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# State-Independent Art Institutions in Unsteady States: Con/Divergences of Postsocialist and Postcolonial Contexts

Eszter Szakács \*

## Abstract

This essay looks at an ethnographical study of a grassroots, state-independent art initiative in postsocialist Hungary together with some aspects of the anthropological analyses of a few independent art initiatives in the postcolonial contexts of Tanzania and Senegal. By drawing comparisons between state-independent art institutions in postsocialist and postcolonial regions, where similar creative institutional experiments are at play, I will show how bottom-up art institutions in these two regions can and cannot be considered to be sharing corresponding strategies. This comparative, ethnography-based study between state-independent art institutions allows for a more critical understanding of the intersections of the postsocialist and postcolonial conditions. My argument is based less on applying a specific theory (such as “Post-Cold War studies” or “decolonial aesthesis”) to both contexts but rather, as I will discuss, on explicating emerging practices as a result of unsteady states.

**Keywords:** postsocialism, postcolonialism, decoloniality, state-independence, art, creative institutionalism, grassroots organizing, funding

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## **1. Illiberal Democracies and Unsteady States - The State Independency of OFF-Biennale Budapest**

How are artists and curators responding to “illiberal democracies” and “unsteady states” by way of instituting, by creating new institutional frameworks within an art context, but also reaching outside? In a postsocialist context like Hungary the state has been the top-down sponsor of the arts for decades, which has rendered art and its institutions (museums, non-profit gallery spaces, and art academies) financially, and often ideologically, dependent on state powers. In the last years, establishing experimental art institutions from scratch and independently of the current Hungarian illiberal democracy’s state-maintained art infrastructure has become more than just a way of opposing current state cultural policies. This experimental institutionalism has become an important means of building long-term methods of resilience in unsteady states such as Hungary.

I call unsteady states those locations which have seen a series of shifting state formations and regime changes, each of which attempted to build up a new kind of state following various political ideologies. An unsteady state—which imposes fundamental changes time and again—can be considered to simultaneously limit and enable the emergence of state-independent art institutions. In the 20th century, Hungary had various state formations, built often on the ideological opposite of the preceding one. These shifting state forms have had distinctive, often centralized ideas about the role and the funding of the arts, which means that artists and art organizers had often worked under two or more different state regimes in their lifetimes. The shifting circumstances have also propelled artists and curators not in agreement with, and/or censored or banned by state cultural policies at a given time, to creatively and proactively strategize. Most of the times, particularly in state socialism as well as today, the creative response of artists and art organizers has been to “self-institutionalize:” to create their own institutions, on their own terms, independently of the state. (@)Paradoxically, analyzing the practices of state-independent art institutions offers an insight into the functioning of the state; vice versa, looking at state forms helps understanding how these institutions work. By “state-

independent” art institutions and initiatives(##) I mean those bottom-up art institutions that are non-profit and whose funding and operation is independent of the state-managed art infrastructure – if this infrastructure exists in the first place.

I will analyze in particular the funding aspects and some of the modus operandi of the grassroots OFF-Biennale Budapest (2013– ), as an example of a state-independent, experimental institutionalism in an illiberal democracy. OFF-Biennale Budapest (OFF) is a contemporary art biennale that creatively boycotts Hungarian state funding and state-run art infrastructure. OFF-Biennale, by building a grassroots institution, is proactively responding to the ways in which the right-wing government under Prime Minister Viktor Orbán has imposed limitations on art’s freedom and autonomy since 2010. OFF has had three editions so far: in 2015, 2017, and 2021. I was partially involved with OFF-Biennale Budapest already in 2014, but since 2017, I have been engaged with OFF as a curatorial team member in my free time, pro bono, as volunteer work. My involvement with OFF-Biennale goes beyond curating; it is a constant process of learning how to build infrastructures. The fundamental tenet of OFF-Biennale could be termed as “create it to make it.” Even though the objectivity of the “native anthropology” method has been questioned, (\$)I argue that my engagement with OFF-Biennale brings forth a grounded perspective with many years of “organic fieldwork” and behind-the-scenes knowledge and understanding that is needed to evaluate how experimental art institutions work in practice and over time.

OFF-Biennale was brought to life by curator Hajnalka Somogyi in 2013-2014 as a response to the centralization and ideologically-led reorganization of the state-funded contemporary art institutional scene by the Hungarian right-wing government that has been in power since 2010. In tandem with centralizing health care and education, the reshaping of the art infrastructure meant that the government changed the directors of the most prestigious state-funded art institutions to party loyalists and directed state funding and state assets (such as the Műcsarnok/Kunsthalle) to newly established and publicly unaccountable bodies. (%)The initial response of artists, curators, and cultural actors – who suddenly found themselves (pushed) out of the state infrastructure – was to

organize protest actions, the pinnacle of which was the 12-day occupation of the state-maintained Ludwig Museum – Museum of Contemporary Art in Budapest in 2013. (^)These demonstrations nevertheless bore no results; no change was achieved and government officials ignored attempts for negotiations.

As a way of out this deadlock, Somogyi proposed a novel strategy: to establish, from the bottom-up, a large-scale art initiative, OFF-Biennale, a contemporary art biennale that would not take any state funding and would not make use of state-run art spaces and infrastructure. Identifying state funding not only as a form of dependency, but also as a threat to artistic autonomy, she gathered a small team of engaged friends and colleagues to launch the first edition of OFF-Biennale Budapest in 2015. As a do-it-yourself, self-organized initiative, OFF-Biennale has been building a modest home for art that had lost support in the context of a developing “illiberal democracy.”(&). While this kind of “homelessness” was an initial galvanizing factor for the running of OFF-Biennale, this grassroots initiative has grown into much more than a “salon des refusés;”(\*) it is by now an institutional experiment for building an infrastructure each time anew, from point zero—that is, with no initial budget, no staff, no space—on the artistic community’s own terms, that is able to support art and artists on the long-run.

The postcolonial context can likewise be characterized by unsteady states—imposing fundamental changes time and again—which simultaneously limit and enable the formation of (state-) independent art institutions. A commonality of these state-independent art institutions is that they act in the lacunas of the art infrastructure—provided or not by the state. Already in 1997, journalist Fareed Zakaria connected the regions of Eastern Europe and the Global South through their post-conflict, change of regime’s state formations. “From Peru to the Palestinian Authority, from Sierra Leone to Slovakia, from Pakistan to the Philippines,” he identified those states that are democracies in their format, but without observing liberal democracy’s constitutional limits and the granting of freedoms and basic rights—these he termed “illiberal democracies.”(!) Yet, as I will argue, the analogies between postsocialist and postcolonial regions need to be refined and the differences between them also need to be taken into account.

## 2. Postsocialism with Postcolonialism and Decoloniality: A View from Practice

One of the problems with scholarship and criticism merging postsocialism with postcolonialism and decoloniality is that it still sits comfortably, perhaps too comfortably, within discourses of repression, marginalization, self-victimization, and too much energy is spent on analyzing the oppressive structures. A radically different perspective in my view would examine state-independent institutions not vis-à-vis the systems of repression they are facing and responding to. A more productive way could be to focus on the creative institutionalism of experiments taking place in the shadow of unsteady states, both postsocialist and postcolonial. I offer such an approach below by exploring some aspects of the practices of OFF-Biennale in Hungary, centering on what it does, and how it negotiates difficulties. To do so, I will draw comparisons with initiatives in Central and West Africa: not to commensurate the degrees of state oppression and colonialism, but to build (on) dialogues and synergies around similar practices that are usually analyzed separately.

Russian cultural theorist and decolonial thinker Madina Tlostanova offered a sharp critique of the widely referenced Post-Cold War studies concept formulated by Sharad Chari and Katherine Verdery. She underlined that not only did they treat the regions of postsocialism and postcolonialism too homogeneously and in an over-generalized manner, but they did so within a Western interpretive framework of “epistemic colonialism.” Following prominent decolonial scholar Walter D. Mignolo, Tlostanova suggested the following: instead of “chang[ing] one (western) epistemology with another or others,” scholars and critics should opt for decoloniality, “the decolonial option” being the common ground of the two fields. For Tlostanova, the decolonial option does not “study colonialism” (as postcolonialism does) rather it works to decolonize [colonial] knowledge production. In the field of art, Tlostanova examines artworks that bring forth “forgotten native sounds, tastes and odours,” that deconstruct and creolize previous aesthetic norms of (Soviet) modernity.

From the perspective of experimental art institutionalism, one could rebut in Tlostanova's examples of (post-Soviet) decolonial art or "decolonial aesthesis" (&\*) that she only engages decoloniality on the level of thematics and epistemology. One could argue that she overlooks the grounded and material conditions in and with which these artworks are produced. In today's institutional framework of contemporary art, which is oversaturated with discourse and empty statements, the political lies much more in how things are organized and carried out rather than what thematics the institutions propagate. This is precisely the reason why this concept of decoloniality cannot be applied to analyze the modus operandi of state-independent art institutions.

Walter D. Mignolo's appraisal of the Sharjah Biennale in 2013 is a further case in point. (\*+) Sharjah Biennial in 2013, titled *Re:emerge, Towards a New Cultural Cartography*, was curated by Yuko Hasegawa, then Chief Curator (now artistic director) of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Tokyo. Sharjah Biennial—and more importantly behind it, the Sharjah Art Foundation—has been a key player in making the Arab World, and especially the United Arab Emirates, into a central node of Global South contemporary art production. Throughout his short piece on the 2013 Sharjah Biennale, Mignolo praises its turn away from Eurocentrism, its prospective of "de-westernization" and decoloniality, which he defines as "always unveiling the injustices of the past and projecting global and pluri-centered futures." (+) The only source Mignolo relies on is the words of the curator and the Foundation, which makes me suspect that he did not travel to see the biennale on site. Even more problematical is how he takes at face value the statements of the curator and the Foundation which are not empirical facts but rather statements of intentions and projections into the future—since exhibition texts and curatorial statements are written before the exhibition opens. It is a glaring oversight not to explore or even consider the crucial question of how this decolonial agenda gets translated into "reality," into the exhibition space in specific locations, and how the formats of display and other "western" conventions of exhibition-making get or do not get de-centered in this (and other) biennials. It is also important to look at which sources of funding were used and what kinds of collaborations took place within the team and partners that brought

the biennale to life. Exhibitions, biennials, and art institutions are much more complex than the thematics they (say they) put on display. In short, they cannot be interpreted on the basis of texts and the statements of intentions of curators and boards; crucially, their modes and means of production (from funding to work ethics) need to be taken into account as that is where the politics of an institution lies.

Mignolo also keeps silent about the context of the UAE. While he mentions that the president of the Sharjah Art Foundation, and thus of the biennial, is Sheikha Hoor Al-Qasimi, he does not highlight the fact that she is the daughter of the sovereign ruler of the Emirate of Sharjah (even though the word sheikha [princess] refers to this in Arabic). Interestingly, in an interview-question about the biennale in Dakar, Mignolo argues that it is precisely the extraordinary financial capital of the Sharjah Art Foundation that enables de-westernization; instead, the lack of “financial autonomy,” as in the case in Dak’Art, still causes lapses into “European modernity”:

“What makes for instance the de-Westernization of the Sharjah Biennial radical is that it is supported by financial capital. And here is the catch-22 that makes ‘cultural’ de-Westernization difficult to understand: it is ‘thanks’ to impressive economic growth that cultural de-Westernization is possible. And it is the lack of strong financial autonomy that makes Dak’Art navigate between the legacies of European modernity and the motivation for decolonization.”(+!)

A logical question should follow about where this financial capital comes from in an oil monarchy. Mignolo does not go into this crucial aspect. Yet, this question of funding is arguably one of the most important if very complex aspects of the production of art. It needs to be addressed, in all its complexities, as funding is one of the most significant ways in which the shaping of art institutions occur.



### **3. The Strength of State Support in Postsocialist and Postcolonial Contexts**

In contrast to OFF-Biennale Budapest, state-independent art institutions in the postcolonial contexts of Ghana, Tanzania, and Uganda, have emerged in the last two decades not as a form of resistance to the take-over of the state by the right wing, as it is the case in Hungary; on the contrary, they were born as a response to the withdrawal of state support. (+@)That is, in the case of Hungary, a heavy-handed (right-wing) presence and state management of the arts propels novel institutional formats, while in Ghana, Tanzania, and Uganda, it is rather the absence that pushes artists and organizers to forge experimental, independent institutions. In addition, in Africa at large, as Kobina Ankomah-Graham and Joseph Oduro-Frimpong indicate, another contributing factor in establishing independent spaces in the 2000s was a nascent global (market) interest in contemporary African art. (+#)The artist collaborative Nafasi Art Space in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania was established in 2008 as a way to answer the need to provide for and promote artists, a role previously fulfilled by the state in the Nyerere-era.(+\$)

While OFF-Biennale Budapest and the Nafasi Art Space represent different missions, their independence from the state means that they both responded to the local artistic needs by building a novel infrastructure. Nafasi provides a physical space for artists to work in. OFF-Biennale Budapest offers a (temporary) institutional setting for artists and curators who cannot, or do not wish to be, exhibited and supported by state institutions. The main difference between the two nevertheless is that in Hungary artists and curators decided to go outside the art infrastructure provided by the state and they are building a new one from scratch, while in Tanzania there is very little state structure to begin with; in fact, Nafasi has sought to build relationships with the government.(+%)

In terms of the strength of the state art infrastructure, Senegal can be considered to be more in correspondence with the context of Hungary than Tanzania, Ghana, or Uganda. The firmness of state support to culture and art in Senegal goes back to the era of the liberation movements, and in particular, to Léopold Sédar Senghor,

the first president of Senegal after it gained independence from French colonial rule in 1960. In the 1930s, Senghor co-founded with Aimé Césaire and others *Négritude*, a Black, Pan-Africanist literary and cultural movement that opposed colonialism and advocated a return to African forms and subject matters.<sup>(+^)</sup> When elected president in 1960, Senghor built a state-funded art infrastructure in accordance with the ideals of *Négritude*, including setting up the art academy *École des Arts*, later called the *École de Dakar*,<sup>(+&)</sup> as well as the first of four highly influential Pan-African festivals, the First World Festival of Negro Arts (FESMAN), in Dakar in 1966.<sup>(+\*)</sup> As Jenny Mbaye and Miranda Jeanne Maries Iossifidis underline, in 1973, a Dakar-based collective of intellectuals and activists, the *Laboratoire Agit' Art* stepped up against the state monopoly of the arts, foregrounding a counter-state discourse and an experiential approach to artistic forms.<sup>(++)</sup> Drawing on this history of centralized state support in Senegal, the words of curator Koyo Kouoh in "Filling in the Voids: Emergence of Independent Contemporary Art Spaces in Africa" echo the tenets of *Laboratoire Agit' Art*:

"As a general rule, the types of administration inherited from colonial systems and perpetuated by the political and administrative elite in Africa, have not placed an importance on private initiatives. This is especially true in the arts and in the situation of former French colonies, where the heirs to centralistic model of an omnipotent and omnipresent state continue to adhere to their constitutional roles as initiator, regulator, controller, promoter, producer and critic... Moreover the institutional and structural layout that has governed the arts has shaped a paradoxical environment for artists, whereby they are cultivated to be intellectually and financially dependent on the state."<sup>(!!)</sup>

It is worth noting that Koyo Kouoh in 2008 was the founding artistic director of the women-led independent art institution RAW Material Company in Dakar and is now executive director and chief curator of the private-initiated museum Zeitz Museum of Contemporary Art Africa (Zeitz MOCAA) in Cape Town. State-independent art initiatives in Hungary and Senegal can be shown to operate in parallel ways, especially in their countering of the

state's cultural politics and the dependency on state infrastructure. Nevertheless, in other parts of postcolonial Africa, where the state has not, or no longer plays a significant role in the support of art, such as in Tanzania, the parallel between the postsocialist and the postcolonial context does not seem to stand.

However, what can be considered a shared trait across the two regions is the significance of the community of artists, of doing things for the local art scene and its members. As the discussed case studies of state-independent art institutions are all initiated by artists and/or curators, they are the organizers, but also the stakeholders and constituents of these art initiatives. OFF-Biennale Budapest has sometimes received the criticism that it produces an art event for its own community, but in one respect that is exactly one of the missions of OFF-Biennale, to support an art community in developing projects on their own, on their own terms, in novel way, outside of customary and taken-for-granted infrastructures. Similarly in 2010, Simon Njami, the first curator of the grassroots, artists' initiated contemporary art biennale *Rencontres Picha – Biennale de Lubumbashi* in the Democratic Republic of Congo likewise highlighted how the artists behind the biennale simultaneously fulfilled the roles of commissioners, producers, and the audience. (@@)That is, these initiatives, out of the grounded reality of limited means, not only produce their own publics, but also the participants engage with the initiatives on several levels, in different roles, which could further the sense of belonging and thus assuming a heightened level of responsibility.

#### **4. International Funding and International Relations**

Faced with the lack of state funding, or other sources of stable funding, state-independent art institutions in both postsocialist and postcolonial contexts have had to turn to international donors. State-independent institutions can almost exclusively only apply for project funding as international funding bodies rarely support the costs of maintenance – the support of the infrastructure itself – leading to these institutions existing in a constant state of precariousness. These international funding bodies are located in the financial capitals of the world, in Western and Northern Europe and the US. They include private funding bodies such as the US-

based Foundation for Arts Initiatives, the Austria-based ERSTE Foundation, the US-based Open Society Foundation, the Germany-based Allianz Kulturstiftung, the Netherlands-based foundations DOEN, Hivos, and the European Cultural Fund, as well as the Swiss government funded Pro Helvetia, the German Goethe-Institut, the British Council, the Dutch Prince Claus Fund, or EU-funding via successful applications to EU project funding opportunities.

In the three editions OFF-Biennale Budapest had thus far, the sponsor that provided the largest financial support was a different entity in each case: EEA and Norway Grants (2015), Galerie für Zeitgenössische Kunst (GfZK) – Kulturstiftung des Bundes (2017), the Foundation for Arts Initiatives (2021). One fundraising strategy that OFF-Biennale Budapest pursues is the diversification of funds, to not be dependent on any of them over the medium to long term—to escape another form of dependency after having disengaged from the state. While the international funding bodies still contribute the main funding, there are also a number of private individuals and a few companies who financially support OFF-Biennale Budapest, and there have been various forms of in-kind exchanges.

Several art organizers and critics have identified the setbacks and the problems of applying to international donor organizations in securing funding for local initiatives, in both postsocialist and postcolonial regions. (##) Yet another corollary to working independently of the state and receiving international funding is that these initiatives are internationally networked, visible, and acclaimed. For instance, two art institutions, I referred to earlier, the Nafasi Art Space in Dar es Salaam and the RAW Material Company in Dakar, have both been members of the international network Arts Collaboratory, founded in 2007 as a self-organized ecosystem of 25 organizations in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, and was supported initially by the Dutch foundations DOEN and Hivos. Moreover, in this study, I was able to access information on the case studies in Central and West Africa because researchers carried out fieldwork at these state-independent art institutions on the initiative of the Prins Claus Fund, Hivos, and the European Cultural Fund, the outcomes of

which were published in the volume *Forces of Art: Perspectives from a Changing Word* (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2020).

Perhaps a newer version of the Arts Collaboratory experiment—that is, the creation of an international ecosystem of locally rooted art collectives and institutions—is “lumbung,” which is currently being developed by the Indonesian art collective ruangrupa as a central aim within the framework of documenta fifteen, an important mainstream contemporary art event to be held in Kassel, Germany in 2022. OFF-Biennale Budapest has also been invited as one of the 14 lumbung members at documenta fifteen. Paradoxically, due to their international visibility, state-independent art initiatives also perform state functions. In the case of OFF-Biennale Budapest, its participation at documenta fifteen can be interpreted as carrying out the representation of Hungarian artists abroad. Due to this “powerful” position, OFF-Biennale was ranked number 1 in the 2021 Hungarian Power 25, the list of the most powerful players of the contemporary art scene in Hungary. (\$\$)

## 5. Conclusion

This study has compared Budapest’s OFF-Biennale, a state-independent art institution in a postsocialist context, with independent art institutions in a postcolonial context through an ethnography-based analysis. Building on previous scholarly attempts at bringing together the postsocialism and postcolonialism frames, I have argued that the purpose of my analysis of state-independents art institutions is better served by less of a common theoretical framework (such as the Post-Cold War studies or decolonial aesthesis) than a common material grounding of these initiatives in unsteady states.

While it is tempting to be drawn in by the parallels between postsocialism and postcolonialism when looking only at formal similarities, a more nuanced approach is necessary to surface the differences. Kenyan playwright, performer, and critic Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, in his chapter “Riches of Poor Theory,” recounts Polish theatre director Jerzy Grotowski’s text “Towards a Poor Theatre” (1965). (%%)Here, Grotowski called for abolishing all additional

theatrical elements, beyond the actors and the audience, in order to experience the “deep riches” of the theatrical genre. (^)While Ngũgĩ locates himself in Grotowski’s “poor theater tradition,” he raises one crucial difference: “I come from a poor theater tradition, the traveling and community theater movements in East and Central Africa, not out of choice, not as something sought or arrived at, but as a starting point.”(&&) Ngũgĩ thus rightly points out that while Grotowski had the liberty to denounce the additional theatrical elements—as the infrastructure was already there to renounce—poor theatre for him was not so much an artistic but rather a material, existential reality. Expanding on Ngũgĩ’s observation here, I argued throughout this study for going beyond examining only the forms state-independent art intuitions take, and to consider also the infrastructural contexts in which they have emerged.

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## End Notes

(@) - See, among others, *The Handbook of COURAGE: Cultural Opposition and Its Heritage in Eastern Europe*, eds. Balázs Apor, Péter Apor and Sándor Horváth (Budapest: Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2018); *Subjective Histories. Self-historicisation as Artistic Practice in Central-East Europe*, ed. Daniel Grúň (Bratislava, VEDA, SAS Publishing House, Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2020); *We Are Not Ducks On a Pond But Ships at Sea – Independent Art Initiatives, Budapest 1989–2009*, eds. Rita Kálmán, Katarina Šević (Budapest: Impex - Kortárs Művészeti Szolgáltató Alapítvány, 2010).

(#) - I use “initiatives” and “institutions” as synonyms. In addition, I also consider OFF-Biennale Budapest an institution, in a broader sense, even though it does not have a permanent space, a permanent staff, and stable funding. OFF-Biennale is a legal entity, a non-profit association, an NGO.

(\$) - Jill Owczarzak, “Introduction: Postcolonial Studies and Postsocialism in Eastern Europe,” *Focaal* 53 (April 1, 2009): 4–5.

(%) - Hajnalka Somogyi, “Can We Work Like This? OFF-Biennale Budapest,” in *Curating After the Global: Roadmaps for the Present*, eds. Paul O'Neill, Paul, Mick Wilson, Lucy Steeds, Simon Sheikh (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, Luma Foundation, CSS Bard, 2019), 428.

(^) - On the radical takeover and reorganization—and its ramifications for contemporary art in Hungary—see, among others, Edit András “Vigorous Flagging in the Heart of Europe: The Hungarian Homeland under the Right-Wing Regime” *e-flux Journal* 57, September 14, 2014, <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/57/60438/vigorous-flagging-in-the-heart-of-europe-the-hungarian-homeland-under-the-right-wing-regime/>; Eszter Szakács, “Unofficial Art and Positive Forms of Resistance Today in Hungary,” Independent Curators International, Research, 2016, <https://curatorsintl.org/research/unofficial-art-and-positive-forms-of-resistance-today-in-hungary/>; Lívía Páldi, “Fear Eats the Soul: A Partial Report on Hungarian Contemporary Culture” *SZ UM*, October 2017.

(&) - The term and the program of building an “illiberal democracy” was announced by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán in 2014.

(\*) - One of the first and negative appraisal of OFF-Biennale Budapest by influential art theorist Péter György likened the first edition of OFF-Biennale to the 19th-century protest exhibition in Paris, the Salon des Refusés (Exhibition of Rejects). Péter György, “OFF – Salon des refusés,” *Élet és Irodalom* 59, No. 19, 2015., <https://www.es.hu/cikk/2015-05-08/gyorgy-peter/off-8211-salon-des-refuses.html>.

(!) - Fraeed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 6 (Nov. - Dec., 1997): 22-43.

(!@) - Among others, Katherine Verdery, "Whither Postsocialism?" in *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*, ed. C.M. Hann (London: Routledge, 2002): 15-28; Sharad Chari and Katherine Verdery, "Thinking between the Posts: Postcolonialism, Postsocialism, and Ethnography after the Cold War." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51. No. 1 (2009): 6-34. David Chioni Moore, "Is the Post- in Postcolonial the Post- in Post-Soviet? Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique" *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 116.1 (January 2001): 111-128; Madina Tlostanova, *Postcolonialism & Postsocialism in Fiction and Art: Resistance and Re-existence* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Madina Tlostanova, *What Does It Mean to Be Post-Soviet?: Decolonial Art from the Ruins of the Soviet Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2018).

(@#) - Tlostanova, *Postcolonialism & Postsocialism in Fiction and Art*.

(#\$) - Tlostanova, *Postcolonialism & Postsocialism in Fiction and Art*, 10.

(\$%) - Madina Tlostanova, "Postsocialist ≠ Postcolonial? On post-Soviet Imaginary and Global Coloniality," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 48.2 (2012): 130-142.

(%^) - Tlostanova, *Postcolonialism & Postsocialism in Fiction and Art*, 18.

(^&) - Madina Tlostanova, "Decolonial AestheSis and the Post-Soviet Art" *Afterall: A Journal of Art Context and Enquiry* 48 (September 2019): 101.

(&\*) - Tlostanova, "Decolonial AestheSis," 100-107.

(\*+) - Walter D. Mignolo, "Re: Emerging, Decentering, and Delinking: Shifting the Geographies of Sensing, Believing and Knowing" May 8, 2013, *Ibraaz*, <https://www.ibraaz.org/essays/59/>. Thanks to Asli Özgen-Tuncer for drawing my attention to this at the Theories from the South and the East in Literature and Culture group.

(+) - Mignolo, "Re: Emerging, Decentering, and Delinking."



(+!) - Aïcha Diallo, “Decolonial aesthetics/aesthesis has become a connector across the continents: A conversation with Walter Mignolo,” August 7, 2014, *Contemporary And (C&)* <https://contemporaryand.com/magazines/decolonial-aestheticsaesthesis-has-become-a-connector-across-the-continent/>

(+@) - Kobina Ankomah-Graham and Joseph Oduro-Frimpong, “The Sustainability of Contemporary Art Spaces in Ghana, Tanzania, and Uganda,” in *Forces of Art: Perspectives from a Changing World*, eds. Carin Kuoni, Jordi Baltà Portolés, Nora N. Khan, and Serubiri Moses (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2020). 161.

(+#) - Op.cit.

(+\$) - Ankomah-Graham and Oduro-Frimpong, 164.

(+% ) - Ankomah-Graham and Oduro-Frimpong, 166.

(+^ ) - See for instance, the 2015 film directed by Manthia Diawara, *Négritude: A Dialogue Between Soyinka and Senghor*.

(+& ) - Jenny Mbaye and Miranda Jeanne Maries Iossifidis, “Curating Dakar as an ‘Art World City,’” in *Forces of Art: Perspectives from a Changing World*, eds. Carin Kuoni, Jordi Baltà Portolés, Nora N. Khan, and Serubiri Moses (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2020), 220.

(+\* ) - Dominique Malaquais and Cédric Vincent, “Entangled Pan-Africa. Four Festivals and an Archive” *Mezosfera* 6, 2018, <http://mezosfera.org/entangled-panafrica/>.

(++ ) - Mbaye and Iossifidis, 220.

(!!) - Koyo Kouoh, “Filling in the Voids. Emergence of Independent Contemporary Art Spaces in Africa,” in *Condition Report: Symposium on Building Art Institutions in Africa*, ed. Kouoh, Koyo (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2013), 47.

(@@) - Patrick Bulonza Mudkereza, “Biennial Culture or grassroots Globalisation? The Challenge of the Picha Art Centre, as a Tool for Building Local Relevance for the Rencontres Picha, Biennale de Lubumbashi,” Research Report, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2017, 11.

(##) - Among others, Kerstin Pinther and Ugochukwu-Smooth C. Nzewi, "On Building New Spaces For Negotiating Art (And) Histories In Africa: An Introduction" in *New Spaces for Negotiating Art (And) Histories in Africa*, eds. Kerstin Pinther and Ugochukwu-Smooth C. Nzewi, and Berit Fischer (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2015); Kabelo Malatsie, *Autonomy? South African Independent Self-organised Art Institutions, Funding Models and its Effect on Institutional Programming*, MA Thesis, History of Art of Witwatersrand University, 2018; Octavian Eşanu, *The Transition of The Soros Centers to Contemporary Art: The Managed Avant-Garde* (Kyiv: CCKK – Center for Communication and Context Kyiv. Iași, Periferic 8, 2008).

(\$\$) - Power 25 – A Műértő Magyar erőssorrendje. *HVG*, February 2021, [https://hvg.hu/hvgmuerto/20210212\\_Power\\_25\\_\\_A\\_Muerto\\_magyar\\_erosorrendje](https://hvg.hu/hvgmuerto/20210212_Power_25__A_Muerto_magyar_erosorrendje)

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(^^) - Jerzy Grotowski, *Towards a Poor Theatre* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002), 21.

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