

EUROPEAN CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS AS *GLOCALISMS* THE CASES OF THE FUNDAÇÃO DE SERRALVES AND THE CONTEMPORARY ART CENTRE

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Introduction

The impact of the globalising cultural trends on diverse national cultures has become one of the central issues of the recent sociological debates. Globalization is often seen as a hegemonic discourse that affects all possible cultural forms and their elements all over the world. However, the complex local-global dialectics has been creating social phenomenon that can not be analysed only by a global or a local perspective.

At the same time, in the analysing the symbolic aspect of globalization and the weakening of the nation state, the city becomes an interesting analysis standing point – a network's node – in the sense that it concentrates the main characteristics of late capitalism (Mandel, 1975), namely its intangible, creative and symbolic features (Lash & Urry, 1987). Therefore in the last half-a-century, spaces dedicated to Visual Culture became cosmopolitan infrastructures that have been helping to addresses the problems brought by globalization; powerful means of urban 'visibility' and branding, as strong symbols of the city's *glocal* features¹.

The *glocal* concept has been used to describe the simultaneous operation of re-localization or re-territorialisation of the global trends in interaction with the local context. Therefore, *glocalization* is a portmanteau word of *globalization* and *localization*, a term that has been used to show the capacity to bridge scales (local and global) and to help overcome and combining local, regional, and global, or micro-meso-macro scale analysis. Although the possible synthesis between *globalisms* and *localisms* rely on how local societies and cultures identify themselves in the midst of shifting world system. Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002: 179) distinguishes two forms of globalization:

'The first one I would call *globalized localism*. It entails the process by which a given local phenomenon is successfully globalized [...] The second form of globalization I would call *localized globalism*. It entails the specific impact of transnational practices and imperatives on local conditions that are thereby altered restructured in order to respond to transnational imperatives'

In this sense what is commonly designated as globalization, for Sousa Santos it's a web of *localized globalisms* and *globalized localisms*. In this sense new cultural projects are rarely conceived on an abstract understanding of the role of art, its display and interpretation. Indeed, the cultural institutions are conditioned by the social, political and economical pattern of development and by the existing strategies and facilities into which they have to integrate. In this sense, in the analysis of museums and contemporary art centres we may indentify interesting historical relations between political, economical and social circumstances and their sequence cultural programme or even the

¹ The Guggenheim Bilbao can be considered the ultimate example of this phenomenon.

resulting cultural space conceptualisation. Therefore in this paper it is our intention to do a social, political and economic analysis of the context on which two contemporary art galleries were created. More specific the transformation of a private Art Deco Villa into the Fundação de Serralves, in Porto and the refurbish of the Palace of Exhibition, that used to celebrate the soviet regime, into the Contemporary Art Centre, in Vilnius.

On the ethnographic research² that this paper reports on we analyse the emergence of a political agenda for education in cultural contexts, developed in the first decade of the 21st century at the global, regional and national levels of policymaking (Cortês, *et al* 2001). And we use that analysis as framework to question how the same global and regional trends are *translate* into local educational strategies, programmes, disclosures and social-pedagogical practices in cultural institutions. In Sousa Santos (2002) words we may be looking for *globalized localism* or *localized globalisms*, which may help us on a deeper comprehension of the role of cultural institutions, as Stoer (2001) argues, in the construction of contemporary educational pathways in the European space.

As contexts of observation, three contemporary art galleries were selected that are or were European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) and occupy heterogenic geopolitical positions (Wallenstein, 1974) – the Tate Gallery in Liverpool, the Contemporary Art Centre in Vilnius and Fundação de Serralves in Porto³. Making use of ethnographic methods and techniques to better understand these educational contexts, a field diary is kept which serves to build a research memory (Atkinson, 2001). At the same time, interviews are conducted with staff from the three galleries, and the documents used to support their work analyse.

For this paper, as it develops from our fieldwork we will base our argument by combining a review of the some current literature, with the analysis of the interviews with galleries' staff; along with the information available in the galleries' web sites and internal documents.

Fundação de Serralves – from the private to the public; from the public to the private

'Serralves is an island or a bubble in the midst of Porto and of the country. Adding to other bubbles as the S. João [National Theatre] and the Casa da Música [Concert Hall] it takes Porto to think of itself as a cultural desert with some oasis' (Pomar, 2009)⁴

Considering that would not be possible to bring to the discussion all the questions that have to be address to fully understand this case-study, we decided to highlight just two major features. Therefore on the opening paragraphs we intent to analyse the Serralves Foundation management model, consider unique in Portugal in the 80's. Secondly we decided to address the Serralves' dichotomic private/public character considering that its

² Ph.D. thesis in Sociology of Education and Culture at the Faculty of Arts, University of Porto: *The European Inter/Multicultural Education In Question. Ethnography on European Cultural Policies and Education Practices in Three European Contemporary Art Galleries.*

³ The fieldwork is still on progress and will take two years, divided in 3 periods.

⁴ Translated from the original: 'Serralves é uma ilha ou uma bolha, no Porto e no país. A somar a outras bolhas como o São João e a Casa da Música [...] que levam o Porto a pensar-se como um deserto cultural com algum oásis' (Pomar, 2009).

several layers of meaning's exploration would give an interesting contribution for the question of the cultural democratization process of the last decades.

Serralves National Museum of Contemporary Art (SMCA), the first large-scale contemporary art museum in Portugal, located in the 2nd city of the country – Porto – was founded on 6th June 1999. The main aim of the museological programme of the SMCA is to establish a collection of contemporary art that represent the last decades of the 20th century; but also one that fostered the dialogue between national and international context, in other words – 'helping to develop an international perspectives from a national stand point' (Fernandes & Todolí, 1999: 14). SMCA collection is built on the awareness of the paradigm shift that took place in the end of the 60's; which was 'marked by a redefinition of the condition of a work of art, a crossover between formal genres, the use of film, photography and text as supports for conceptual projects [...]' (Fernandes & Todolí, 1999: 16). The *Circa 1968* – SMCA's inaugural exhibition – has been consider the *manifesto* for this new collection.

Therefore it more than be an illustration of a theory aims to answer to the question 'why not?' – coherent with its content. To set the last four decades has the chronological frame of the collection incorporates the intention to acquire rupture works that have been questioning the role of the museum in the society (Fernandes & Todolí, 1999). Although the acquisition of lesser known works from known artists, besides, as Fernandes and Todolí (1999) stress be more representative of a more intimate artists' creative process⁵, it also seems to be a strategy to coop with the limited budget and with the semi-peripheral condition of the country. Therefore its policy points to a more complementary position, to collect and show what the other does not have, challenging, perhaps a more mainstream art's history – be the exception and not the rule.

The 'Serralves Effect'

One can agree that Serralves project owes part of its success to this innovative organizational and ownership structure. The creation of the Serralves Foundation (SF), in 1989, via Decree-Law no. 240-A/89, of July 27, signalled the beginning of an innovative partnership, at least in Portugal, between the State and the private sector. Despite the rather significant support of State to the SF (50% of the budget) – including an institutional weight in its directive board – the participation of the private founders, among companies and individuals, seems to assume an increasing relevance in the diversification of income sources; what made possible for Serralves to become a model case for cultural organization – the 'Serralves effect'.

The business-like way of managing the Foundation was possible under the late 1980s circumstances. The 80's in Portugal were marked by the weakening of state control over many sectors of the economy and the shrinking of the welfare state. The second half of the 80's corresponded also to a period of some governmental stability, backed by the entry into the European Community (1986) and by the parliamentary right-wing majority. This stability will enable the creation of a cultural policy close to the Conservative Europe

⁵ The argument is that this works are marked by periods of doubt and questioning (Fernandes & Todolí, 1999).

governments. Since the late '70s, in the European context, one may witness a convergence process between the cultural and business sector; mainly backed on legislation towards the political recognition and tax incentive of the patronage – ex-libris of the cultural policies aiming to reducing the state intervention. This neoliberal orientation pushed the social and cultural institutions to live in a delicate balance between performing public services under private administration.

Thus, among other political measures the Law of Patronage was created, allowing companies to deduct the investments in culture from tax. Having in mind that enterprises are not philanthropic organization – they have instrumental interests related to a possibility of a prestigious publicity⁶ – more than tax reduction, to be a member of the Serralves board of founders has become a sort of symbolic status and a positive association for the image of the companies – a desirable brand. Adding the fact that, in the 1980s there was not a fierce competition for private sponsoring this type of funding strategy, above all, gave to the SF the possibility of a stable and independent financial situation; enabling the financial commitment necessary for the development of an international profile collection that granted the art world international recognition.

Questioning the Meaning of a Collective Private Cultural Scape

'Serralves shall serve as the example of an individual experience which involves economic and class interests (property and profit), historical interests (style, fashion), and sensitivity. But which may, however, extend itself to other situations in time and space, where similar moments in contemporary times and in certain situations of patronage throughout time; where the 'private' has sometimes taken care of what the 'public' ignored, did not pay attention to or simply does not understand any more' (Muntadas, 1992: 64-65).

The singularities of Serralves *scape* (Appadurai, 1996) can not be ignore on the acknowledgement of its present local and global placement. By expositing the path of the Casa de Serralves movement from a field of 'private-familial-bourgeois' to a field of 'collective-public-cultural', many artists (i.e. Antoni Muntadas, 1992; James Lee, 1997) have been creating opportunities for the reflection on the meaning and current forms of opposition private / public and the nature and social role of the spaces of contemporary cultural that, for instance, Serralves is representative.

This questioning process is here productively fostered by the special characteristics of Casa de Serralves in interaction with the Siza *white cube* museum, the contemporary art collection and the pre-modern farm. How all of this *hardware* was put in service of certain *software*?

In the middle of the 80's the Portuguese state bought the Serralves Villa, a large property close to Porto city centre, originally designed as a private residence. Due to financial difficulties, Carlos Alberto Cabral – first owner – sold the property and in the mid 1980's, the secretary of Minister of Culture,

⁶ Therefore the aim of this policy seems to be grounded on the artistic expression of the great prestige and large social impact - contemporary art became a safe value for investment due to the anesthetisation of the consumption.

pushed by the Porto civil society brought it. Bearing in mind the heritage value of this property – the Casa de Serralves and the gardens are considered a manifesto of the Modernist Art Deco style – the Minister of Culture concluded that was the appropriate location for the 'National Museum of Contemporary Art'.

In order to transform the house in an exhibition space it was subject to a restoration intervention by the Portuguese architect, Siza Vieira. However, the Casa de Serralves was not considered the ideal space for displaying contemporary art works; definitely the Art Deco palace does not fit the *white cube* ideal type (O'Doherty, 1999). Therefore, another contract was signed in March 1991 with the same architect in order to draw up the project for the construction of a proper home for the 'National Museum of Contemporary Art'. The massive new building that lies on the green grounds of Serralves Park, a gleaming white building that captivates the viewer with strong but simple lines could figure a contrast to the Art Deco house (Grande, 2005). However, it is not possible to see the museum from the house or vice versa; they seem to exist in complementary parallel universes (figure 1), as Siza (Costa, 2002: 129) stress:

'[...] the relationship between the two buildings would be established more through memory than visually'.



Figure 1 - Serralves Villa overview – Casa de Serralves on the right and the SMCA on the left

Portuguese Sociology of Culture research acknowledges that the work of cultural institutions is significant to stimulate the construction of a more active and critical citizenship and public space intervention (Teixeira Lopes, 2007; Santos Silva e Helena Santos, 1995; Madureira Pinto, 1994; Idalina Conde, 1996). It has been developing multiple contributions on the definition of the social structure of audiences, the different relationships with culture, and the distinct locations for its fruition. However, it has been expected that the increase of the academic levels, in the recent years, would enlarge the range of cultural practices – majority still focus on the domestic sphere. Nevertheless also indicates an increasing conscience of the new social role of the cultural institutions. Incorporating, not just national orientations, but also global and European policy demands, institutions such as contemporary art galleries have been assuming more and more a prominent and active position; which also has been translated in a facilitation of multiples cultural practices. Obviously that the multiples changes on the Portuguese society from 74 onwards⁷ precipitate a process of democratization and dismantling of the elitist character of the cultural institutions and public spaces, which can be considered factors of cause/effect of these changes.

⁷ Portugal was protagonist the longer fascist regime in Europe. It last until the April 74 revolution.

Therefore is not possible to ignore the fact that the architectural characteristics of the Serralves Vila, the welcome of its space and magnificence of the gardens are key factors on the audiences' attraction and consequently its public condition.

Therefore this cultural project has been raising multiple tensions and delicate balances. If it was originally built as private and bourgeois house, lately its heritage value pushed the State to buy it – incentivised by the local society – however, the 80's economic and political environment created the milieu for invitation of the private to share, what was consider until then, 'public' obligations.

However, one can stress that can be trace a line from the house construction until actually. Carlos Alberto Cabral was able to build this house manifesto due of the health of the Portuguese textile industries in the inter-war period. In a sense that was a way of contemporary art patronage in order to symbolic reinforce his recently acquire noble title. Therefore one can stress that it *extend itself [patronage] to other situations in time and space*. Once more, supported by the State, the industrial money mange – however with instrumental interests – to win the property to the city. Therefore there is an extension of the *patronage throughout time*; and above all a social extension of the possibility of contemporary art fruition – from the private to the public; from the public to the private.

Contemporary Art Centre –from a Soviet Exhibition Palace to a White Cube

'The sweeping changes that occurred during the relatively short period affected not only the dominant art trends, artistic idioms, and generations of artists, but also art institutions, art criticism, the art market, and , finally, the audience of contemporary art' (Kuizinas, 2001: 354)

The *glasnost* set by Gorbachev, primarily, allowed the open of the communications with the outer world, secondly the domino-like series of 1989 revolutions created the conditions for the re-independence of the former soviet republics. The fall of the Berlin Wall dictated the globalization of the capitalist system and the subsequent expansion of its forms of cultural production and sociocultural features enabling the mobility of people and the exchange of capitals and ideas that had been influenced the development of the young Lithuania.

Kestutis Kuizinas (2001), Contemporary Art Centre (CAC) director, in the *Arts of the Baltic* set a three sub-periods division to analyse the Lithuanian transition period – 'Revival' (1988-91), 'Reforms' (1992-93) and 'Stabilizaton' (1988-91). During the 'Revival' period in the midst of the chaotic experience, ideological struggles, political challenges, economic difficulties, but also of artistic experimentations, new art institutions were born. The CAC, in Vilnius, became the primary site for the production and exhibition of the contemporary art in the Baltic region.



Figure 2 - Contemporary Art Centre

Previously it was a Soviet Palace of Exhibitions (figure 2) dedicated to the Socialist Realism and regime propaganda and unofficially ruled by the Artists' Union. 24

The CAC was born in a context of several tensions. In one hand, it provoked a confrontation of ideological attitudes of the past and therefore a struggle between the old and the new of generation of artists. On the other hand, the quickly introduction of contemporary art aesthetic created lag and pushed a shift on the interpretation practices of the already establishing local audience. Subsequently, it is our intension to stress both of these tensions – *upstream* the artists and *downstream* with the local audience.

Upstream with the artists

'Impressive white building at number 2 Vokiečių Street right in the heart of the city centre' (Kuizinas & Fomina, 2007 5)

The transformation of the Lithuanian architect Vytautas Čekanauskas building, according to western standards for a contemporary art gallery, into a *white cube* (O'Doherty, 1999) fired intense discussions on the cultural policies' reforms, on the contemporary art's definition and mainly the role of this state funded art institutions.

'Those walls there made 'white cube', white suddenly when the exposition space were repainted at the very beginning, the name of the institution was changed, a new logo was created, minimal equipment was sorted out, different traditions of exhibition openings were initiated - which was perceived as something very unexpected [...] because all this contrasted precisely with what is 'was before' (Trilupaitytė & Jablonskienė, 2007: 13-15)

Although Skaidra Trilupaitytė and Lolita Jablonskienė (2007) stressed that transforming the Exhibition Palace into a *white cube* wasn't the most controversial situation; but rather the suddenly and radically opening of CAC to the international art world, to their aesthetic languages and exhibitions practices – become responsible for the introduction of a curated exhibition's concept. Essentially because that dictated the lost of the Artists' Union members' privilege role on the society – the exclusive access to the main exhibition spaces, state commissions and art materials (Kuizinas, 2001).

CAC radically cut with the soviet past also on the gallery organization matters. As the same authors make clear in Soviet Lithuania the artists-experts

and the Artists' Union have the final word on what was or not exhibited. Space and opportunity to all the associated artists to show their work was provided – large group, official and state supported exhibitions of a variety of genres were common, nearly, guarantying that all the artists were shown.

Therefore the shift from artists to the curatorial driven exhibitions and gallery organization created a conflict that is still visible today, i.e. CAC building is divided in two – one part is the CAC and another is the Lithuanian Artists' Association (LAA)⁸. This conflict does not seem to be just a matter of space, but rather between traditional artists' authority and the rising authority of an art institution driven by an artistic programme. CAC Director, in interview, describes how different were the exhibition criteria:

'Quantity was very important at that time – when I took it over from the last director, it was 72 exhibitions a year! 72 exhibitions! Nobody believed me when I said that. [...] it was like a line, a queue – people were submitting their proposals. Actually it was even not proposal; it was like you ask for something: 'I ask you to give me the opportunity to exhibit my works in this hall from this date to that date. I'll show 27 paintings of that type. I have an anniversary – a good reason to show them –my mum is 50 years old...'

Not with surprise that CAC focus its attention on the younger generation of artists. The older generation, usually more attached to the past was resistant to the new. Even because these transformations and 'modernisation' were synonymous of sort of western invasion. If CAC adopted a celebratory position supporting a younger generation of artists with a more international standards of contemporary art orientation – which created the conditions for their career internationalisation (Kuizinas, 2001); the Artist's Union members, more attached to an ethic that keep them out of a competitive art market, continued focus on (what was perceived as) the Lithuanian inter-war aesthetics and local traditions – a way of national identity's rebuilding (Trilupaitytė, 2005). Therefore the globalization process of the Lithuanian art's world protagonised by the CAC and the young generation of artists were perceived, under this nationalist ideology, as a betrayal and not as an inevitable process of the open of Lithuania to the rest of the world.

The second tension raided on the *westernisation* process was also – downstream – with the audience. However, that cannot be analysed independently from the introduction of the contemporary art practices in Lithuania. For the reason that the artistic judgment criteria to asses the quality of an art work, according to Kuizinas (2001: 357), were the intensity of the content's meaning and the skills to represent the 'fundamental spiritual values in art'; which seems to be shared by the local audience.

Downstream with the audience

Strong ideological challenges, major transformations in the socio-cultural contexts created the milieu for the emergence of contemporary art practices. However, the overlap of contemporary art aesthetics and life is paradoxical. If in one hand it addresses issues of its time that affects daily life, on the other hand it may be perceived as hermetic and strange – who in a contemporary art gallery has never thought or heard *'What is that? That I also could do myself.*

⁸ After the Lithuanian re-independence the Artists' Union was transformed into the Lithuanian Artists' Association.

That is rubbish!'. Despite this movement emerge in Europe Circa 68, in Lithuania that took place in the 90's with the introduction of the *happenings*, the *performances*, the installations or the video challenging and overcoming Socialist Realism.

In soviet times, non-representative art was considered decadent, unintelligible to the proletariat and above all counter-revolutionary – anti-Communist principles. An alternative art form that represents the party interested was created – Socialist Realism – established as the official style and the only allowed from 1934 to the *glasnost*. Socialist Realism should represent the common worker life as admirable – happy, muscular peasants and workers in factories and *kolkhozes* (collective farms). Industrial and agricultural landscapes were also popular subjects, glorifying the achievements of the Soviet economy, but also to contribute to the creation of a new kind of person – the *New Soviet Man*⁹. As the Statute of the Union of Soviet Writers stated:

'It demands of the artist the truthful, historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development. Moreover, the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic representation of reality must be linked with the task of ideological transformation and education of workers in the spirit of socialism' (Struve, 1951: 245).

Hence, artists were considered 'Engineers of the Human Soul' in the sense that, as Irina Gotkin (1999) argue was made a practical use of the Socialist Realism aesthetic as a psychoengineering vehicle to foster the creation of the *new man* and broadly to pursuing the revolution. Many critics have been raised, however fundamentally Socialist Realism has often been pointed as a distortion of the art history and of the history itself, moreover a policy to promote unfettered art – merely propaganda.

Consequently Socialist Realism does not challenge, in Jauss (1978) words, the horizon of expectation of the audience – the purpose definitely was not to provoke or to raise questions (Dovydaitytė, s/d). Moreover, as one of the CAC Public Relations stress, the art history's curricula have not been updated in order to teach children the *grammar* of the contemporary art:

'We have art from the very beginning till the end [school]. And there you have art that ends somewhere in the middle of the 20th century, as the contemporary art is not developed. So, that means, you don't learn any grammar how to approach, how to understand, what tools should be used to discovery.'

Adding to the fact that if in one hand, as in the soviet society there was a market suppresses and there were no individuals or institutions able to patronize, the artists were only commissioned by the state, becoming state employees. On the other hand, there was a shortage of goods and lack of alternative supply networks. This context allied with a furious censorship policy strongly discourage artists to perform a critical and dissident position – Siberia was on their doorstep – created a context of lack of alternative or underground art, as CAC Director reinforce:

⁹ The New Soviet Man, as postulated by the ideologists of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was an archetype of a person with certain qualities that were said to be emerging as dominant among all citizens of the Soviet Union. The New Soviet Man should be selfless, learned, healthy and enthusiastic in spreading the socialist Revolution; adherence to Marxism-Leninism, and individual behaviour consistent with that party philosophy's prescriptions.

'At that time I remember the visitors, we had a group during the first day of my carrier which was a group of America curators [...] and I told them: 'We're changing the name of the institution to the Contemporary Art Centre. I'm not sure if we have it – the contemporary art in our country – but we gonna make it, we gonna make contemporary art here'.

Therefore, the introduction of contemporary art practices seems to add a challenge on the local audience engagement, in the sense that, as again the CAC Public Relations enlighten the local audience seems to share old generation artistic judgment, based on craft skill, and the absent of such seems to be the synonymous of the absent of art.

'In the soviet times it was kind of traditional art – on Sundays, on Saturdays with children the whole family they go to the exhibition centres. They go to the museums and they find, and they find beautiful pictures there. And all of the sudden the form

However, museum as a state institution accessible to all audiences is not yet something broadly take for grounded in the west. The social changes of the last half century put the issue of public access to art in the research agenda and the education in museums becomes a matter for reflection and study. If the western literature has been stress the increasing importance of the museums on new education pathways and the paradigmatic shift from a museological policy centred on the object – acquisition and conservation – to a policy focused on the audiences and on their possibility of fruition, one may question the geographical extension of this statement (Hooper-Greenhill, 1991).

Seems that is a consensuous that most of the art institutions struggle to build a faithful and active audience. The CAC case addresses a different kind of challenge. If in one hand the necessity for a museum education¹⁰ was absent due to traditionally active public cultural practices of the local audience; on the other hand the institution has gradually lost its audience in the process of building up a new identity – the audience relation dynamics has changed while the art change its function and challenge their aesthetic values.

Youth as a Strategy for the Engagement

An 'international drop-in zone for artists, critics, curators, musicians, and writers many of whom have become 'friends of the CAC' (Kuizinas & Fomina, 2007: 5).

Just from the beginning CAC has been playing an important role as the centre of attraction, a place of fresh and 'western' ideas – for which the cafe has been giving a serious contribution. A meeting place to question the new Lithuanian and a place to develop the art in respond of that flourishing context. However, the CAC artistic programme has been investing in one approach which privileging a specific audience target – young, urban and art specialised. The CAC Public Programme, for instance, consist on exhibition tour, talks, publication of catalogues and of a quarterly bi-lingual art magazine – CAC Interviu. Recently one of the exhibition rooms was transformed into a specialised library and archive – CAC Reading Room. These types of activities, more than adult oriented appear to be focus to the art's world professionals and students' needs.

¹⁰ By museum education we address the concept developed by Eilean Hooper-Greenhill.

Therefore come into sight that the CAC Public Programme can be analysed as a horizontal strategy, in which the gallery share its learning process and interests with its audience. Taking the Reading Room project as example:

'For all of us the Reading Room it a project that is very interesting, because you can self-educate. So we order a lot of books and magazines that we wanted to order. I would order myself some of them...' (CAC Curator)

'I'm waiting for the moment when I will be sited here as a researcher and not as a CAC curator, reading those books, getting to know what we should have been knowing long ago but we didn't have that possibility. I think that is very very important' (CAC Pubic Relations)

In other words, the curatorial team put a set of activities together that themselves would attend. However as Featherstone (1991) remind us the *cultural intermediaries* - evoking Pierre Bourdieu's concept - are a particular type of new petite bourgeoisie professionals associated with cultural sector with distinctive tastes and cultural practices. Therefore, despite there is a Public Programme this still is targeting a narrow scope of the local audience.

Moreover as the Portuguese Sociologist Alexandre Melo (1992) developed a contemporary art centre is a representation of the art's world specific and restricts social circuit. It is considered as a typically cosmopolitan entity, shaped by cultural intermediaries who inhabit it locally, but also stage in transnational spaces - galleries, centres, museums - or events - 'vernissages', show-rooms, auctions - which as Melo argue 'tend to appear culturally homogeneous and geographically interchangeable' (Melo, 1992). In fact, as Kestutis Kuizinas (2001) state in 92/93 CAC was mainly a hosting venue of western travelling exhibitions and a career launcher holding exhibitions of local artists, with the support of many international organization, such as the British Council. Furthermore the close collaboration between the gallery and this young generation of artists¹¹ was critical for both reputation and international's recognition¹².

This 'youth cult' boost by the CAC is a central aspect of its identity, not just attracting more easily a younger audience, but also working preferentially with young artists. However this interpretation is not restricted to the physical age. For that reason, the Baltic Triennial is the only recycle soviet event, reinforcing the institution tradition of showing emerging art and being, until 2009¹³, the only possibility venue for international exchange and showplace for contemporary art.

¹¹ This strategy is not exclusive from CAC, indeed can be consider common of the art world's peripheral centres. It is similar to the one used on Serralves' collection construction - '*catch them at the last moment when you still can afford*'. With low budgets these galleries aim to be part of the international circuits of arts by supporting the emerging young artists, before they are caught by the so called 'gate keepers', as the Tate Gallery, or by the market.

¹² On this year Frieze Art Fair CAC has invited to be the year's partner institutions, along with the Portuguese Arte Contempo. Curators Kestutis Kuizinas and Simon Rees have commissioned artist Mindaugas Navakas to create *Smash the Windows*, *Snatch the Crystals*, made from window frames and panes recently removed from the CAC.

¹³ In July 2009 a National Gallery, dedicated to 20th and 21th century's art has open.

In fact, in the absence of a museum and a national collection of contemporary art, CAC took over the mission of fostering contemporary art together with the introduction of international artists and their work to the local audience, and creating conditions for local artists to show their work overseas. However, despite to perform a role of an imaginary museum with a symbolic collection (Trilupaitytė, 2005) it has always been conscience of its character – a gallery in permanent alignment with the *contemporary*, showing art works that testes its contemporariness and expresses a differentiation both as in concept as in support. Therefore the progressive internationalization of artists and curators, supported also by the integration of the Baltic Triennial for International Art in the European biennial circuit has helped, more than the CAC international integration, its local recognition. However, more than be locally acknowledged by its artistic programme is, broadly, pointed as a window toward the west, a youth positive association and a source of cultural legitimization, as the CAC Public Relations and Director stress:

Sometimes we even get calls from 'commercial' people who don't even know very well what we do, they still have that understanding that CAC is nice, good place which has cool image. And for example, they wanted to rent our spaces for something – It's some kind of prestige (CAC Public Relations Curator).

We have always been associated with something which has been, I don't know, trendy or new. There's some kind of attraction that: 'If you go there, you will find something strange, maybe you won't understand, but you'll feel a bit of it [...]' (CAC Director).

Final Considerations

One of the transformations most commonly associated with globalization is time-space compression, that is, the social process by which phenomena speed up and spread out across the globe. Though apparently monolithic, this process does combine highly differentiated situations and conditions (Sousa Santos, 2002).

This two galleries that are contemporary, one was open in 1989 and the other in 1992 are structural different; placed in opposite edges of Europe with different democratic traditions – one under the longest fascist regime in Europe and the other part of the longer state socialism experience in the History – reflect a local social, political, economic and cultural milieu. Although both can be analysed as *localized globalism* in the sense that they are part of a global platforms of production and exhibition of contemporary art – both play a game which rules are transnational– at the same time have to interpret locally that influences. Therefore CAC and Serralves seem to incorporate the dilemma of so many other similar spaces, signed since the *fin de siècle*: the search for a possible visible condition between the local and the global.

Yet one may stress the different state positions towards these art institutions. If there was a strict control on the art expression during the totalitarian regimes, after the independence cultural policies may be analyse as contradictory. If there was, in Portugal, an awareness of the necessity to build a *top-down* strategy for infrastructure building, cultural education and for artists' internationalisation; the opposite happen in Lithuania. If the state adopted a *laissez-faire* position, the art institutions and the artists pushed international of the art world – a *bottom-up* strategy.

There obvious differentiations from a modernist museum have been inviting several artists, though *site-specific* interventions, to question the multiple historical layers of meaning of the SF – the symbolic potential of the architecture container is inseparable from the reference to its contents and to its practices. Therefore we may argue that Serralves impossibility to fit in the regular categorization for the museum could promote multiples cultural practices. Serralves has been demonstrating that is a place open to the experience of a multiple social interaction and a pleasant meeting space (Grande, 2005). What we may argue that is no longer just a matter or pure art fruition, but a broader understanding of what public cultural practices mean. Simultaneously, this global renowned museum that takes part in the major art circuits, progressive communicates with the endogenous context, in and out of 'wall'. In this sense, Serralves has been able to reborn an area, enlarging culturally and socially the city.

CAC trace the transformation from the soviet artist's union exhibition hall to a western style gallery, dealing with a subsequent resistance; what seems to be common in rupture moments. A dichotomy between the weight of the institution's authorities and the artist's *establishment* arise from the CAC western-like model of organization and curating. Although another resistance was also shaped – CAC exhibitions deviates from local audience expectation. Specificity of the CAC is this 'pushes forward', constantly striving to keep in-step with art, society and culture transformations; provoking young artists, provoking the curriculum of the Academy and equally provoking local process in art criticism, possible in a quite young country; seems that has focus it attention on the art world still relatively close circle. Avoiding the betrayal of the *translation*, in the interpretation sense, appears to facilitate the direct relations between artist and audience, the artworks and the daily life and ultimately the global events and local interpretations.

By combining the deterritorialisation tendency of globalization and the re-territorialisation of localization, these two European cultural institutions address the dialectic nature of the connection between global and local trends in the construction and reconstruction of contemporary urban environments – *localized globalisms*.

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Web-sites

Contemporary Art Centre – <http://www.cac.lt/>

Fundação de Serralves – <http://www.serralves.pt/>

Summary

The impact of the globalising cultural trends on diverse national cultures has become one of the central issues of the recent sociological debates. Globalization is often seen as a hegemonic, however, the complex local-global dialectics has been creating social phenomenon that can not be analysed only by a global or a local perspective. City becomes an interesting analysis standing point in the sense that it concentrates the main characteristics of late capitalism, but also has become a privileged stage of intense and diversified cultural demonstrations, thus they can be considered a convergence point between the global and the local – a network's node. Icons of an urban cultural identity, contemporary art galleries, as strong symbols of the city's *glocal* features are rich contexts of analysis of the globalization trends.

Therefore in this paper thought a social, political and economic analysis of the context on which contemporary art galleries are created we interpret the specific incorporation of common global trends into the construction of *glocalize* projects. To this analysis we make use of two case-studies: the

transformation of a private Art Deco Villa into the Fundação de Serralves, in Porto and the renewal of the Palace of Exhibition that used to celebrate the soviet regime into the Contemporary Art Centre, in Vilnius.

Despite Serralves be juridical a private organization it is a public art institution. The exploration of the multiple layers of the private/public relations meaning is possible to understand the extension in time and socially of its patronage of contemporary art function.

A different trace was made on CAC analysis: from a soviet art institution with purposes of control and propaganda to a gallery focus exclusively on what is new. This clear cut with the past produced several tensions – *upstream* with the artists and *downstream* with the audience.

By combining the deterritorialisation tendency of globalization and the re-territorialisation of localization, these two European cultural institutions address the dialectic nature of the connection between global and local trends in the construction and reconstruction of contemporary urban environments – *localized globalisms*.