is located is omnipresent. It could be also said that this act of excluding a certain period indicates in which 'parts' of local history we can find sources of a current community's values and which of those values should be passed on to future generations.. (data from the research to be added)

In the development of the 'museological educational' practice, according to the systematization of Giordan (A. Giordan, 1996) our museums function following the oldest and most widespread transmission model⁴⁴⁸ which is "based on empiricism and rests on the idea of frontal transmission of knowledge whereby certain content is being broken down into smaller parts; the sum of those parts is what should be acquired" (*J. Milutinović, 2003: 95*). The mediation of information which the visitor is supposed to grasp and remember "takes form of a board, objects in glass cases with texts, labels and dioramas" (*ibid*) *Discovery learning*⁴⁴⁹ elements are added to some of those exhibitions, not as a permanent, but as a part of the workshops or special programs for certain target groups (data from the research to be added) They motivate exploration but still not challenge the "correct" interpretation of the exhibition.

Social interaction⁴⁵⁰ within museums is not encouraged: no places to 'rest', sometimes not enough space for a bigger groups to stop together, no infrastructure that will motivate groups to communicate at the entrance nor at the exit (the same space), no social spaces such are cafes or vending machines. Many of the museums are, even, 'no talking' environments. We could even say that longer stay in the museum and socializing is systematically discouraged. We even had the experience that lights at the exhibitions were turned on our entrance and turned off as soon as we would live the exhibition segment – which was justified by the savings on the

⁴⁴⁷ In a great number of museums visitors are welcomed at the entrance hall of the exhibition by a skeleton of their great ancestor. The exhibition implies that those remains are indeed of human origin, in most cases they are remains of men or warriors (data from the research to be added)

⁴⁴⁸ Matusov i Rogoff described the impact of four learning practices on the organization of the museums / E. Matusov i B. Rogoff, 1995

⁴⁴⁹ For more on Discovery learning at exhibitions see *George E. Hein, Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 33, 38 etc.

⁴⁵⁰ On the role of social interaction in process of learning in the museums see *George E. Hein, Learning in the Museum*, 1998

electricity bill. (data from the research to be added)

The didactic support in the analyzed museums is not based on the approach which makes the unfamiliar more familiar to the visitor.⁴⁵¹ Unclear theme, decontextualized object or (see above) lack of understanding of visitor's experience, personal preferences or curator approaches which do not communicate with the visitor are just some of the aspects of exhibitions which not only hinder the '(conceptual) accessibility' of an exhibition⁴⁵² but may also confuse the visitor. In order to accomplish "the clarity of theme, exhibition idea and that what makes the identification of an exhibition possible"⁴⁵³ curators take the approach of "museumology of objects" (the idea of the exhibition is implicit, it's enough to present just the objects – with minimum information input) or the approach of "museumology of ideas" ("an author explicitly gives the meaning to an exhibition" by choosing one of many possible meanings, A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009:108) (data from the research to be added) Although intended for wider audiences even in these aspects of work museums show only formal (cold) openness (J. Milutinović, 2003: 44).

Texts at the exhibitions provide the necessary informational support and contribute to assigning meaning to the objects. (acc. A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 124); they should guide, follow and complement the process of exploring an exhibition (signalizing, providing general information about the theme, precisely document the exhibited objects and provide additional information) and they should be read without difficulty during the visitor's moving through the exhibiting space. (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 125) The visitors don't read everything and even when they do – they read it on 'many different levels' (ibid: 126) and so the exhibition and text author should take that into consideration when designing texts at an exhibition – title, subtitles/titles of smaller units, informational texts, labels and texts providing more/additional information. According to this we will classify museums into several groups:

⁴⁵¹ *George E. Hein* recommends two strategies: connecting the exhibited unfamiliar with what is familiar to the audience or setting the ordinary and therefore (presumably) familiar objects as the center of the exhibition narrative. (*George E. Hein, Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 162) For example "connection can be made in the mind of the visitor between the foreign, strange objects of the older collections and their everyday material culture." (*ibid*: 162) This approach is based on the constructivist position that the process of learning is dependent on a previous knowledge and is, in essence, associating the new with ideas, concepts which we have previously acquired. Audience research is an approach needed in order for the museum to get to know what is considered familiar enable intellectual accessibility of the exhibition. Based on those data expended access can be tailored with more certainty. *Hein* offers examples such as "layered text" designed for various categories of visitors, audio labels, addition of live interpretation, reference books, different computer-based resources etc. (*ibid*: 165)

⁴⁵² "Making objects more accessible means both including them in the discourse and making them understandable to the target audience" (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 109)

⁴⁵³ Teboul et Champarnaud, 1999: 84-85.

- Museums which believe that exhibits speak enough ‘for themselves’ and that the individual visitor will have enough knowledge and experience to understand on their own the author’s intention and recognize individual/certain exhibits. Group visits, on the other hand, will be guided. (data from the research to be added)⁴⁵⁴
- Museums which don’t make a difference between the label content from content written on the exhibit cardboard. They also don’t make a difference between the texts intended for visitors/wider audiences and technical texts. (data from the research to be added)
- Museums which by wishing to say too much fail to make a selection and choose an adequate way of exhibiting objects and in doing so they lose their readers/audience. (data from the research to be added)

In general, what is lacking in all exhibitions is an introductory text (“it enables the visitor to immediately understand the exhibition discourse, theme, meaning, quantitative meaning and put the exhibition alongside his/her previously acquired knowledge” A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 130) and a synthesized text (“covering different elements which the visitor is thinking about during the exhibition and which encourage him/her to come back to them and make a recapitulation of what he/she saw...This type of text allows visitors to move from one department to another with greater ease.” Ibid.).

The text content, its scope, language, its reproduction size (font size) suggest that the museums are expecting: a healthy visitor, ready to bend in order to read the available information; someone having good vision so that he/she could manage to read texts which are located at a certain distance in glass cases; someone of average height who is well educated and very interested in the exhibition content (data from the research to be added) texts put at a greater distance don’t have larger font size – e.g. Jagodina).

Our impression is that the weakest feature of these exhibition is the flow of their content.⁴⁵⁵ Apart from the fact that they are arranged in a linear manner, exhibitions don’t offer any ‘gradation’ of materials, i.e. they ignore behavioral studies

⁴⁵⁴ They often refer to the researcher’s findings which indicate that the audience at an exhibition rarely reads, but they neglect other findings e.g. McManus (1989b) reported 70 per cent “text echo”— that is, use of text language by visitors... Davidson *et al.* (1991) noted that when asked about what they had read on the labels, some visitors reported what they had heard on audiotapes. (George E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 140)

⁴⁵⁵ “The flow of an exhibitions should be primarily to translate the museum’s discourse into its space – space comprising three dimensions. It affects the interpretation of an exhibition and, to a certain extent, makes the museographic program more noticeable to the visitor. The proximity, connection and the relations which the exhibition flow defines should reflect the logical structure of the exhibition as much as they can.” A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 114

which show that visitors “spend little time at individual exhibit components (often a matter of a few seconds and seldom as much as one minute); seldom read labels; usually stop at less than half the components at an exhibit; are more likely to use trial-and-error methods at interactive exhibits than to read instructions (Hein, 1998: 138). Other museological materials (apart from objects – but including objects, documents as well) look like not used as part of the strategies for that time to be increased. Explanatory labels are usually too long and of uninspiring content and strict language and advanced organizers⁴⁵⁶ are rarely used. Conceptual organizers which are supposed to enable the introducing of theme, concepts, i.e. intellectual property of museum contents are almost never used. Informational organizers (short descriptions about what can be seen, done and learnt in a museum) as well as information about what visitors can expect to find in a museum which also inform them about where they currently are and where they can find the desired information are, if even present in ‘our museums’, not noticeable enough, i.e. they are not of adequate size and position. The same goes for topographic organizers (maps, graphical representations etc.) (data from the research to be added) If we connect these circumstances with the information that we received about the purposes of complex permanent exhibitions, as well as with the fact that these exhibitions are without a title (the very title of an exhibition should point to its essence) it seems that these exhibitions i.e. their purpose is not clear even to their authors. (data from the research to be added) Within this approach “landmarks” in exhibitions are, simply, the biggest exhibits and while they attract the attention of the visitors following them⁴⁵⁷, they do not give a logical narrative. The analyzed exhibitions allow for free movement through the exhibited components but they are not processed in the same manner, so you can find yourself in front of a certain content which has only basic coordinates, i.e. to be able to understand the content, one must precisely and continually follow the exhibition narrative. (data from the research to be added).

What is even more common is not following the basic rules of ergonomics⁴⁵⁸ and the fact that attending an exhibition (learning) requires certain time. “Visitor comfort is an important prerequisite for visitor learning in museums.” (Hein, 1998: 137). Museums rooms are not designed to be comfortable for longer periods of time.

⁴⁵⁶ Advanced organizers are “telling visitors what they might learn or that the principles contained in the exhibits that follow is sound” (George E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 138).

⁴⁵⁷ Visitors’ paths tend to be prominent between landmarks (George E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum*, 1998: 136)

⁴⁵⁸ The physical factors that support or limit visitors’ comfort and attention to exhibit components (Evans 1995)

Very rarely can you find (data from the research to be added); rest areas in the exhibiting space or a place where you can spend some time sitting and thinking, reading or further exploring the exhibits etc. (data from the research to be added – even when there are portable chairs they are almost invisible to the public - Zrenjanin). Missing of the simple, and not expensive, solutions such as the addition of seating to a gallery are usually justified by the shortage of the m2 at the exhibition space (data from the research to be added); dismissing of the visitors feeling of ‘safety’ and familiarity (poor or unexisting orientation support), placement and organization of the ticket sales and info points), small text etc. influence visitor perceptions and, do not contribute to visitors’ extending time at the exhibition. (Hein, 1998: 172) The curators do not only avoid using available ways of extending the visitors’ time at the exhibition (e.g. adding labels, audio messages, pictures, interactive exhibits, tacit sources of knowledge...which enable the understanding of wider exhibit context) but they also in working with the majority of visits, tend to decrease that time.

The theory of optimal experience based on the concept of flow/intrinsic motivation (M. Csikszentmihalyi) ⁴⁵⁹, according to the curators’ testimonials is unheard of in our museums – at least in the majority of visits. Young visitors are occupied with other activities (such as talking to their peers, running, looking forward to other contents, e.g. in Jagodina - going to aqua park or going to the Museum of wax figures) to such an extent that even the guides themselves shorten their presentation hoping to get at least a fragment of their attention. (data from the research to be added)

The museums in our study – with the exception of museums in Leskovac – are placed in old buildings – palaces, schools, private villas. Museum employees claim that they suffer from cramped spaces and the building’s inadequate structure: fragmentations of numerous rooms connected with corridors and narrow staircases. The structure of space is often presented as a factor of limiting creativity and the reason for opting for a linear exhibition flow and arranging exhibits one after another in a sequence.

⁴⁵⁹ *Flow as a state of mind that is spontaneous, almost automatic, like the flow of a strong current. (Csikszentmihalyi 1975, 1990b). “A general characteristic of activities that produce flow is that they have clear goals and appropriate rules. They tend to occur when the opportunities for action in a situation are in balance with the person’s abilities.” (John H. Falk and Lynn D Dierking, Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning, 2000.)*

At some new permanent exhibitions the scenography is based on the exhibit items from the previous permanent exhibition (data from the research to be added) and in other cases it is the integral and new part of the new exhibition concept. (data from the research to be added). There is a general impression that the formal and material aspects of an exhibition (glass cases, boards, racks, different pieces of furniture, colours, lighting) are more in the service of representing the exhibited material than arousing pleasure and attention in the visitor.

As we have already stated, analogue museographies based on reconstructions⁴⁶⁰ (interior reconstruction, diorama), “period rooms”⁴⁶¹ or period interiors) and reconstructed decors (they are almost without any authentic elements)⁴⁶² are very popular in museums. (ili

In current exhibitions the interactivity is seen as addition to film/video materials and/or touch based surface are seen as addition to objects and words. Additional audio-visual/multimedia content, although being present in the exhibition space, is quite often, in the greater majority of exhibitions, out of function (turned off) because, according to the curators, they are not of visitors’ interest. (data from the research to be added).⁴⁶³ Our subjective impression is that the reasons for such unfair treatment of audio-visual/multimedia contents lies in the lack of truly understanding the need for this this type of ‘additional’ content, in the circumstances that (as a result) these contents are imposed (based on instruction to ‘must have’ rather than on authentic need) and finally in the fact that the authors of this type of content are most likely persons who are not a part of the collective which is the integral part of the ‘original’ museum collective.

As we have already mentioned there are certain traces of constructivist approach in the analyzed museums – not within the exhibitions themselves, as permanent elements, but within the activities which the museums occasionally organize only and exclusively for preschool and primary school audience. Even in this case the museum does not actually cater the needs and interest of its audience, but it at least creates programs (workshops) which are based on the activity of visitors within the given framework. ((data from the research to be added) – the museum

⁴⁶⁰ Of the reconstruction in the museum see A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 138

⁴⁶¹ This presentational system combines the objects and the work of art into interiors which represent a reconstruction of a certain period ambience. A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 135-136

⁴⁶² These decorations, through which the visitors move, contribute to the creation of ambience, but the real objects are mostly presented in a classical way in glass cases. A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009:139

⁴⁶³ Sensory exhibits: sound, smell, touch, taste (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009:150) in Kikinda - data from the research to be added)

tends to encourage freedom of expression and creativity in the workshop participants, whereby it points out to the significance of unaided and personal discovery. In some museum programs we can also see “learning process as a participation in a group of learners, based on the mutual engagement of the participants within the educational plan being carried out through the participants’ cooperation.”⁴⁶⁴ ((data from the research to be added) The occasional nature of these programs and the inconsistency in the applying of principles in different spheres/aspects of museum work (their absence from the very permanent exhibition) leaves the impression that our museums perceive visitors as “receptors of knowledge provided by the museum staff” (J. Milutinović, 2003:95)

In the regional museums “direct transfer” of knowledge based on the principles of the traditional pedagogy: one-way logical presentation of the idea and the content of the exhibition given/presented by the guide (“the one emitting the knowledge”) to “the one receiving” (the visitor) is quite often present. With regard to the creativity and capacity of the guides – in some museums these employees have been assigned this position without any previous formal training (data from the research to be added), while in other museums these positions are reserved for curators with knowledge and affection towards pedagogical work (data from the research to be added), or this position has been assigned to the curators in addition to their regular work. (data from the research to be added), (data from the research to be added). Capacities for the realization depend both on experience (data from the research to be added), and motivation. (data from the research to be added). In the majority of cases (our conclusion is based on the conversations with the guides and pedagogues about they approach to guiding tours) the approach is to literally and receptively convey the truth, which is eventually reached by short conversations with the visitors. The learner is engaged in the accomplishing the goal of learning which was set up in advance by the guide mostly through verbal transmission with external stimuli (grades, praise etc.), i.e. “the learner does not gain the knowledge on his/her own; he/she literally adopts it”. (J. Milutinović, 2003: 98). This traditional model of teaching / learning requires a “visitor who will explore the exhibition and process

⁴⁶⁴ The self-discovery approach and the philosophy of transfer perceive the visitor as an active constructor of knowledge/they emphasize the active role of the learner in solving problems... J. Milutinović, 2003, p. 95

information given to him/her by the guide” (ibid, 2003: 98)⁴⁶⁵

In the majority of museums guides almost completely replace the lack or inadequacy of the learning/didactic materials at an exhibition (insufficient amount or inadequate structure of texts, inadequate position or the absence of additional orientation for moving etc.) In these circumstances the guides acquire the status of the irreplaceable and the visitors get used to the museum discourse of which cannot be understood without a mediator/interpreter. (data from the research to be added – the information provided by the guides – lifelike or interesting – cannot be found in the texts at exhibitions; parallels with everyday life which guides use to animate the visitors are not integrated into the exhibition and the visitor cannot ‘hear’ them on his/her own.)

Most of the time the guides work with organized groups of schoolchildren, but in some museums the guides are always “on duty” and so they “explore” the exhibitions even with individual visits. (data from the research to be added) “In a certain way, exploring an exhibition with a guide represents a special opportunity, a unique interpretation of the exhibition” (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 244) On the other hand, guided tours can be a ‘burden’ which doesn’t allow the visitor to see the exhibition in his/her own rhythm, choice and with ‘his/her eyes’. (data from the research to be added) During our guided tours⁴⁶⁶ we noticed that besides the fact that the guides ‘choose exhibits’ and only partly rely on the texts in the exhibitions in their narrative, some of them also give interpretations which can represent a clear voice of the museum, which, at an exhibition which should be “objective”, is not articulated. (data from the research to be added). We cannot say that they offer an interpretation of the exhibition which is “different from the one advocated by the author” (Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 244) because at the majority of the complex permanent exhibitions that interpretation could not be clearly recognized (hiding behind the linear ‘arrangement’ of the exhibits and citing of data the author avoided to clearly state their opinion). Attracting individual visits was neglected to such an extent that the visitors were so surprised (based on our observations during the research) when they were greeted in

⁴⁶⁵ A. Gob, N. Druge (2009: 159) state that some types of audiences enjoy this type of a museum visit (“Some visitors love being ‘taken by their hand’ and guided through the exhibition labyrinth of knowledge) the others see “the guide as a burden which they don’t appreciate at all” (ibid.)

⁴⁶⁶ The author of this work had the chance to get, in almost all of the museums, the presentation of contents through a live interpretation given by persons responsible for that. Such tour guides are not certainly something which visitors ‘get’ but we are prone to believe that they haven’t given up on their daily routine...

the hallway by the guide (who due to a small number of visits) that had almost unlimited amount of time to spend with them. (data from the research to be added).

Guides (additional means for exploring an exhibition) usually duplicated the information being offered at an exhibition instead of using additional available media to provide the visitor with additional information. Audio and digital guides... (data from the research to be added).

The printed materials (publicationsetc.) in some museums⁴⁶⁷ leaves a better impression on the vistors than the museums themselves. Museums give a lot of importance to publishing and professional and scientific work of the curators which is manifested through publishing: scientific catalogues of museum collections (or certain items in a collection), professional journals, printed research documentation intended for professional audience. (data from the research to be added) Museum guidebooks (“the presentation of the exhibition discourse suitable for wider audiences, which is used before or after visiting a musem” A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 134, 135); handouts, brochures, separate paper sheets (“describing the general organization of a museum, the arrangement of exhibiting halls and additional facilities etc.” Ibid.) and educational brochures and publications intended for children and adolescents are significantly rare. (data from the research to be added). The catalogues for temporary exhibitions are quite basic and informative. (data from the research to be added).

Our museums do not carry out systematic research on the value and successfulness of exhibitions. Visitors reactions can be followed through the guest book. Unfortunately those are not used as a valid data for the planning and evaluation (data from the research to be added). In the majority of museums, we got the information that the observations of the guides and guards were not taken in consideration, as well. Professional museum evaluation⁴⁶⁸ requires “the analysis of the audience, its practice, its observations and expectations, which is later used for the realization of exhibitions (designing programs, conceptions, animations, “life”)’ (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009:161) which museums fail to do.

5.5.3. Pedagogical animation

⁴⁶⁷ By this term we refer to guides, catalogues, brochures, separated paper sheets...which the museum leaves at the visitors' disposal (free or at a certain price). Those publications complement the existing texts at an exhibition.

⁴⁶⁸ On the three categories of evaluation (different by the period/moment in which they are carried out) – previous evaluation, formative evaluation and collective evaluation – see in A. Gob, N. Druge (2009:162 – 165)

“Pedagogical animation encompasses very different activities which are a mediator between school groups and the subject, between the young and Heritage (...) in various forms and in entertaining manner - by which a child or adolescent adopts the subject of inheritance, he seems close to the thematic exhibitions, problems with the text no longer exist, which are often quite repelling even for an adult audience, removed restrictions and rules that are in effect at the museums: not to talk, do not move, do not be too active.” (A. Gob, N. Other, 2009: 250). In the regional museums that are mainly services with museum guides (data from the research to be added) or museum educators (data from the research to be added). In any of them is not a “special service museum”⁴⁶⁹ that “brings together educators, teachers and professional staff to design custom animation age group they are addressing, to welcome them and animate the different programs.” (A. Gob N. Druge, 2009: 251) resp. if the museum has more than one person in charge for the animation of visitors they do not have clear priorities, guidelines, a set of values and others.

Pedagogical animation takes place in the exhibition halls. In most cases it is only an interpretative narrative that includes a joint tour of the exhibition (data from the research to be added). Capacity and enthusiasm of individual guides and / or educators have led to inspiring practices that motivate interactivity and handling. Let us mention a few examples:

(data from the research to be added)

- Creative workshops in which young people produce and create using their own creative imagination, inspired by an act or exhibition,
- exhibition of children's works in the museum galleries,
- Detection of objects and their stories through independent walking and playing.

The purpose of these activities, as recognised by educators / animators, is not only to gain knowledge of (scientific) content of the museum but also a “rapprochement with the museum, the exhibition discourse (...) in this vision, animations based on the simulation and identification (...) so the museum is no longer external body that is repelling, but it is an integral part of the life of the child.” (A. Gob N. Druge, 2009: 252).

Numerous studies show that adolescent audiences are the one that museums can win over with most difficulty. “Too burdened with the symbols of authority, quite

⁴⁶⁹ In France, George Salle (Georges Salles) has developed the first educational service for more national museums in 1949. The history of museum education services in France, see Elisabeth Caillet (in collaboration with Evelyne Lehalle), *A L'approche du musée, la médiation culturelle*, Lyon, PUL, 1995: 201-211.

repelling, extremely dusty, or at least considered like that, excessively academic, museums do not attract young people from 12 to 18 and there are no institutions that are developing a distinctive policy of communication with adolescents.” (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 253) When it comes to free visits, museums around the world have developed a number of strategies to get closer to youth culture and motivate them to be active and to evaluate the exhibits⁴⁷⁰. Their approach is based on activities rather than passive receipt of information, are often linked to socializing and more classical exhibition 'have a chance' when they are directly related to their culture (for example, the exhibition *Planeta muzike Planet of music*, which from 2002 to 2003. was organized in Brussels). “The politics of communication, adapted and directed toward young people through schools and educational networks and different associations, seems to be successful just the same.” (A. Gob N. Druge, 2009: 254). Regional museums, however, show no initiative to deal with this age group.

For the research of museums a practice could be useful that indicates the possibility of establishing joint educational services for multiple adjacent museums.⁴⁷¹ The examples of strategically organized effort of the museums are the example of the museums in the English museums. Research by Hooper-Greenhill⁴⁷² revealed a far more diverse and democratic picture of use considering the **school pupils as museum visitors**. Where adult visitors to English museums appear to continue to be representative of higher social classes and the most highly educated sections of society, approximately one-third of the schools visiting museums came from locations that were classified as **deprived**, where a high percentage of the children were, on the government measure of entitlement to free school meals, at risk. Children of all abilities found museum learning appealing, and it was especially pleasing to see that this extended to those pupils who found classroom-based learning difficult. From a school perspective, museums are acting as inclusive democratic institutions. The learning process that the school pupils experienced was enactive and embodied and this was clearly very successful in engaging attention, stimulating curiosity, opening mind to new ideas and, through serious fun, enabling a broad range of integrated learning outcomes. (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:189)

⁴⁷⁰ Since several years ago, several American Museum of Science and technology offer adolescents to participate in the medium-term or long-term projects, which encourage them to regularly return to the museum. Young participants of these projects feel they entrusted a special role: they are guides, consultants, members of home teams ...

⁴⁷¹ eg. Cologne and Strasbourg there is a didactic service for museums of urban communities, whatever the status of their founding; in the area of Liege was founded educational service which leads school groups to various city museums. by A. Gob N. Druge, 2009: 249

⁴⁷² Hooper-Greenhill et al., 2004d: 38; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:189

5.5.4. Other exhibition programs

Regional museums are using variation of exhibitions. They all have thematic permanent exhibition and organize temporary thematic exhibitions. Our research shows that from 2006/2007 they have organized (data from the research to be added) *permanent thematic exhibitions* of which none about Socialism, organized (data from the research to be added) *temporary thematic exhibitions* of which (data from the research to be added) with topics related to the period of Socialism.

(data from the research to be added to get more in detail)

5.5.5. Different formats of animation

We could say that most of the regional museums in Serbia have recognized their role in the cultural life of the community and that they are developing various functions of animation. They are included in the cultural and social life of the city by organizing book launches, talks, concerts, etc.(data from the research to be added) The impression, however is that these activities do not contribute to a better understanding of heritage or deepening of exhibition content. Their role is, we would say cultural programming in general without employing additional techniques to animate new audience for the museum.⁴⁷³

Museums carry out animation activities that are directly related to the activity inherent to the museum. These are: guided visits and other forms of cultural animation, special programs and workshops for kids, lectures, colloquia⁴⁷⁴. In some museums it is customary to perform the activities outside its walls or to allow uncommon activities inside the museum. (data from the research to be added) We could say that they are intending to inspire creativity and stimulate curiosity.

5.5.6. Publications

(data from the research to be added)

⁴⁷³ The lack of data, however, disables analyze, how many visitors of these programs are already museum visitors and what is the number of new visitors and to what extent they are returning to regular / exhibition program of the museum.

⁴⁷⁴ Primarily addressing to professional audiences; colloquium themes are collections, museology, the impact of the museum on local cultural life. The task of the museum is to be the host of scientific, cultural, administrative, political meetings, if it has appropriate infrastructure. Encounters - with artists, critics, researchers and other personalities, are an opportunity for the audience to discover, in a new and pleasant light, museum collections and themes. A. Gob N. Druge, 2009, p. 256/257

5.5.7. Additional services (and assistance)

Information at ticket sales is usually sharing the same space. In some of the museums those are 'counters' as if in the different institutions of public service (hospital, bank etc.), while in the others they are given a space that allows more informal communication. In most of the museums the second structure, as well, implies some sort of barrier. In many museums we have visited we were met by the security rather by the professional museum 'communicator'. (data from the research to be added)

Only one of the museums that we analysed (Museum in Valjevo) has a cafeteria, not one has a restaurant. Shops as separate units are present in (data from the research to be added) and in (data from the research to be added) sales are done on a 'counter' on which tickets are sold and basic information provided - when entering and/or leaving the museum. This type of selling 'suits' only experienced museum visitors - those who are in museums feel comfortable enough to approach to the counter multiple times and / or those who purchase inside of the museums.

The economic contribution of these additional services the museum is symbolic (data from the research to be added).

5.6. Museums and visitors

Analysing the relation of the audience to museums in Serbia Krivošejev and Damjanović conclude that "existence of stereotypes about museums as uninteresting temples of elite culture is to be kept in mind." (V. Krivošejev, I. Damjanović, *American Journal of Tourism Management*, 2014/3/1B).

Majority of the audience (more than 80%) are group visits organized by schools. As museum guides and curators claim their visits are, mostly, short and pupils are hard to get interested in the exhibitions. On the other hand, the structure of the visitors of the museum is the same for years. Regardless museums did not 'adapt' any of the exhibitions according to this visitors structure. Exhibitions do not communicate well if young people are not accompanied by the guides, curators, or someone else (family member etc.) who can act as 'intermediary'. According to the director of the museum in Kragujevac "organized school visits are rare and it all boils down to the enthusiasm of educators. For example, the thematic exhibition "Serbian

currency from the 13th to the 21st century” which was open for one month was not visited by any school from Kragujevac. Only the elementary school from the Azanja village in the municipality of Smederevska Palanka visited the exhibition. ” TANJUG, 10.22.2015, accessed 23. 10. 2015, 02:33, http://www.b92.net/kultura/vesti.php?nav_category=1087&yyyy=2015&mm=10&dd=22&nav_id=1054318, (data from the research to be added).

The last available example shows even more dramatic circumstance: of more than 30 primary and secondary schools in Kragujevac, contacted by the National Museum of Kragujevac offering pupils to see the exhibitions for 10 RSD (100 RSD per annum, 10 RSD for one visit to a museum) and an opportunity to bring their friends from other towns, only one elementary school demonstrated interest in one month.

5.7. Theories of knowledge and different approaches to the learning processes

Although the curators and the directors of regional museums in Serbia, with whom we had a chance to speak during our research, declaratively represent a constructivistic approach to learning and museum discourse, the most widespread approach to learning in their educational work is transmissive and didactical/presentational⁴⁷⁵, i.e. transmission-absorbtional. Based on the interviews conducted, information gathered through analyzing documentation and insight into the exhibiting and some other segments of museum work, we can conclude that their teaching/learning practice is based on the theory of knowledge which holds the position of realism (the world is ontologically independent and knowledge exists independent of the learner) and the theory of learning which perceives learning as adding pieces of information to the already existent knowledge. (Hein, 1998:25). The conclusion is based on the following characteristics of the museums (which we have noticed during our research):⁴⁷⁶ their practice is not based on the understanding of the learning process, the existence of a receptive situation is considered sufficient for the activation of the learning process (specific visitor’s needs and abilities are not taken into consideration), the visitor is passive, receptive-learning takes place as a ‘closed’

⁴⁷⁵ Confronting the continuum of the theories of knowledge and theories of learning leads to four different combinations, i.e. four different approaches in the educational work of a museum: traditional approach, behavioral approach, discovery-based learning and constructivist approach, (G. E. Hein, 1995).

⁴⁷⁶ The characteristics of the didactical/presentational model can be seen also in E. Matusov, B. Rogoff, 1995; N. Suzić, 1999; G. E. Hein, 1995; J. Milutinović, 2003

process (sending and receiving identical meaning), visitors are filled with facts, details and concepts; behavior is shaped by repetition. Museum contents are exhibited in a logical way and organized into units which are understandable and exhibited in a way to allow the visitors to master them easily. The manifestation of organizing work according to the principles of the philosophy of Realism is also the structure of the way of exhibiting museum contents which reflect the essential components of the exhibiting items. (Ibid, 1998): system is devised according to certain rules and the audience is requested to master the entire exhibited material in order to gain a comprehensive insight. “A museum arranged in such a way does not take into consideration the interests of its audience or the meaning which the visitors may make from the presented materials” (J. Milutinović, 2003: 93) The complete functioning of this, we shall name it ‘post-transitional museum’ is based not on a dialogue, but on a linear communication – one-way communication, museum addressing the visitor (only the visitor and rarely the members of the community who are not perceived as visitors)

Visitor is expected to “learn through looking/learn at a glance” (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:190) which implies that visual taxonomies are “produced for didactic purposes, laid out to be observed and studied through the gaze.” (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 190)⁴⁷⁷ Only the behavior which is desirable is supported, while the unwanted forms of behavior are ignored and discouraged (behavioral approach) (J. Milutinović, 2003:100, 174) The fact that “simple linear reality neither exists nor is determined by causality which is suggested in museums” is ignored. (T. Šola 2002: 71); a pedagogue is not expected to answer to the challenge of multiperspectivity /‘uncertainty’ (“and see in it the opportunity for his/her own pondering upon education and further improving the learning process”, J. Milutinović, 2003:111) In the same manner, the museum staff is not expected to “be aware of their own point of view and its limitations” (ibid.).

The approach to learning through discovery, which implies active mental engagement of the learner (research and experiment as the basis of solving a problem) is the basis of additional activities organized in the exhibiting spaces of complex permanent exhibitions in some of the analyzed museums. In designing of the

⁴⁷⁷ This approach, states Hooper-Greenhill (2007: 190) “is based in the long-standing Western philosophical position that mind and body are separate entities, with the mind dominating the body as the foundation of self-identity”. See more about practices of the provincial museums in English county towns in 21st century for realizing similar practices to contemporary regional museums in Serbia today, in Hooper-Greenhill (2007: 190-192).

programs visitors' developmental level was taken into consideration. Based on the information obtained we have concluded that these activities as well "bring the participants to widely accepted conclusions". (J. Milutinović, 2003: 174⁴⁷⁸)

The changes of the environment in European museums in the last three decades (influenced by "the adoption of new materials and new technical devices in exhibition design, improved conservation techniques, use of multimedia and new technologies, recognition of the importance of teamwork in exhibition development, changing public and institutional views and expectations of what a museum should provide for its visitors." (Gibbs, Sani, Thompson, 2004:93) did not substantially influenced museological practices in the regional museums in Serbia. Most of the aspects of the complex permanent exhibitions did not crucially change in comparison to the practices of the socialist museum. Exhibition subjects have changed (in respect that Second World War and post-war development of the country are hardly visible) but learning options, exhibition design, suitability for children, possibility of active participation, related events, organization of the museum space, variation in dissemination of knowledge are, if not regressed to some extent, have stayed on the same level. Although giving a number of positive characteristics of the planning process and realization of the permanent exhibitions which she has analyzed⁴⁷⁹ Martinović concludes that "new permanent exhibitions and thematic displays/exhibitions in our museums are conceptionally outdated" (D. Martinović, 2014:88).

Although the contemporary museological discourses, favoring the authenticity of the experience, subordinate the 'reticent object' (Vergo, 1989b) to the story "the interpretative presentation of authentic" (J. Milutinović, 2003:74) is still a dominant feature of exhibitions in the regional museums in Serbia. Museums most often use static exhibits, textual labels, models, graphics etc. This strategy sees guided tours and interaction with museum staff as elements of museum's educational work. (C. MacLulich, 1999). "It includes the transfer of information, but doesn't allow for lot of engagement in the information exchange". (J. Milutinović, 2003: 87)

⁴⁷⁸ About the essence of the methods of discovery-based learning also see in I. Ivić et al, 1997; G. E. Hein, 1998.

⁴⁷⁹ The goal of the museums was to place the exhibits of highest quality into a certain context, depending on the museum type and its mission, to define the context in which some work of art will be seen and to create a pleasant ambience which will allow the audience to adapt easily and experience the art or the presented artifacts; to achieve a comprehensive narrative, position national art and history into a European context or translate what is specific for their museum into a visual sphere, always bearing in mind the educational note; to make the curators try to, after the designing of new exhibition concept, present an exhibition in different ways and different approaches while thinking about additional programs which could bring the permanent exhibition back to life. (D. Martinović, 2014, 84, 87)

Museums ignore the fact that contemporary educational theory has shifted the focus to learners and their variable ways of learning/their learning styles. Even though for almost 83% participants in the research of Martinović in 2009, exhibitions they visited were clearly presented, the conclusion was that in museums in Serbia visitors are transformed into passive observers⁴⁸⁰. The highest percentage of negative responses about clarity of exhibitions were found in category pupil/student (66,7%), and if we meaning that younger population - between 13 and 18-year - provided negative responses (Martinović 2009, 24 or 29).

It is clear that museums were not interested in presenting 'recent past' in their permanent exhibitions. As about the narrative – they do not show the intention to connect exhibited materials with the current state of society (some indirect but valuable efforts are made in museum in Kikinda, Sombor - data from the research to be added). Museums try to recognize and present a dominant culture while ensuring that it is a 'reference to the past'. In interviewing the directors and curators we tried to get the answer to the question of how these exhibitions contribute to the local community, (data from the research to be added) i.e. to make their answers more precise by asking them "which values are they referring to when they present museums as institutions which reflect and maintain the positive set of values in a community?", i.e. we tried to get an answer to the question which dominant identity policies are museums referring to. These questions kept staying without a proper answer (whenever these issues were mentioned the interlocutors would focus on the lack of available space and the inherited structure of museum collections)

In addressing the educational work of the museums in Serbia J. Milutinović (2003:51, 54) has come to the conclusions which our research has fully confirmed:

- only a small number of museums has built a comprehensive model of educational museum work;
- if the educational activity even appears in the museum plans (it rarely exists in the long-term planning of museum work) it is reduced to a presentation of museum exhibits intended for a wide range of visitors, regardless of their education and age;
- if it happens that a pedagogical service does get formed, it, without exception, stays alone in planning and realization of the educational tasks;
- the educational role of the museum is often reduced to doing something nice and

⁴⁸⁰ The highest percentage of „unsatisfactory“ marks were given to National museum in Belgrade (Gallery SANU - 14,3%), City museum in Subotica, Museum in Zaječar, Natural History Museum in Belgrade, National museum in Kraljevo, while in National museum in Vranje the percentage is even 28,6%. (Martinovic, 2009, 29)

useful with the kids and to the transmission of information (applying traditional “school” approach) and the most common forms of such work are guided tours through permanent or temporary exhibitions.⁴⁸¹;

- the programs being offered⁴⁸² are in the majority of cases the result of an individual’s initiative and thus the museum policy does not support them fully;
- the educational museum work nowadays often comes down to cooperation with schools and is usually identified with school activities;
- the practice of using workbooks together with instructions and handbooks for parents and teachers is almost non-existent;

We would also add that:

- the museum features which encourage active learning are completely non-existent;
- the sole purpose of museum work is – showing (rather than fostering dialogue)

There is no wish to make ‘things’ (and ideas) accessible (objects at an exhibition are put there only to be seen without adequate “resources which provide the visitor with the keys for understanding” (A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 105);

- the museums is completely separated from the community and does not show any interest in social themes (not even in the sphere of different social dimensions of its visitors).

J. Milutinović states that this practice is identical to “the traditional educational approach in schools through which knowledge is gained by passive acquisition” (2003: 93) and is based on the assumption that “reflexive thinking cannot be achieved if it’s not preceded by a sufficient amount of factual knowledge.” (ibid.). Without proper feedback, metaphorically presented as “piling of dead knowledge” (S. Kačapor, 1996: 179) this does not contribute (Milutinović even states that it “makes incapable people”! 2003: 93) to critical thinking and changing the situation of the learners.

5.8. Overview of the findings from the Regional museums research

⁴⁸¹ From the educational point of view museum is seen as the closest school’s associate. When talking about the cooperation between the schools and the museums, M. Škiljan (1980) states two possibilities for them to achieve better communication. According to the first possibility, museums and schools could complement each other within school programs and educational processes, i.e. museum activity could be a part of a school program and vice versa – there would be room for engaging certain school subjects in the programs of certain museums. The other possibility is to perceive museums as places where pupils/students can freely, without the burden of school chores and according to their own interests, choose the contents for further exploration and in doing so expand their knowledge within and outside of the school program. *J. Milutinović, 2003:52*

⁴⁸² There are specialized lectures, concerts, competitions, independent collection work, museum workshops through which the participants, via direct personal experience, can come to gaining knowledge about certain problems. (J. Milutinović, 2003:54)

“Museums are active in shaping knowledge; using their collections, they put together visual cultural narratives which produce views of the past and thus of the present.⁴⁸³ In displays and exhibitions, museums ‘condense, dislocate, reorder (fictionalize) and mythologies’.⁴⁸⁴ Museum displays combine disparate artifacts and fragments of material culture into coherent, continuous and unified narratives, into what Hutcheon calls ‘totalizing narratives’.⁴⁸⁵ Museums must inevitably select from the collections that *could* be displayed those objects that *will* be displayed, and this selection shapes the visual narrative to be presented. Different contexts of meaning are invoked by the different assemblages that are produced.” (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:2) “Museum meanings shape social and individual identities, they may be contested, and learning in museums takes place in a contested arena. This is a dynamic approach to learning, one that is fully aware that not all cultural narratives, or cultural arrangements, empower all people.” (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:42)

The mission of regional museums today is ~~partly~~ hampered with out-dated identity from the time of the founding of modern museum institutions (repressive and authoritarian symbols of unchanging solid modernity⁴⁸⁶) within the value system of the rationalist and positivist view of the world which is reflected not only in the ontology (understanding the nature of the world in which live), but also on epistemology (look at ways of acquiring knowledge). The discourse of the museum is based on the view that the world is comprehensively regulated and managed by rules and that the knowledge of it - the “truth” that applies equally to all - exists in the final form (realistically), outside of us. This 'encyclopaedic view of the world' (A. J. Friedmann and P. McManus, as in: T. Russell, 1994 i J. Milutinović, 2003:92) protects (preserves) traditional values and the dominant way of conceiving the world.

The museum is characterized by a transmission model of communication where a communicator (curators) transfers complete or already formed knowledge. This is a one-dimensional understanding of the educational role of museums in which the audience is not considered as part of the exhibition structures, but to passively accept the preselected significant facts (Ibid, 1999).

The task, 'informativeness' of the museums, in this context, is to convey 'correct' information to the memory of one who learns; to prepare the museum

⁴⁸³ Hooper-Greenhill, 2000a.

⁴⁸⁴ Thistlewood, 1993: 8.

⁴⁸⁵ Hutcheon, 1989: 62.

⁴⁸⁶ Bauman, 2000; Ross, 2004; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007

presentation by exclusively illustrating what a visitor should be taught. This leads to a tendency to organise contents in a more rational way, which is presented to visitors through objects that have (and can have) only one “true” meaning. Museum concepts are based on a linear presentation, and - usually - chronological (see J. Milutinovic, 2003: 9, 72) along the “ideal” way through the setting (A. Giordan, 1996). Priority is given to the representativeness of the collections that are exhibited “by certain taxonomies” (J. Milutinovic, 2003: 9), and very rarely offer something more than simple information (ibid.). In the center of attention of the museum is the texture of objects that are exposed, and not the visitor. General museum communication is conceived as a linear process, in which the message has been strictly defined by the curators, where visitors can be seen as a passive, uncritical, and in part unable to build their own meanings” (J. Milutinovic, 2003: 9). In this discourse, the absolute arbitrator is the authorized curator, his discourse, and his, by all means personal / private program. The public is not taken into account in the choice of content and museological strategic concept and the interests. Museum managers do not pay attention to the needs and wishes of visitors. “Accordingly, educational work of the museum takes place in accordance with the philosophy of the transmission approach: Curator with his aura of authority defines the interpretative approach to exhibitions and writes captions that convey basic information about the different artefacts. In such a museum dominant are receptive forms of learning where a visitor is placed in a passive position, and is not given the chance to master information. The visitor is receiving information, facts and beliefs which he is expected to adopt. ”(J. Milutinovic, 2003: 9)

Tijana Jakovljevic and Ivana Jovanovic, based on the experience of working with the public / users and monitoring the reaction of the general public to the work of museums and other presenters of tangible and intangible culture, developed a SWOT analysis that reflects the image of museums in Serbia in the local public⁴⁸⁷:

- Strengths “social reputation of the museum; their intellectual capacity / professional staff; expertly handled adequately protected and stored collections of objects; representative location of the museum building; secure source of financing; strategic partners.”⁴⁸⁸ We could say that Museums' core strengths, as seen by the public, are

⁴⁸⁷ Research of the Falk and Dierking (Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning, 2000) gives us the comparative data with the experiences of the museums in Europe. In their SWAT findings are almost identical to the one in Serbia.

⁴⁸⁸ Tijana Jakovljević, Ivana Jovanovic, Museums competitiveness in the market of culture, Museums 2009/2: 89.90

the knowledge and collections they possess.⁴⁸⁹

- Weaknesses: “insufficient knowledge of the structure and characteristics of potential audience; the absence of a clear strategy in working with the public; insufficient awareness of the competition; the absence of a market-orientation; insufficient financial resources; insufficient interaction with the audience; poor logistics (small number of guards, guides, insufficient technical support, etc.).”⁴⁹⁰ We would add two more aspects we have realized within the museums we have analysed, and which are in compliance with the findings from Falk and Dierking: “Museums currently lack deep and widely shared understanding of how people learn from museums. Museums generally suffer from a parochial and narrow view of their place within the educational infrastructure.”⁴⁹¹

- Opportunities named by the Serbian researchers “Amateurism of other presenters tangible and intangible culture; increased demand for information about the history and tradition; confidence in work and knowledge of the museum; tendencies of development of cultural tourism; interests in Media about the work of museum institutions; the popularity of the Museum Night.”⁴⁹² show that the museum as the resource of learning is still not recognized. That is more visible by putting them next to the findings of Falk and Dierking who see the opportunities in “The crisis in education created by the public's perception of the inadequacies of formal schooling creates a vacuum that museums can partially fill. Museums stand to benefit politically and economically by forging partnerships with other free-choice learning institutions. Broadening collections, expanding audiences, reaching out to historically underserved communities are great opportunities for museums.”⁴⁹³

- Threats could be formulated in general as “the rapidly changing educational-leisure world”⁴⁹⁴. “Popularity of other demonstrations of tangible and intangible culture”⁴⁹⁵ (Jakovljevic, Jovanovic, Museums 2009/2: 89,90); “diverse ways of spending free time; increasing demands and expectations of the audience for additional animation”⁴⁹⁶, the rapid spread of virtual experiences, virtual collections,

⁴⁸⁹ Falk and Dierking (Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning, 2000:xy)

⁴⁹⁰ Tijana Jakovljević, Ivana Jovanovic, Museums competitiveness in the market of culture, Museums 2009/2: 89.90

⁴⁹¹ Falk and Dierking (Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning, 2000:xy)

⁴⁹² Tijana Jakovljević, Ivana Jovanovic, Museums competitiveness in the market of culture, Museums 2009/2: 89.90

⁴⁹³ Falk and Dierking (Learning from Museums - Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning, 2000:xy)

⁴⁹⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁹⁵ We could find the equivalent in the Falk and Dierking finding that “the nonprofit sector faces significant challenges from for-profit corporations; museums could be replaced by for-profit (and nonprofit) look-alikes.”

⁴⁹⁶ Tijana Jakovljević, Ivana Jovanovic, Museums competitiveness in the market of culture, Museums 2009/2: 89.90

and virtual museums (Falk and Dierking) being some of them. On the top of this (or to begin with) we are faced with a bad image of museums and the long lasting socio-economic crises.⁴⁹⁷

Our research has shown that museums perceive themselves (in relation to responses of the users presented in A. Gob N. Druge, 2009: 69, 70) possibly as a place of remembrance and cultural landmark. The first characteristic is clear in an abridged form (in the interpretation of A. Gob N. Druge it refers to a reminder of the past, from today's perspective, enabling the visitor to "find their roots," and to understand the relationship of the current situation and previous situations, or, not to forget - *ibid.* 69) because we did not find the basis for the argument that regional museums in any manner depicted the history associated with today's situation. The museum as a means of generating prestige and reputation is mainly used by the local administration, which brings its guests to museums. The administration, as well, consider the museums as a places that should attract tourists, the view that the museums do not share.

Museums are still focused on collections and not on the audience. It could be said that there is awareness of the necessary orientation to the audience but the capacity of the museum can not express it. It seems to be lacking the energy to find answers to the question of: Who is the audience that receives message from the museum? What audience? How to involve the audience in a museum? What to offer them to see and how?

The settings are, according to a survey, designed for a wide audience. The heterogeneity of these categories is seductive and leaves the museums in the state "for no one" rather than "for all". Agreeing with the assessment of A. Gob, N. Druge that "Museum without visitors is not a museum worthy of the name." (2009: 86) - convinced that the number of visits is not the only or even the best criteria for judging the quality or success of the museum - from research I came back with bitterness caused by the fact that during our visit in museums we were usually the only visitors to the museum (*data from the research to be added*). We felt that as Weedon points (as in Hooper-Greenhill, 2007:193) museums lack offering recognition and identification and "leave the individual in a state of non-subjectivity and lack of agency."⁴⁹⁸ (this was our impression as a visitor): we could 'understand the individual

⁴⁹⁷ Tijana Jakovljević, Ivana Jovanovic, Museums competitiveness in the market of culture, Museums 2009/2: 89.90

⁴⁹⁸ Weedon, 2004: 7.

words being said but not really understand their full *meaning*.’ concluding that we belong to different communities of interpretation,⁴⁹⁹ and communities of practice⁵⁰⁰ than those in charge of the museums general communication and exhibition authors. (data from the research to be added – izuzetak Kikinda). Exhibition concepts are not as complex and complicated. Rather they are torn up into little pieces, and it happens that within the same settings the style of the exhibition is not uniform (*data from the research to be added*) and that nobody had not thought about linking the exhibits with previous experience of visitors.

While visiting museums/exhibitions we felt punished for not following the exhibition through – losing concentration (‘punishment for mindless behavior (e.g., exhibition becomes inoperative, hard to read)’ as in schools - see Dr. Chandler Screven, Museums and informal education, 1993 in the CMS Bulletin Vol. 1 No. 1., <http://infed.org/archives/e-texts/screven-museums.htm>): not easily recognizable as museums from outside, poor assistance in space orientation, meeting guards or non-motivated ticket-sales before than a welcoming friendly face, museum not being ‘equipped’ in a way that aloud independent visitor to benefit (too much or poor texts that do not convey the interesting information one can get from the motivated guide), strict / petrified language etc.

Speaking about the Gadagne Museum, in the old Lyon, *Simone Blazy* states that “the building and museography are dilapidated. Museographic’s approach is uncoordinated, and the intention is unclear. The visitor can hardly understand the history of Lyon.”⁵⁰¹ This could be concluded from our study, too. Having in mind the context and content of the ‘Socialist museum’ we could not but refer to the current status of the regional museum in Serbia as regressing from modernizing concept of regional museum during period of socialism.

“Museums rarely have the skills or resources to make the required distinctions between users. Therefore the same information is being conveyed through the same media to quite different potential heritage users.”⁵⁰² Data we have gathered on the structure of the museum visit degrades one of the key forms of learning in museums - intrinsic motivation. It suggests that museums are not able to present themselves as environments that provoke interest and curiosity. Modernizing practices such as

⁴⁹⁹ Fish, 1980.

⁵⁰⁰ Wenger, 1998.

⁵⁰¹ Simone Blazy, *Le musée de ville, image de la ville*“presentations made at the conference Un musée pour une ville, Bruxelles, 25-27. April 2002, proceedings before publication, p. 21-26. According to A. Gob i N. Druge (2009: 58)

⁵⁰² Janet Gail Donald, *The Measurement of Learning in the Museum*, Canadian Journal of Education, (1991: 379).

opening museums for deprived or minority social groups (being poor people, uneducated, offenders of prisoners, adults with learning disabilities etc.) are still to be introduced. None of the museums that we have analysed has a strategy to increase the number of visitors, attracting diverse audiences and / or achieve the loyalty of the existing audience. Concepts of the audience - participants (A. Gob N. Druge, 2009: 100) and friends of Museums (ibid.) were closer to the practice of museums that at a time when museums were established (socialist museum).

Our museums with its permanent settings of “do not support different types of cognitive learning styles”⁵⁰³ (*J. Milutinović, 2003: 97*) i.e. they support only verbal-linguistic and visual-spatial (?) learning style⁵⁰⁴ Active participation of visitors in the process of learning is present only in some of the additional programs (workshops, 'games') in some museums that offer “a way that a visitor develops presented phenomena” (G.E. Hein, 1998: 22) “The museum exhibitions are often criticized for inactivity, distortion objects out of context, the absence of a holistic experience, weak interaction with the audience and the presence of mental barriers.” Opposite to them competitive facilities are offering including multiple senses, combine objects and facilities, create popular content, they are active in promotion and marketing activities and they weaken the position of the museum in the discourse of consumption of the presented content. (T. Jakovljevic, I. Jovanovic, the magazine Museums 2009/2: 91) .

Regional museums in Serbia feel that their 'didactic' contribution is not appreciated, while their 'sociable' objective is beyond their conceptualization or, say, “that needs a lot of work of the people with skills and knowledge we do not have” (data from the research to be added) or “we know our community” (data from the research to be added)

Importance of the education function of the museum, favored during the period of Socialism did not rise, again, to promote 'new' Serbian independence (and national state).

Public education function of museum are shaken by their awareness of the contemporary assumptions that there are no unified scientific truths regarding past and history and that public is not 'waiting eagerly' to 'testify' to the undisputable quality work of the museum. Museums still believe that their 'message' is relevant for

⁵⁰³ under cognitive styles usually require individual differences and peculiarities in the way of perception, learning and problem solving (yeast R., 1978: 387)

⁵⁰⁴ In accordance with the seven types of intelligence, developed appropriate basic learning styles are: verbal-linguistic, musical and rhythmic, visual-spatial, logical-mathematical, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal and intrapersonal.

the audience but they do not have systematic data gathered nor analysed to understand the reasons for such situation. Part of the reasoning, we believe, could be found in their approach to history without open questions, 'dilemmas' and discussion platforms; in contextualizing history of the community through stories of exceptional individuals (rather than everyday life everyone could relate to). Core is that museums remained the traditional model of services value of establishing national cohesion - when that discourse is not directly and clearly 'shipped' to the museums by the founders, they decided (e.g.) rather for inaction, which in the cases of new permanent exhibitions and activities is prior in musealisation, and other programs largely excluded the period of the second half of the twentieth century.

With funding based almost exclusively on public subsidies often, from the budgets of local self-government i.e. founder. We could say that, through those mechanisms, government is shaping social values, as well day-to-day work of the museum. The way museums function indicates bad position of the institutions: inadequate space⁵⁰⁵, depots in a bad condition, undeveloped conservation services, human resources are inadequate in general⁵⁰⁶ and the employees stagnate in professional and scientific work⁵⁰⁷ etc.

Such a museums are ignoring the burning issues in the immediate community. Knowledge of the visitors about the period of socialism in Serbia are not responded to by the museums⁵⁰⁸ – through which – as our general analysis s, the museum also intervenes in the knowledge that a visitor brings in this learning environment. Their “way of seeing things” (J. Milutinovic, 2003: 147) is certainly being tested. Based on the “models of strategy and monument policy applied in different phases of the post-socialist transition” identified by Dragićević Šešić (in Milohnić and Nada Švob-Đokić

⁵⁰⁵ The phrase “the building is in very poor condition, although it is a cultural property,” illustrates perhaps the most massive problem that museums face in their work, which particularly concerns the area. As part of the general problem of space there are three, so to speak, subproblems: the lack of space, inadequate or non-dedicated space and problems related to the maintenance of the space (located M. Vukanović in a survey conducted by the team For water for Cultural Development during the period from April to in July 2009, In twenty-three local, five stem, fifteen national, three private and twenty three regional museums, *Kultura*, 124/2009 246).

⁵⁰⁶ M. Vukanović concludes that human resources represent extremely high problem facing the museums in Serbia. In 51% examined museum is highlighted that the structures of employees do not allow successful work of museums. There is a lack of human resources, especially experts in museological activities. The higher attention is paid to conservators, historians, educators are required and art historians, ethnologists, archaeologists, librarians. As well, marketing experts and public relationship managers are necessary. (M. Vukanović, *Kultura*, 124/2009: 251)

⁵⁰⁷ Professional training of employees allows 78.3% of the surveyed museums. However, it is mostly done through seminars in the country, while the seminars abroad often lack the resources in 68.2% of the museums) that in those museums in which it does not provide vocational training, the reason was not specified. (M. Vukanović, *Kultura*, 124/2009: 251)

⁵⁰⁸ The presence of topic of socialism in the social environment (family, media) leads to a distinct contextual learning about this topic ... (“From the understanding that learning is active, social and holistic follows that it is contextual, that is associated with our daily life, our prejudices and fears. Constructivism is based on the idea that students create their own knowledge in the context of their life experiences.” *J. Milutinovic, 2003: 150*). These facts - the presence of topics related to the period of socialism in the media, public speech, narrative of the family - already generates knowledge based on which the newly acquired knowledge in a museum (or their absence) will be 'determined'.

eds, 2011:33 or <http://rci.mirovni-institut.si/Docs/ASO%202010%20Sesic.pdf>) the relationship of the museum in Serbia to the heritage of socialism resembles the models of 'anticulture' and 'culturalization' (ibid.). We would say that it saturates to quiet hostility and destruction based on supporting 'organized oblivion', 'ignoring the other strategy' and 'de-contextualization' (Šešić). We base this conclusion on the fact that of (data from the research to be added) Museums that have responded to our questionnaire (data from the research to be added) do not have strategy for collecting and no plan to systematically protect cultural heritage of socialist; (data from the research to be added) of museums participating in our research do not have materials from the period of Socialism in their collections or have no systematized overview of it (although they claim that they are covering the historical period 'till the present day'), those with the permanent exhibition mention period of Socialism only by mistake (Jagodina) or are keeping parts of the permanent exhibitions related to the period of socialism (remaining of the old, first, permanent exhibitions made during the period of socialism - Leskovac) closed for public.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

“No country, whether totalitarian, democratic or partocratic, will give up possibility to control historical and any other consciousness of its citizens”⁵⁰⁹, to model their identities through the “control the processes of remembering”. (L. Smith, 2006:303) Consequently, all new regimes, anxious about how the changes they are introducing will be “acknowledged in public” (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003:170) are using heritage institutions to legitimize their discourse as well as to regulate potential tensions (generated by ‘counter-memories’⁵¹⁰). On the other hand, “heritage may also be a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups” (Smith, 2006:4).⁵¹¹ Predominant political force practices its ideological conception, “shapes public space by its standards,” (Ilić, 2014, <http://www.seecult.org/vest/tabui-tranzicije>) which causes "trauma of the collective memory" i.e. extensive "cultural trauma". (Potkornjak, Pletenac, *Studi Ethnologica Croatica*, 2011/23:19)⁵¹². Institutionally regulated memory practice is included / includes itself in the process of transition, in order for the remembered history to be consensual and to legitimate “the new powers.”⁵¹³ As we agree with Ilić that Serbian identity is formed on false premises which exclude everything after the year 1945, it is relevant to follow his remark that Serbian pedagogy is “forced into national education of the new generations“, “based on extremely voluntarily chosen identification characteristics of ”Serbian language, cyrillic letter, Saint Savaism, national customs preserved mostly in rural areas“ which refer to identity contents before year 1945.⁵¹⁴

“Societies made upon decomposition of Yugoslavia (...), based on nationalism, patriarchy, authoritarianism, but also on the principles of commercialisation, banalisation, absolutized market, unequal choices and inequality,

⁵⁰⁹ “As Graham *et al.* (2000: 25) notes, the view of heritage in any given society will inevitably reflect that of the dominant social, religious or ethnic groups. This is a reflection not only of the political, economic and social power of these groups but also, in some measure, of the power of heritage itself as a legitimizing discourse to not only validate but also reproduce certain social and cultural values, experiences and memories.” (L. Smith, 2006:81)

⁵¹⁰ Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003:170.

⁵¹¹ See Harvey, 2008:33

⁵¹² About factors that play a role in fostering heritage dissonance / division see: Paige Arthur in Paige Arthur ed, <http://www.cambridge.org/us/academic/subjects/law/humanitarian-law/identities-transition-challenges-transitional-justice-divided-societies?format=HB&isbn=9781107003699#contentsTabAnchor>. Reasons for suppression of memory about Socialism are systematized, in: (R)Epojeja potisnutog sećanja: zaključci i preporuke, savetovanje na temu Socijalističko nasleđe i njegova uloga u formiranju savremenog identiteta, http://www.kulturklammer.org/docs/Kadinjaca_Uzice_zakljucci&preporuke.pdf or <http://www.kulturklammer.org/view/5>.

⁵¹³ See text by Topić in: Vojin Bakić, „Svjetlosne forme”, 2013: 271.

⁵¹⁴ Dejan Ilić, 23/08/2014, <http://pescanik.net/velika-pedagogija/>. On pedagogy and history see: Koulouri ed., 2001: 98 – 101.

seek their expression in retouched picture of the past, from which is suppressed, marginalized or radically reinterpreted each tone that questions the ruling discourse - because new paradigm necessitates "new" past, from which it will take legitimacy."⁵¹⁵ Dominant ideological formula of post-Yugoslav situation – the ideological program of "deconstruction of the Yugoslav myth", establishment of the capitalism and introducing parliamentary democracy (establishing of a Western-style democracy⁵¹⁶) in the new-formed states, provoked contradictory narratives about period of Socialism. "Postcommunist hangover"⁵¹⁷ in transitional Serbia did not include 'revenge toward Socialism' through physical elimination of material testimonials related to that period, but the prolonged phase (some analysts refer even to the present Serbian moment as transitional) of Socialism as "a floating referent"⁵¹⁸ was used for radical revision not only within public space, but also within education and heritage institutions.

Mechanisms of historical revision question adopted knowledge as well as private memory related to Socialism. As bearers of the meaning from unwanted past, testimonials about the life in Socialism are degraded to "unreliable messengers of the past, voiceless trauma messengers, dolorous witnesses"⁵¹⁹, irrelevant memories⁵²⁰. In total, we could characterize the processes in the Serbian society as development of the "transitional taboos"⁵²¹ and identity-based abuse (towards those with different ideological affiliation and class identity⁵²²), that lead to (long-term) institutional discrimination / exclusion of the heritage discourses of 'other', to everyday violence of heritage rights, disfunction in the public space and, within the discourse and

⁵¹⁵ Historical revisionism in postyugoslav region, International conference, 1st and 2nd December 2012, Assembly of Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, <http://www.rosalux.rs/en/artikl.php?id=175>, 22 January 2014 at 05.26.

⁵¹⁶ "Clear principles such as "reestablishment of private property rights, free market economy, and pluralist political life" were difficult to implement: "finding a balance between economic and social goals within a rather short time in the absence of well established democratic institutions was an enormous challenge." (Stanilov, in: Stanilov ed, 2007: 21)

⁵¹⁷ Piotr Sztompka, Polish sociologist, uses metaphor "postcommunist hangover" to name need for revenge toward the most radical forms of totalitarian structures of Socialism and Communism (whether it is about socrealistic monuments or survived holders of totalitarian ideological practices) (according to: Potkornjak, Pletenac, *Studi Ethnologica Croatica*, 2011/23:19, 20).

⁵¹⁸ Since Socialism lost its own "referring master" and became floating referent, in action is constant impossibility to find the "referring master" to which it would stick i.e. join. Thus, Socialism (still) lives in the Symbolic (in private memory) and, at the same time in the Imaginary, especially when the social metanarration tries to talk about it. Unable to get rid of the suppressed, Socialism is secretly registered in the new Symbolic." (Žižek, 2008, according to: Potkornjak, Pletenac, *Studi Ethnologica Croatica*, 2011/23:19, 22).

⁵¹⁹ Potkornjak, Pletenac, *Studi Ethnologica Croatica*, 2011/23:19, 21.

⁵²⁰ "For a place or artefact to be heritage it needs to speak to present-day cultural, political and social needs – places or artefacts of heritage are 'heritage' because they are cultural tools in the heritage process" (Smith L., 2006:305). "The powers of the affect material places and objects have also relied on the power given to them in heritage discourses, and the way they are conceived and valued as items of desire, status, or simply as possessing innate values and properties" (*ibid*.306).

⁵²¹ "Transitional taboos", for Ilić, signify strongpoint of the defeated ideologies, which must not be, talked about and about which is not lead a rational conversation. "Whoever tries to bring back in the center of attention themes of partisan antifascism, socialist self-management, social state and social solidarity, he is disqualified and ridiculed" (Ilić, 2014, <http://www.seecult.org/vest/tabui-tranzicije>). About private property as one of the taboos of transition writes Zlatko Paković (http://www.danas.rs/dodaci/nedelja/tabu_utanaziciji.26.html?news_id=287277, 15/08/2014, pristupljeno 25.12.2015, 10:11).

⁵²² Saying this we are having in mind the complexity of identities and are not undermining the aspects of identity abuse based on ethnic or ethnoreligious cleavages, gender identity and political affiliation.

practical work of the regional museums in Serbia.⁵²³

“Not only do heritages have many uses but they also have multiple producers.” (Graham and Howard, 2008:1) While new ideologues and state institutions were building up the new, nationalized, antisocialist, ‘grand’ narratives⁵²⁴, the ‘counter-narratives’ (*ibid.*) were rising, as well. “Revenge” toward socialist regime has changed to “forgiveness”. “Recollection serves as tactic activity in opposition to the state strategy of silence or opposition toward Socialism” (Potkornjak, Pletenac, *Studi Ethnologica Croatica*, 2011/23:19)⁵²⁵ making the experience of Socialism alive.⁵²⁶ We want to believe that such recognition of the oppositional, active, even subversive capacity of Yugonostalgia and, consequently, of the left-wing ideology (we use this term in default of better one) in relation to the ruling ideology and political, economic and social order, are based on firm foundations.⁵²⁷ Here, perhaps, we can find the reason for radical and persistent endeavor of the whole Serbian state apparatus to constitute new identity of the society through negating the values of ex-state community and of Socialism as such.

In such circumstances, historicizing period of Socialism (and its roots) is a discourse of conflict(s). It leads to dissonance, “lack of agreement and consistency as to the meaning of heritage” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996)⁵²⁸. Regarding cultural heritage of Socialism in Serbia we have detected dissonance in the very “start” of the heritage process. Public discourse dominated by the revised, nation-centered Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) and related to the Western⁵²⁹ (European) AHD

⁵²³ Other, long term results of the naturalizing effects of the ‘authorized heritage discourse’ in the practice of the Regional museums in Serbia are, but not limited to: “undermining alternative and subaltern ideas about ‘heritage’ (L. Smith, 2006:11) / excluding non-traditional conceptions of heritage (*ibid.*: 31); excluding the historical, cultural and social experiences of a range of groups (*ibid.*: 30) including non-experts (*ibid.*:34); obscuring the multi-vocality (*ibid.*: 12); constraining and limiting critique; emphasizing materialism (*ibid.*:30); obscuring the ‘work’ that ‘heritage does’ as a social and cultural practice (*ibid.*:11); disconnecting the idea of heritage from the present and present-day values and aspirations so that it becomes something confined to ‘the past’ (Urry, 1996).

⁵²⁴ Dragičević Šešić, Rogač Mijatović, *American Journal of Tourism Management*, 2014/3(1B): 10-19, <http://article.sapub.org/10.5923.s.tourism.201402.02.html#Sec2.2>

⁵²⁵ Heritage becomes “a tool for resistance and the expression of difference.” (Council of Europe Publishing, 2008: 8)

⁵²⁶ Jodi Dean writes about the persistence of the Communist Horizon, *The Communist Horizon*, 2012.

⁵²⁷ Reflections on Capitalism in Serbia or, on political and economical context of everyday life, were gaining its momentum: the processes of historical revisionism is underlined (although with not such a wide reflection) and discourses of the left made visible by reaffirming the values of socialism.

⁵²⁸ “There is, still, not much real discussion there; it is, in fact, all about exclusive views that are stone-like in the last fifty years (...) Serbia is still waiting for more objective interpretations of the World War II ... I (...) of socialist Yugoslavia (was it antiserbian?) (Đokić, Reč, No. 2007-75/21: 43).

⁵²⁹ L. Smith (2006) elaborates DNA of the ‘Western’ Authorized Heritage discourse and its outcomes. She concludes that the ‘when’ of universalizing Western concepts of heritage and the values inherent within that “stretches back to nineteenth-century values and cultural concerns, the ‘where’ of this discourse may be found not only in Western Europe, but also more specifically in the authorial voices of the upper middle and ruling classes of European educated professionals and elites. It is as much a discourse of nationalism and patriotism as it is of certain class experiences and social and aesthetic value.” (L. Smith, 2006:28) A dominant, often self-referential, Western discourse about heritage which: emphasis on materialism (*ibid.*: 30), the idea of its ‘boundedness’ (*ibid.*: 31); idea that the cultural significance of a place must determine how the place is used or managed (*ibid.*: 103); simultaneously draws on and naturalizes certain narratives and cultural and social experiences (often linked to ideas of nation and nationhood) (*ibid.*: 4); embedded are a range of assumptions about the innate and immutable cultural values of heritage that are linked to and defined by the concepts of monumentality and aesthetics (*ibid.*: 4, 26); favors a professional discourse (L.

was influencing the work of the museums. Testimonials of the period of Socialism are neglected on purpose / excluded from the process of muzealization (from the process of heritage) and, therefore, submitted to potential destruction⁵³⁰. Dominant opinion is that it is the result of the lack of consensus about the interpretation of that, specific, and heritage.⁵³¹ Our opinion is different. We contextualize that process as process of 'disinheritance' and '(transitional) heritage injustice'

Transitional heritage is not a 'special' kind of heritage. It underlines the extreme fragility of the heritage process in times of transition.

Disinheritance: is a result of the instrumentalization of heritage in the processes of identity (re) making and shifts within the authorized heritage discourse (within the local community, nation, state, as well as internationally).

*(Transitional) Heritage Injustice*⁵³² refers to the actors within the heritage process, breaking the basic and crucial ethical principle of heritage management and not safeguarding the rights of minorities to access / practice heritage they recognize as theirs. This is the process engages all members of community but allocates the biggest responsibility to the state institutions as guarantees of the democracy.⁵³³

6.1. Regional museum in Serbia and learning about the period of Socialism

"Museum work always has consequences" (title paraphrase, <http://dizajn.hr/blog/dizajn-uvijek-ima-posljedice-o-dejanu-krsicu-whw-u-i-drugim-stvarima/>, published: 08 June 2015.)

"Museum as institution has historical heritage of most flexible instrumentalisation. No matter who used it or who it obeyed to, whether it were noble national interests or strict economic demands, museum as an institution admitted its docility." (Dragan Bulatović, *Muzeji* 2009/2: 7)

As we have underlined previously, museum discourse (even of regional ones in Serbia) cannot be interpreted without ideology. No aspect of museum discourse is politically neutral, and reflects the origination age, of the official authority's position,

Smith, 2006:4, 29) establishes and sanctions a top-down relationship between expert, heritage site and 'visitor' (ibid: 34); it is exclusive (ibid:103, 105); promotes a certain set of Western elite cultural values as being universally applicable. (Ibid: 11) - based on 'good sense' (Domicelj 1992: 5); it constructs heritage as something that is engaged with passively (ibid: 31); ignores the dissonant nature of heritage (ibid: 58, 96, 106); the AHD can and does exclude notions of heritage based on working class experiences and values. (ibid: 237) explicitly promotes the universality of heritage values and principles embedded in documents such as the World Heritage Convention (Byrne, 1991).

⁵³⁰ While our research shows that museologist see this disinheritance as "unintentional, temporary, of trivial importance, limited in its effects and concealed" our conclusion is that it is "widespread, intentional, important and obvious" (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996: 21) and if not reacted upon it will have a long-term effect.

⁵³¹ Not only what is interpreted, but also how it is interpreted and by whom, will create quite specific messages about the value and meaning of specific heritage and the past it represents (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996: 27).

⁵³² Term is borrowed from the presentation of Simina Badica (museum expert, Head of Ethnological Archives at the Romanian Peasant Museum in Bucharest) at the Kenneth Hudson Seminar held in November 2015, and relates to the heritage in the times of transition. Referred to by Badica as the equivalent to the Transitional Justice we have contextualized it based on the available resources such as contents provided by The International Center for Transitional Justice (2009, <https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice>) and work of Arthur Paige (Paige ed, 2014, <http://www.cambridge.org/us/academic/subjects/law/humanitarian-law/identities-transition-challenges-transitional-justice-divided-societies?format=HB&isbn=9781107003699#contentsTabAnchor>).

⁵³³ The principles of the (transitional) Heritage justice shall, thus, become one of the pillar functions / main obligations of the state institutions on all levels and in all sectors – primarily that of heritage.

and of the author (museum, author or authorial team)⁵³⁴. Museum, “through absolutization and objectivisation of historical narration and disciplinary canons realizes cultural policies from above, lead by creation of identity and generation of wanted value systems, and so reproduces social hierarchies and exclusion practices.” (Višnja Kisić, *Kultura*, 2014/144:118) We will paraphrase Jenkins: ‘the only difference that exists is the one between museums aware of their doings and the unaware ones’.⁵³⁵

Regional museums in Serbia most often are referred as institutions neglected and forgotten by the state and community, disoriented “in the absence of contextual cues from the outside world”⁵³⁶ (by ‘outside world’ we mean founders –the municipality and the state). Even if we agreed (but we do not agree!) with this statement, the position certainly is not (only) the result of the outside factors. Anyway, state of Serbian museums today is (also) result of (in) activity of the profession and (in) action of the museums⁵³⁷.

Most of the regional museums, declaratively, decided to wait for heritage of Socialism ‘to cool down’⁵³⁸. By refraining from acting transparently “in matters concerning dubious political, religious and moral movements” they do not “‘only do’ but give legitimacy, significance and validity” (Smith, 2006: 235) to anti-socialist narratives, accommodating the dominant narrative of post-socialist revisionism⁵³⁹ and creating a space for uncontested legitimization of the uniform and unified narrative of the Serbian national (nationalistic) state. If, as Carl Havelange⁵⁴⁰ states, “museums are the mirror of our eye” then, our eye, does not see the period of 50 years of the 20th century as anyhow relevant for our lives today and our future. The practice of exclusion in the process of musealisation was intended to delegitimize socialist experience, so that it can lose its sense as “an experience which has nothing to say to

⁵³⁴ Majority of analyzed museums their ‘non-problematic’ discourse present as attempt to be ‘objective’/‘neutral’ when announcing “truth about the world” (J. Milutinović, 2003: 69). It is not possible, we would say, “to set three-dimensional objects related to certain ambient, to its economic, political and cultural development, historical period or topic, personality, event” (Martinović, journal *Kultura*, 144/2014:77) in neutral way. As some theoreticians say: “study approach and idea conception” (*ibid.*) are basis for “logical fable flow, for stylish unity of expression.” (*ibid.*)

⁵³⁵ In the original text “the only selection that exists is the one between history aware of its doings and the unaware one, Jenkins, 2008:105.

⁵³⁶ J. H. Falk and L. D. Dierking, 2000.

⁵³⁷ Institutions of systems, each with its capacities and ‘creativity’ participate in realization of new ‘national’ priorities. Absence of systematic collection of testimonials from that period in regional museums in Serbia, their sporadic inclusion (in most of the cases complete absence) into public discourse about period of Socialism (though in Serbia, in fact, there is no active debate about Socialism, but separated initiatives of smaller groups gathered within the circle of sympathizers), taking into account all that is stated, it do not look like ‘accidental’ anymore or “result of disrespect of professional standards of the custodian due to general devaluation of the social value system.” From conversation with Čedomir Jančić, art historian, custodian of museum in Sombor.

⁵³⁸ We refer to heritage of Socialism as ‘hot heritage’ (term borrowed from Uzzell, 1989).

⁵³⁹ See: Kuljić, *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, 2005/1–3:7, www.csi-platforma.org

⁵⁴⁰ Carl Havelange, „Le musée mélancolique. Tentative pour photographier nos manieres de voir”, u *Publics & musées*, 1999/16:11-16. as in A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 35

the succeeding reality” (Buden, in: Buden, Želimir Žilnik, kuda.org *et al.* eds. 2013:182,83).⁵⁴¹ Participating into this process, however, museums, as sort of ‘reality that ignores experience, completely lost orientation’ (*ibid.*) and strongpoint in the community. Members of heritage community, interested in contextualization of the period of Socialism, are not able to “communicate” with their own heritage; they are disinherited, they are victims of (transitional) heritage injustice.

Museums not only participated in dividing the community (our society, rather than united, continues on divided, “living in two (or more) different worlds,” Paige in Paige ed., 2014:10) and in the creation of the chronical state of the low-level social conflict, but took part in distancing from the knowledge and experience, which could be “the right answer to the transitional problems” (Ilić, 2014, <http://www.seecult.org/vest/tabui-tranzicije>). In general, instead of supporting critical thought, new views and dialogues, instead of asking “what is the meaning of socialist musealisation today”⁵⁴², within the context of regional and European Authorized heritage discourse (which serves as “ideal recipe for settling the things up with the ghosts of socialist heritage”⁵⁴³) museums demonstrate their political standpoint by not talk publicly about Socialism⁵⁴⁴, and so they do not transparently question capitalism⁵⁴⁵ (which has been unstoppably flooding Serbia from the time of disappearance of socialist Yugoslavia). They promote new values ‘silently’, in the context of minimized museum work with general visits and focus on organized school visits. Such ‘animation’ of visits is not only the easiest one, but brings them to the target group which, being used to the traditional models of Serbian schooling, does not question interpretation of the past.

Traditional museum discourse, we conclude, cannot produce different ‘quality’. Conservative ideological and political positions cannot foster / tolerate

⁵⁴¹ “Nothing is really heritage unless it is being used – the value for any object or site comes from its use... The idea of performativity highlights.” (Smith L., 2006:304)

⁵⁴² Davor Konjikušić, Novosti, 12 April 2015. <http://www.portalnovosti.com/heroji-u-muzeju>

⁵⁴³ “Most often it is about well designed, user friendly conciliation with the past – whatever it is like – whose basic social and political premises have to be maximally alienated from a modern spectator or masked in lovable retro-package”, Horvatinčić, in: Konjikušić, Novosti, 12 April 2015. <http://www.portalnovosti.com/heroji-u-muzeju>

⁵⁴⁴ Fact that with decomposition of socialist Yugoslavia in the 90s were made prerequisites for topics which were unavailable until then, says Klasić, did not mean that period of Socialism should be neglected. Not only that we completely agree with this thought, but we think that this sort of relation (as in historiography so in heritology, museology and museography) shows absence of professionalism and, we would say, what is even more essential, complete absence of professional ethics⁵⁴⁴. It seems that, what looks normal to Kršić and to all ‘simple people with who we talked during our research, for professionals in the stated fields was inscrutable. Since, today, attitude toward the pasts is impossible to escape, Kršić thinks that such position and problems coming out of that, should be clearly stated and written in the results and process of work, and then give opportunity to public / individuals to come to their own conclusions. Dr.sc. Snježana Koren reminds us that even when we talk about this segment we must learn from history: Though during 45 years of Yugoslavia a great effort is made in order to shape and convey certain history versions, the construction in the 90s fell apart as a house of cards.

⁵⁴⁵ Max Horkheimer (paraphrase): “The one who is not ready to talk about capitalist reality, should stay silent about Socialism.”

discourse of the museum as active member of the community, as generator of a critical discourse, a real learning environment. In the economically poor community dominated by the wild capitalism, museums use social and economic processes as universal excuse – for insufficient activity, unsatisfactory results of their activities and rejection of “change” of the working process.

Regarding regional museums in Serbia as environments and inspirers of learning, in general, we could say that much of the potential for learning is ignored, and the most significant elements of museum-based learning are neglected. Their conservative epistemological position and conception of the learning determines their discourse as outdated, uncommunicative, traditional, resulting in the lost potential of the community engagement. They “focus on the use of collections and artefacts”⁵⁴⁶; concentrated on the outcome (the display or educational activity), without rethinking the actual process or musealisation and their impacts on society”⁵⁴⁷. They are excepting the limitations inserted by the political setting. They become places for and of the certain part of the society - elite⁵⁴⁸ and are not promoting a more democratic and diverse interests. With traditional approach to community ownership⁵⁴⁹, analysed museums are ignoring the “public policies concerned with widening participation, combating social exclusion, improving intercultural understanding and promoting cultural rights” (Gibbs, Sani, Thompson, xy: 103). They have passive relation toward visitors⁵⁵⁰ and, we could say, do not understand (the important) role of the visitor. Their programs do not stimulate interaction⁵⁵¹; permanent exhibitions bare no relevance⁵⁵². They are not favoring local productions regardless the big interest of the

⁵⁴⁶ “The museum is not able to access community life as a whole, neither its global heritage, once its focus relies on the use of collections and artefacts, as Varine (1993) stresses: is cut off from the culture of most of the people in the area in which it is located and which it pretends to serve,” Assunção Dos Santos, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2009/29: 218.

⁵⁴⁷ De Hond, van der Lans, and van der Vlieswith van Kessel, de Oca Navarro, *Sociomuseology III*, 2010/37: 67.

⁵⁴⁸ “The elite’s perspectives of things are portrayed and the official history is represented, so it has no interest to show anything that is not consistent with that” (Lamas, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2010/37:50). “They develop a strong tendency to become bourgeois, that is, to being taken over by the middle-class public—the traditional beneficiary of cultural and educational institutions (Ouahthemoc, San Juanito, <http://museumstudies.si.edu/claims2000.htm>).

⁵⁴⁹ “Museum’s limitations in dealing with the issue of community ownership, consequently minimising community’s condition to deliver demands, to be involved in planning, as well as engaged in action. Such limitations are also reflected in the choice for targets and in applied methods,” Assunção Dos Santos, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2009/29: 218.

⁵⁵⁰ Museum’s passive attitude toward visitors, reduced only to exhibition opening, stresses relation of mutual hostility and repulsiveness (A. Bauer, 1971) - as in J. Milutinović, 2003:53.

⁵⁵¹ For reference see: Falk and Dirking about visitors experience and learning as a result of the interaction between personal, social and physical context.

⁵⁵² Greg McManus, the President of ICOM International Committee on Museum Management (INTERCOM), believes that temporary thematic exhibition and other public programs of short duration are of the primary significance for the local population, while permanent exhibition should aim for tourists presenting “the stories about the environment in which the museum is situated thus reinforcing the destination values” (G. McManus, Community facility or tourism product - Managing the multiple identities of a small museum, www.intercom.museum/documents/2-2McManus.pdf). Although our research findings prove this to be true, we believe that it is more the result of the content and the way it is presented than of the medium (permanent complex exhibition) as such. Permanent exhibitions have a great potential as the base for continuous inter and intra generational dialogue regarding personal (and local) identities, platform for continuous insights in communities future(s). Other

community⁵⁵³. They lack “complex, functional organization”⁵⁵⁴ and do not have transparent indicators for success /failure. Museums are “proclaimed as educational sites for all but the pedagogic style operates as an excluding strategy”⁵⁵⁵ (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 189).

Therefore museums are losing their local character and a capacity to be ‘local forum’⁵⁵⁶, they lose relevance to the community; and are depriving themselves of the capacity to ‘understand processes of permanent social changes’ (B. Šulc, 1989), to maintain /build a role of active communal subjects. Their approach is exceptional. “Hill suggests that the commitment to education was weak in many municipal museums,⁵⁵⁷ which acted instead as spaces where the middle classes could display their cultural authority rather than as didactic spaces for improvement.” Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 198). But, the approach of the regional museums in Serbia is amplified by the transitional and post-transitional discourse.

Most of those negative aspects had its alternative – professional examples / role models – in the ‘Socialist museum’: respect to the contemporary collecting⁵⁵⁸, museums as facilitators of the life long learning, participatory models of museum work – being some of them. Professional practices of regional museums during the period of Socialisms are demised with all other aspects of modernization.

Complex permanent exhibitions in the regional museums we were analyzing, set since 2007, have directly replaced original permanent complex exhibitions (or their parts) set at the second half of the last century when those museums were established. Those previous ones, based on the official, state-standardized thematic plans for the ‘socialist museum’ as stated by Krivošejev and Damnjanović, did not map specificities of the museums region “but the overall general historical development, from prehistoric times to the mid-twentieth century, with a focus on

temporary program shall, we think, be related to permanent exhibition – as a ‘main’ community narrative – and contextual different issues in relation (that can be one of agreeing but of the dissonance as well).

⁵⁵³ According to the insight into a three year long work of seventy four different museums in Serbia, it is evident that one average virtually designed museum annually provides twice more visiting exhibitions than other from own funds (4,8: 2,6) even though locally produces exhibitions attract twice more visitors. 2.396: 5.681 visitors in total that is 499: 2.185 visitors per one exhibition (Krivošejev in: Martinović, Jokić, 2009:36/37).

⁵⁵⁴ D. Martinović, Nove stalne postavke u funkciji transformisanja muzeja u Srbiji⁵⁵⁴, *Journal Kultura*, 2014/144: 88.

⁵⁵⁵ “Learning styles in the museum were thus highly restricted, and it seems likely that only those who understood and felt comfortable with an abstract, intellectual, visual approach to learning found museums easy to use.” (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 189)

⁵⁵⁶ Local character of the museum, as Piotrovski writes, “is to be disclosed when and especially when the museum tries to make a frame for political discussion, in making connection with the town, becoming a part of agora”. Exactly with this practice, tells Piotrovski, the museum gets the role of global forum (superpasses local and national importance), which is only position that guarantees the museum’s mission success (Piotrovski 2012:53).

⁵⁵⁷ Hill, 2005: 59, 105.

⁵⁵⁸ See, for example, data from 1947 in: Unsigned author, Work of museum in Vojvodina, *Muzeji*, 1948/1:130/131).

World War II partisan liberation movement and communist ideology.”⁵⁵⁹ (V. Krivošević, I. Damjanović, *American Journal of Tourism Management*, 2014/3/1B, <http://article.sapub.org/10.5923.s.tourism.201402.04.html>) Their visual aspect was uniformed as well (done by the central national museums in Belgrade, *ibid.*), caused by the lack of the local resources. “With these concepts, specific local historical processes as well as exhibits of unique features were incorporated into a recognizable narrative pattern, so they did not come up to their full potential.” (*Ibid.*) Unfortunately, similar ‘*déjà vu* effect’ is present with the new complex permanent exhibitions today and, in (to) many cases, museums still serve ‘as a sort of 3D update of history books’ (*ibid.*).

Regional museums in Serbia, we would say, are reduced to “bureaucratically realized idea of heritage” (Bulatović, *Muzeji* 2009/2: 10) that accommodates the discourse of right-wing politics. While doing so they lost their relevance. While museums were ‘ignoring’ the period of Socialism - different individuals, groups or communities appreciating its value (here we refer to the value in a sense of heritage) – created other centers of heritage making. ‘Socialist’ (even anti-socialist) memory communities continued to learn from the memory about Socialism, “through fight, labour, through different forms of cultural activities and through real historical practice” (*ibid.*).⁵⁶⁰ In the media acting at the end of 20th and beginning of 21st century it is not as easy to assert ‘collective’ identity and “claims to heritage resources” (L. Smith, 2006:236). Absence of the heritage of Socialism from the discourse of regional museums, not only shows their policy towards certain period in history, but also is a factor that limits their capability to step out of traditional, conservative approach to museum practice.

Regional museums put themselves in the position that they are not sustained by quality of their work but by will of their administrative founders. Those will, in time, understand that discourse of the musealization which analyzed museums

⁵⁵⁹ Vinča figurines, swords and yataghans, elements of folk costumes, German warrants after Tito (Josip Broz Tito), but necessarily without the other part of the warrant, with a reward for Draža Mihailović (Dragoljub Draža Mihailović) and weapons, personal items and pictures of communist heroes were commonplace of almost all exhibitions.

⁵⁶⁰ Museum is just one of the communication media (television, film, radio, magazines, newspapers, books, exhibitions or programs, the internet, etc.), that can produce legitimate discourse regarding socialism, whose authority even overpasses authority of the museum. Though museum exhibition is “unique and unreplaced” (J. Milutinović, 2003: 74) it is not anymore unique discourse of public museums. In presentation of Socialism, in Serbia, artists are nominated as authors, as well as private collections/museums, cultural centres, non-formal groups and CSOs. From the real, heritage is spread to virtual space – with significantly less barriers in approach than those generated by public museums. For relevant research data see: Tijana Jakovljević, Ivana Jovanović, *Konkurentnost muzeja na tržištu kulture*, *Muzeji* 2009/2: 91.

promote is not providing them a respectable position in the community.⁵⁶¹ Our conclusion is that analysed museums are “museum skeletons” (Spasojević, Muzeji 2009/2: 42), which exist only at the level of reality of those who work in them (and, to some extent, of those who administratively decide about them). For wider community they are only ‘empty shell’ (*ibid.*) people can’t relate to⁵⁶². As such museums are not and cannot be productive members of (lifelong) learning community.

6.2. Which is the museums’ Language of Freedom?⁵⁶³

“Revitalization of an idea is condition and basis for revitalization of heritage.”⁵⁶⁴

Topics related to Socialism are of a great interest of the Serbian public. Without a model for “critical rethinking and evaluation of the socialist past and its heritage,”⁵⁶⁵ experiences of this historical period will not be able to contribute to the future social development of Serbia – on the contrary. This complex and long social process, which is supposed to lead us to understanding of the world we live in (in the context of social development⁵⁶⁶), was mapped by numerous intellectuals – within the field of historiography⁵⁶⁷, culture⁵⁶⁸, education⁵⁶⁹, and heritage. Historian Hrvoje Klasić

⁵⁶¹ During dialogue with employees in regional museums in Serbia we often heard about their ‘fear’ that museum(s) will be closed. Reason for this, however, they do not see in the results of their work but in founder’s incomprehension of the importance of the institution(s).

⁵⁶² “Nostalgia for enlightenment and its simulations – freedom, equality and brotherhood – is transferred into capitalistic act of ‘hands washing’, which is always exclusively rhetoric. For its proper reading positioning on the terrain of political connotation is needed (...) until those antagonisms are settled, museum will permanently delay its death, museology will seek complacency in escape from relativism” (Spasojević, Muzeji 2009/2:43).

⁵⁶³ According to title of chapter in text: The Nation In Between; or, Why Intellectuals Do Things with Words, Gapova in: Sibelan Forrester, Magdalena J. Zaborowska, and Gapova, Eds, 2004.

⁵⁶⁴ (R)epopeja potisnutog sećanja: zaključci i preporuke, December 2007, http://www.kulturklammer.org/docs/Kadinjaca_Uzice_zakljucci&preporuke.pdf

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 56

⁵⁶⁶ “Define development in terms of aspirations inherent to a culture, rather than to assess culture in terms of its potential to help or hinder development, would represent a transformation in attitudes to development work (...) The new objectives recently set by development agencies, such as participative, sustainable, human and social development, can only be achieved if these agencies are prepared to rethink the central role of culture in these processes” (UNESCO Sector of Culture, 2001) Assunção Dos Santos, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2009/29: 198.

⁵⁶⁷ Keith Jenkins stands for plurality of “today’s histories” (Promišljanje historije, Srednja Europa, Zagreb 2008:107), Vojin Dimitrijević pleads for the beginning of “more qualitative dialogue that will contribute for the consequences of deformation of historical knowledge not to be so fatal as they were in near past (Istorijska muka od istorijske istine, in: *Novosti iz prošlosti, Znanje, neznanje, upotreba i zloupotreba istorije*, edited by: Vojin Dimitrijević, Beogradski centar za ljudska prava, Beograd, 2010: 9), Todor Kuljić recognizes necessity of qualitative transfer “from national monumental to critical historiography” (Anti-antifašizam, Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju, notebook 1–3, 2005:7, www.csi-platforma.org); within the field of historiography important issues related to Socialism should again be considered (modernisation processes of socialist Yugoslavia, industrialization as modernistic concept, more detailed elaboration and interrelation of changes within cultural production, society, politics and economy) and they should be treated in methodological, modern way – from the perspective of socialist Yugoslavia as a whole; and context should be spread toward East and West (Kršić, 2013:3,11, https://www.academia.edu/5588192/Velika_očekivanja_bizarnosti_i_slijepo_mjesto_ideologije; *Kliofest*, 6. VI 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zUC_f_bADCU&list=UUIdESmsTq2Qf4Hel0u8VEsg)

⁵⁶⁸ Within the field of culture, thinks Srećko Pulig (and we agree with him), the most important thing is development of criticism toward outside and inside as well, overcoming of all ‘given’ frameworks and dogmatic darkness of the system, through serious organisation of the leftist and its organic intellectuals (Pulig, *Novosti*, 04 March 2015. <http://www.portalnovosti.com/lijevo-i-ljevicarsko>)

⁵⁶⁹ Within the field of history teaching, points out Dr.sc. Snježana Koren, we should go back to historiography and detach ourselves from politics and ideology; objective should be to teach students to rationally and critically think about the written and the said, to prepare them to deal with everyday’s differences constructively and to bring balanced and rational conclusions where contradictory explanations are offered. Koren thinks that it can be realized “through education system’s encouragement of

believes that younger generations must be included in this issue; it is expected from the young “to take a more objective stand in relation to that period”⁵⁷⁰ and to use the missed opportunity: to allow “opening of a new discursive space, new semantic field, out of cold war oppositions, out of identity ethno-nationalistic obsessions, anticommunism and apology of western liberalism”.⁵⁷¹ In this process of “establishing historical continuities (the ways in which the Yugoslav experience of socialism, as well as examining international relationships in the Balkans, will be included in the thinking of a contemporary moment in Serbia)” - Ignjatović and Manojlović see manifestation of capacity of Serbian society to build a healthy system of values⁵⁷² / to ‘reassert national identity’⁵⁷³. Any ‘delayed reaction’, as Serbian recent history proves, leaves a space for development of discourses which cancel modernization processes⁵⁷⁴ and create exclusion. Numerous social practices in the last 35 years show the growing awareness that it is “time to turn the past into subject for study and critical reflexion, and not ideological manipulations from above” (Topić, u Vojin Bakić - Svjetlosne forme, 2013:271), that it is necessary to find alternative ways for acquirement of knowledge (because personal acquirement of knowledge is inevitable)⁵⁷⁵ on the (utopian) way of social change and on achieving society of social justice and cultural democracy, on forming “genuine national community – separated from ethnical or national identity”⁵⁷⁶.

understanding that different interpretations about all past events are possible, and encouragement to judge those interpretations by themselves (in historiography, film, literature, museum settings etc.); it should be expected of students to understand that not all interpretations about the past have equal importance (in general, their importance is measured by in/valid arguments and their un/supporting proofs).” Dr.sc. Snježana Koren, in interview: Jugoslavenski poučak, <http://h-alter.org/vijesti/jugoslavenski-poucak>, published on 30 January 2015, 11:55, assessed on: 06 July 2015.

⁵⁷⁰ Hrvoje Klasić, Historiografija o socijalističkoj Hrvatskoj – KlioFest, 6. VI 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zUC_f_bADCU&list=UUIdESmsTq2Qf4Hel0u8VEsg

⁵⁷¹ Kršić, 2013:13, https://www.academia.edu/5588192/Velika_očekivanja_bizarnosti_i_slijepo_mjesto_ideologije

⁵⁷² Ignjatović and Manojlović Pintar, Transformations of the Slavija Square in Belgrade: History, Memory and Construction of Identity

⁵⁷³ See: O’Keeffe about the combining of rupture, as discussed by Nora, and vernacularization, as discussed by Samuel) (p. 91, Paul Claval: Changing Conceptions of Heritage and Landscape in Manchester 1888–1921 in: Tadhg O’Keeffe: Landscape and Memory: Historiography, Theory, Methodology in: Moore/Whelan, 2007:7).

⁵⁷⁴ “It is necessary to point out emancipatory practices, antifascism and all those unquestionable successes of the country (socialist Yugoslavia, *prim. KŽ*) such as modernization and industrialization, especially today when in our national countries we are confronted with retraditionalization of society after wars in 90s, clericalization and return to deeply patriarchal model; but it is necessary as well to show its disadvantages and destroy typical projections and stereotypes in order not to create myths about ideal society” (Sandra Uskoković, Antifašistička baština – ambivalentnost socijalističkog esteticizma in: Socijalizam na klupi) or in: (Ljubiša Despotović, Srdan Šljukić, Darko Gavrilović, Vjekoslav Perica, Mitja Velikonja, Mitovi epohe socijalizma, Centar za istoriju, demokratiju i pomirenje, Novi Sad, Fakultet za evropske pravno-političke studije, Sremska Kamenica).

⁵⁷⁵ “If we take the position that it is possible for people to construct personal knowledge then we have to accept the idea that it is inevitable that they do so, regardless of our efforts to constrain them,” Hein, 1998: 35.

⁵⁷⁶ “My opinion is that such transformation makes sense only if it implies program of radical transformation of representative institutions: short-term mandates, without reelection, role given to drawing, real power of national assemblies over representatives and persistence of autonomous national power (...) Demos – collective of those who are ‘nothing’ – the only collective in which newcomers could be included,” Interview: Jacques Ranciere, Sistem djeluje izazivajući osjećaj nemoći kod ljudi, Author: Amila Kahrović - Posavljak, 16.10.2015. u 10:46, <http://www.tacno.net/interview/intervju-jacques-ranciere-filozof-sistem-djeluje-izazivajuci-osjecaj-nemoci-kod-ljudi/>, assessed on: 18 October 2015, 20:06.

6.3. Can heritage professionals mediate dissonance?⁵⁷⁷

Can Museums help us to understand the world around us? (Čolak-Antić in Martinović, 2009:60)

Serbian (untransparent) heritage policy includes no elements of reconciliation and, in the following text, we will make a ‘leap of fate’ towards different utopian concepts based on (as utopian) notion of the (transitional) heritage justice - meant more as a tool of prevention but, including, the post-injustice-measures⁵⁷⁸.

Based on the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (<http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>) we consider development of the (Transitional) Heritage Justice⁵⁷⁹ being, the basic and crucial ethical principle of heritage management. By trying to achieve accountability of the actors within the heritage process, heritage justice shall provide recognition of the rights of ‘the other(s)’ (those oppressed by the dominant identity, minority), restore the community trust in the heritage professionals (to have a capacity to safeguard the interests of minorities⁵⁸⁰) and strengthen the democratic aspects of the heritage process. (Transitional) Heritage Justice shall present (and implement) the set of heritage and non-heritage measures that would build professional and public awareness of the heritage abuses – the abuses of the right for culture/heritage being considered as one of the basic human rights. This process engages all members of community⁵⁸¹ but allocates the biggest responsibility to the state institutions as guarantees of the democracy.⁵⁸²

The basic measure of (Transitional) heritage justice is to influence the state “to reform institutions that were either involved in or incapable of preventing” the

⁵⁷⁷ “How do heritage professionals act as mediators in situations where values conflict?” “Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with ‘Difficult Heritage’”, William Logan, Keir Reeves, Taylor & Francis, Routledge, 2009:11.

⁵⁷⁸ Heritage Justice is introduced since many documents that exist promote positive models of behavior but introduce no consequences for atrocities within the sector of heritage. With culture being low in the community development priority list, and having low political power, it leaves heritage protection only vaguely ‘normed’. ICOM code of ethics for museums and other heritage protection related documents prove not to have necessary political influence that they do not reach to the core of the communities and that, themselves, are not democratized and inclusive due to their Eurocentric ideological barriers.

⁵⁷⁹ Term is borrowed from the presentation of Simina Badica (museum expert, Head of Ethnological Archives at the Romanian Peasant Museum in Bucharest) at the Kenneth Hudson Seminar held in November 2015, and relates to the heritage in the times of transition. Referred to by Badica as the equivalent to the Transitional Justice we have contextualized it based on the available resources such as contents provided by The International Center for Transitional Justice (2009, <https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice>) and work of Arthur Paige (Paige ed. *Identities in Transition: Challenges for Transitional Justice in Divided Societies*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, <http://www.cambridge.org/us/academic/subjects/law/humanitarian-law/identities-transition-challenges-transitional-justice-divided-societies?format=HB&isbn=9781107003699#contentsTabAnchor>).

⁵⁸⁰ Context is such that a history of (socially divisive) unaddressed abuses of heritage generated mistrust between community and the institutions of the State, which looks like unbridgeable barrier for processes of heritage justice to be implemented. It raises questions about the commitment to the professional standard and ethics, “ultimately, can lead to cyclical recurrence of violence in various forms.” (The International Center for Transitional Justice, 2009, <https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice>)

⁵⁸¹ Principles of the *Heritage Justice*, though, cannot be implemented and safeguarded without the active participation of the SCO’s, activist groups, without become a part of values of each community member. As well in those aspects of work, and even primarily in those aspects, the communities they serve should control institutions.

⁵⁸² The principles of the (transitional) Heritage justice shall become one of the pillar functions / main obligations of the state institutions on all levels and in all sectors – primarily that of heritage.

heritage abuses so that the community would have a guarantee “that the violations will not recur” (<https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice>). Other elements of a transitional heritage justice policy, as the equivalents of the elements of the transitional justice policy, might be “truth commissions or other means to investigate and report on systematic patterns of abuse, recommend changes and help understand the underlying causes of serious human rights violations” (*ibid.*), reparations (including both, material and symbolic aspects) and, for the most radical cases, (criminal) prosecutions⁵⁸³. Not to repeat their mistakes, and mistakes done by the heritage law⁵⁸⁴ (transitional) heritage justice shall be based on integrating communities in creating opportunities and safeguarding processes “for people to live their lives in a manner they choose”⁵⁸⁵, within the minimum of rights guaranteed by the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If (transitional) heritage justice can “find ways to act as a means of political learning across communities, foster trust and recognition, and serve to breakdown harmful myths and stereotypes—then this will be at least a small step toward meeting the challenges for transitional heritage justice in divided societies” (as reference to Paige in Paige ed, 2014:6).⁵⁸⁶ It shall be based on opposing ‘heritage propaganda’ and use of museums as tools for daily politics⁵⁸⁷. Concepts as ‘shared heritage’ (telling the parallel interpretative stories ‘against’ the obstacles of national or communal politics⁵⁸⁸), building understanding of different social and cultural identities, values and meanings, are just some of the elements of a broadly based approach that can offer an alternative to currently dominant heritage model. Transparent and explicit professional discourses, open to array of popular and

⁵⁸³ This is not a closed list: despite the fact that transitional heritage justice measures would rest on solid legal and moral obligations, we could imagine wide latitude as to how these obligations can be satisfied, and therefore there is no formula to fit all contexts.

⁵⁸⁴ See: The International Center for Transitional Justice, 2009, <https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice>

⁵⁸⁵ Paige in Paige ed. 2014:10.

⁵⁸⁶ Aims to be achieved with (Transitional) Heritage Justice ‘approach’: “Find ways to empower marginalized groups as actors with social and political standing, as a step toward broader social transformation” (Paige in Paige ed. 2014:6); ensure that transitional heritage justice measures are “sensitive to the ways in which targeting people on the basis of their ethnic, religious, gender and other identity may cause distinctive harms — as in the case of destroying cultural heritage dear to them; clarify the difficult political challenges that arise in societies where communities are not ready to cooperate, or even agree on a ‘heritage value’ of oppressed / marginalized” (Paige in Paige ed. 2014:6). It would incorporate direct heritage measures (identifying, collecting, protection – conservation, musealisation, public display) as well as indirect heritage measures (such as activities in the field of the cultural policy and politics that would raise the awareness on contemporary collecting regardless ideological differences, “partnering with initiatives for educational reforms, minority rights guarantees, new constitutional arrangements” (Paige in Paige ed. 2014:xy).

⁵⁸⁷ “Strategically looking (ad a), it is necessary to confirm with documents and in immediate application, that heritage corpus makes entire heritage of nature and its names that people register, along with all other traces of their presence. Then, it must be confirmed, that the continuous use of heritage experiences and maintenance of its values is guarantee for reliable remembrance and for understanding of processes in which witnesses of the past time were created. “Revival of heritage” as personal experience provides clearer look into future (Dragan Bulatović, Muzealizacija stvarnije budućnosti, Muzeji 2009/2:12). Practices of transformation of heritage propaganda through art into a history lesson: For one of the examples of “third way” of dealing with the totalitarian past: “neither worship nor annihilation of these monuments, but a creative collaboration with them,” see: Boym, 2001: 89.

⁵⁸⁸ Reeves, Taylor & Francis, Routledge, 2009:11.

community heritage discourses heritage⁵⁸⁹ can strengthen the process of heritage as ‘socially and politically sustainable’⁵⁹⁰.

What should be role of the museum in this process?

6.4. Museum identity, role and social value

“Food is the first thing, morals follow on” (<http://dizajn.hr/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/11B-food.jpg>, 11th Istanbul biennial, poster, 2009).

“The educational health of the nation depends upon its educational infrastructure, including museums.” (St. John and Perry, as in: Falk and Dierking, 2000.)

Museums have a potential to be places for learning and creation of changes. If constructed as open, dynamic surrounding, they can offer conditions for creative and conceptual learning, individual reflection, exploration, social interaction, rich experience.⁵⁹¹ However, if they continue to be only extended hand (of daily) politics and dominant ideology, their role in the learning process will be almost unnecessary. Due to domination of other communicative models in communities of the 21st century, it will be extremely hard for an institution ‘forgotten’ by a wider community to enter the public field again without the essential change. Therefore, regional museums in Serbia, we think, must opt for transparency of values they speak for.⁵⁹² They must have a direct dialogue with citizens and take a stand in current social issues⁵⁹³.

The only emancipatory concept that can be productive in the present situation in Serbia, and intervene within traditional, neoconservative culture, is the one that opposes uncontrolled rule of capital. Regional museums should insist on de-etatization, but at the same time offer “projects that will allow for subjectivisation of the state” Prnjat, <http://dematerijalizacijaumetnosti.com/povratak-nezavisnih/>). Autonomy of the institution shall be underlined “since out of autonomy institution could be developed as singular practice of the multitude” (ibid). These projects, within the discourse of modernization, we believe, come from discourses of new

⁵⁸⁹ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge, 2006:5.

⁵⁹⁰ See: J. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, xy: 19.

⁵⁹¹ For the overview of the theoretical inputs of constructivist John Dewey, Jean Piaget, Jerome Bruner see: J. Milutinović, 2003: 134, 135.

⁵⁹² “By taking a stand, museums can appeal to new audiences, and contribute to ongoing debate in the society. Museums in general have great opportunities to give alternative, new angles on contemporary and difficult matters and to invite and engage people in dialogue,” Thelin (booklet *Hot Spot*, 2004).

⁵⁹³ For any museum or heritage site or landscape that is embedded with the legacies of conservative museological discourse, transformative planning and learning requires unmasking in order to understand the layers of significance of the collections or heritage resource and the multiple voices, both silent and active, that inform the meanings that we wish to communicate (Dr. Galla, in: Brændholt Lundgaard & Thorek Jensen, 2013:72).

museology and sociomuseology,⁵⁹⁴ and constructivist approach to the theories of knowledge and learning⁵⁹⁵. And *vice versa* – adoption of these discourses and their application on discourse of institution and discourse of musealization - museums, will lead to creation and sustenance of their, necessary, new position⁵⁹⁶ in the community (position of independence, professional authority and social responsibility).

In general, we are opting for the critical museum,⁵⁹⁷ contextualized as a resource for learning through process of becoming “local (and glocal) forum” (Piotrowski, 2013:53), designed, made and further developed as participatory platform.⁵⁹⁸ “Museological action must create situations that lead to development and reflection of the community. This is the only way for a contribution to a dialogical and liberating education, where the individuals are capacitated to transform their reality. This aspect of contemporary museology is perceived on the moment when museums started to be considered a communication space and of knowledge exchange.” (Santos Primo, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2007/27:89.)⁵⁹⁹ In such context, new museum discourse “must leave an open space for exploration and new

⁵⁹⁴ Adoption of values of new museology: museum as a place (at) which social differences are mirrored, which has clear social role and helps to educate widest social classes (Poulot, D. and Wrigley, R., *Oxford Art Journal*, 1988/11/2:4056), recovery of heritage as the recovery of people's identity and community involvement (Lamas, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2010/37: 49), preserve its experimental character and maintain the greatest possible openness to the constantly changing reality of people's lives / with a low degree of institutionalization (cf. de Varine 1978b:37; Rivard, 1984a:38), represent different opinions and interpretations - multiple perspectiveness within the profession and advocates for a more inclusive approach to heritage, by involving society itself (Societal development and the traditional museum: Applying New Museology to a different context, de Hond, der Lans, van der Vlies, *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2010/37: 63); as a conciliation factor new museum develops the ability to be an open window into the dynamic of representations and discourses that exist in society (Santos, *Cadernos de Museologia*, 2008/ 2:112); develops participatory models of ruling (Kisić, *Kultura*, 2014/144: 112- 122), it is financially independent (cf. de Varine 1978b:37; Rivard 1985b:204). About positive aspects of eco-museums' practice see: A. Gob, N. Druge, 2009: 102, 103.

⁵⁹⁵ Acceptance of the principle of constructivist perspective for museums means: “encouragement of visitors for active creation of the world around them, for exploration of the various perspective, for giving sense and meaning to their experience; encouragement of the curiosity environment and provision of contents relevant for visitors and applicable within finding solutions for real life problems; creation of rich circumstances and alternative sources for acquirement of knowledge and different experiences, along with endeavor to connect offered context with visitor's existing knowledge; deepening of knowledge about visitors through observation, conversation, understanding of their points of view and encouragement for self-regulation of personal process of learning; uphold of collaborative construction of meaning through social mediation; contextualization of presented objects and their connection with everyday life situations; provision of comfortable and well equipped space for learning so that visitors wish to stay longer in museums,” J. Milutinović, 2003:153. Complementarity with new museology illustrates, for instance, De Varine's description of the “new” museum as a kind of people's university: “[...]: the place which can and must mirror the questions which individuals and social groups are asking themselves — not to supply answers, but to state the problems, point to alternatives, and offer materials and information to assist them to realize and decide what attitudes to take up” (as in: *Lost in the supermarket – The Traditional Museums, Challenges*, Mariana Lamas, *Sociomuseology III - Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2010/37: 50).

⁵⁹⁶ New ways of articulating the educational value of museums are needed today, at a time when perceptions of learning, the self and social life are changing. In post-modernity, questions of purpose, pedagogy and performance have come together in museums in a swirling vortex that appears confusing, but in fact offers up potential for the future (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 13).

⁵⁹⁷ “Critical museum of Pjotrovski aims with its practice to de-objectivize and deconstruct traditional museum canons, narrations and their ideological and economic foundations, deconstructing values in that way. He calls the citizen to fight for democracy, to be active member of society, to rethink and control museum rituals” (Kisić, *Kultura*, 2014 /144:118). Critical museum of Pjotrovski denaturalizes museum institutions and their ideological foundations as hegemonic power centers.

⁵⁹⁸ “Successful museums in the 21st century will be those who figure out how to develop long-lasting, meaningful relationships with their public (...) The successful museum will be an institution designed to provide a specific public with something of worth that they desire (...) they exist to serve their community (...) they are there to support civic engagement and to build social capital, (...) have made the effort to (...) go into the communities they serve, or would like to serve, and ask them directly what it is that they really need, and then deliver on that need (...) Museums will continue to be mission-driven with goals of their own. The museum agenda is no more, and no less important than a visitor's agenda; for true value to be achieved, both agendas need to be satisfied, and ideally, if possible, connected like a bridge,” Dierking, in: Brændholt Lundgaard & Thorek Jensen, 2013:211, 212.

⁵⁹⁹ See also: Peckham, R. (2003), Smith, L. (2006).

thoughts, must enable gradual change of representative museums into museums representing people, age, life and knowledge, i.e. allow for the subjects "that we separated from life to create reality that will humanize life of those who come and make for them more dynamic context of heritage, not as a traditional burden, but heritage as a framework for creative co-existence" (Maroević, 1987: 53 and J. Milutinović, 2003:78). And *vice versa*: by placing "community at the heart of the museum enterprise, "it will be possible to overcome the role of museums as hegemonic institutions. In giving voice to the powerless a process of self-discovery and empowerment will take place in which the curator becomes a facilitator rather than a figure of authority.⁶⁰⁰

Options are endless. "Learn with fewer teachers, but with the use of other people, and with the help of new technology" (Koulouri, in Koulouri ed., 2001: 22). Teach diversity; teach how to live together in the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies. Teaching through a comparative approach. "Challenge the strong belief that history is "objective" i.e. that there is only one "truth", "our" truth (the deconstruction can be achieved by presenting others "truth" i.e. point of view of the other, that of the "enemy" on the same event)" (ibid.) Don't avoid discussing conflicts within the nation. "Reduce political and military history to the benefit of economic, social and cultural history, history of everyday life" (ibid). Etc.

Only 'such' a museum will have a chance to become a learning resource for different members of the community. Traditionally organized Regional museums already proved that they lack capacity to answer to major changes in the expectations of learning being contextualized as a lifelong phenomenon, and learning "as the acquisition of thinking skills and the utilization of knowledge."⁶⁰¹ "The objective is to use the museums and collections to stimulate learning and enhance the communication of ideas" (Bellamy and Oppenheim eds. 2009: 73) with emphasis on learners (and "the didactic approach most suitable for learners", Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 42).

Those changes are very drastic and consume a lot of time and resources. Rather than claiming that regional museums in Serbia do not have time and resources, they could set the example by coordinated activity and joining forces. Although utopian, the idea of implementing emancipatory politics through the self-organized

⁶⁰⁰ Witcomb, A., in: Watson, S., (ed.). 2007:133.

⁶⁰¹ Gail Donald, 1991:379.

network sounds like solution worth considering. Referring to the period of socialism could be the incredible resource (related to certain preferable community values, offering the opportunity to revisit local museological traditions) for doing so. It will bring the opportunity to museums correct their (transitional) heritage injustices and redeem themselves for the disinheritance they partake. Museum as such, will not only be seen as a participant in the process of learning, but a center of communication that contributes to the development⁶⁰² / modernization of the society.

There is no good (local) museum without theory and ideology⁶⁰³.

⁶⁰² Dos Santos *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, 2009/29: 216.

⁶⁰³ Paraphrase of the title from interview with a graphic designer Dejan Kršić, *Dizajn.hr*, „Nema dizajna bez teorije i ideologije” (“There is no design without theory and ideology”) (<http://dizajn.hr/blog/dejan-krsic-nema-dizajna-bez-teorije-i-ideologije/>, published on: 24 June 2015, assessed on: 6 July 2015).