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The Festival Order: Music Stages of Power and Pleasure*

Abstract: Music festivals consist of a complex of interactions and social and cultural experiences. This paper analyzes music festivals in SE Europe in their function as a planetary production, combining regional cross-cultural perspectives and local politics. At the beginning of the 1990s music events in SE Europe (concerts, festivals, cultural happenings) were either a part of political conflict, antagonisms and economic crises, or they were included in the music world through the cultural contacts of global achievements – the music net and industry. Music festivals become the arena and scene of a contradictory reality in these places, being made up of individual, group interests, needs, establishment strategy and politics. To illustrate this phenomenon the paper presents the biggest festivals and spectacles in Serbia and SE Europe: EXIT festival (Novi Sad) attracted thousands of techno and rock lovers with the participation of many famous bands; and the folk trumpet playing festival (Guča), which each summer for several decades has been attracting thousands of lovers of ethno sound to a fair-carnival atmosphere. This ethnological research stresses complex property divisions – lifestyle, music genres, political strategies, scene movements and economic interests.

Key words: music festival, bureaucracy, politics, order, popular culture, global, local, power.

Introduction: a Ubiquitous Phenomenon

Music festivals demonstrate a high degree of public representation, complex communication networks, scenic hi-tech areas, politics, bureaucracy and the market. They represent not only seasonal pageants, with their rhythmical time of relaxation, but also order and arenas in the distribution of power and goods, which are sold to be watched and bought to be enjoyed. Premises that music scenes/festivals are "just a game" can also be structured in an interrogative

* This paper resulted from work on the project "Anthropological research of communication in contemporary Serbia", no. 147021, financed by the Ministry of Science of the Republic of Serbia

mode: "Is this festival just a game?"¹ The festival order is governed by strict visual regimes of (super)vision. The large expansion of music festivals, their serial production and consumption, exceeds the mission of art and culture, becoming a significant factor in the reflection and modification of global and local social trends. Such configurations of problems trigger numerous questions in the domain of culture and its status in the contemporary world, which is far from harmonious, being dangerous and contradictory, and spreading "moral panic" in academic circles.² Are music scenes autonomous enough alongside the panoptic order of bureaucracy, politics and the market? Are festival supermarkets created according to identity markers i.e. trans-multi-authentic circulations or are they closed into ethnonational blocks? If festivals rule the music market through such ambivalent strategies, what are their missions, messages, attitudes and, finally, responsibilities? Is there a gap between representation, the distribution of power in managing festivals and participants' practices in their perceptions of satisfaction? How can we explain festival networking, festival tourist pilgrimages, or musical "tribal"³ movements? All these questions incite revision of the positions of music festivals in their bureaucratic inaccessibility and cultural allure. The anthropological zooming of music festivals in the region of SE Europe, the historical context of mapping music festivals in the countries of ex-Yugoslavia and festival policy in Serbia all raise issues regarding cultural phenomena which map onto political and ideological formations.⁴

The aim of this analysis was to place music festivals into an historical and social context throughout the periods of socialism and postsocialism, thus

¹ This interesting turn was formulated by John J. MacAloon in his analysis of the Olympic Games. The interrogative mode contained in frame markers indicates how the Olympic Games are transformed into utilitarian truths, i.e. untruths *We are the same, we are different...* directing attention to the symbolic context of festivities and everyday routine (MacAloon 1984: 262-263).

² Anthropological reconsiderations of culture have not yet freed themselves from essentialistic virus of uniform, coherent, invariable and separate culture/cultures as opposed to a postmodern vision of active and multiplying cultural processes and "creolization". Confrontation of old and new concepts of culture/cultures, particularly within debates on European identity/identities brings culture into an arena of anxiety and concern... (Grillo 2003: 158).

³ Michel Maffesoli postulates societal dynamism and constitution of contemporary micro-groups "tribes"... (Maffesoli 1996: 6, 96).

⁴ This text is an integral version of the paper *Production and Circulation of Music Festivals in SE Europe*, presented at the 9th SIEF Congress *Transcending "European Heritage" Liberating the Ethnological Imagination*, 16-20 June 2008, Derry, Northern Ireland. The lecture was followed by an interesting discussion within the panel *Music Heritage* on redefining the concept of music heritage, having in mind that pop culture genres are also a form of heritage; considering the influence of politics in creating music scenes etc.

directly linking festival orders with the establishment, commercialization strategies and popular trends.⁵

Festival Patents of Socialism

In the twentieth century, festivals of popular music and folklore developed in several directions. Since the 1950s, *light music* festivals evolved into conventional institutions of competitive character patented according to the models of the San Remo and the Eurovision Song Contest festivals. Rock festivals multiplied emulating *open air* happenings and the Woodstock model, becoming an emphatic centre of subcultural styles and genres. In time, folk manifestations turned into ethno festivals as national emblems, identification and brand.

In the time of socialist holidays and rituals, conventional festivals of *light music* were an integral part of official politics and establishment. Their purpose: the glorification of the Communist party and leader cults of ex-Yugoslavia and other countries of the Eastern block. In socialist Yugoslavia, festival politics was based on a rigid doctrine of Yugoslav identity under the control of communist power and state politic. Music festivals were seasonal festivities held parallelly with political manifestations such as parades, communist celebrations, particularly a stadium spectacle called "May 25 – Youth Day", which was held to celebrate the birthday of the president of the state and communist leader Josip Broz Tito. Political spectacles of discipline and conventional music spectacles established a corresponding consensus on the role that the populistic – popular – conventional had in creating an illusion of cultural autonomy.⁶ Festivals of popular music were held each year: *Zagreb festival*, *Opatija festival*, *Split festival – Croatia*, *Belgrade spring festival – Serbia*, *The hit of the season – Bosnia and Herzegovina*, *Slovenian chants – Slovenia*, *Skopje festival – Macedonia* and so forth. Festival politics also had an export representative character, as particu-

⁵ In my papers, I particularly emphasize the horizontal and vertical methodological positionings of public celebrations and public rituals in the zone of spectacles, which implies a relation between a situation and a happening, i.e. spatial and temporal modelling of public scenes (Lukić Krstanović 2003: 23-24).

⁶ Serbia (with autonomous provinces Kosovo and Metohia and Voivodina), Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia were "Republics" of administrative and territorial units of the state federation. The complete official policies developed according to the then principle of the "republic key" i.e. strict distribution and reciprocity of federal units. Each public action had to be guided in such a way. Music festivals functioned according to the principle of "republic key", i.e. equivalence and reciprocity of representation from all administrative units of the former "Republics" - Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia.

larly manifested in the participation of the representatives for the Eurovision Song Contest. Since 1961, Yugoslavia was the only socialist country to participate in Eurovision. In the 1960s and the 1970s, cultural exchanges between the West and Yugoslavia reached a certain dynamic, but still under the supervision of a one-party socialist regime. Festival spectacles in ex-Yugoslavia following the model of festivals in San Remo (1951) and the Eurovision Song Contest were enunciated within scenic conventionalism and institutionalization (media supervisors – radio and television, music associations and other administrative – political boards). They were constructed into a socially directed order shaping dominant culture and commercial products. Popular light music festivals established special scenic and viewers' language in the model of convention, which was based on the corresponding scenic hierarchy, scenic ritual codes and performers' and viewers' behaviour. Such festival order suited the establishment.

At the same time, the opening of Yugoslavia towards the West was mostly manifested in the acceptance of rock and roll culture and subcultural styles. These were the first strides towards social and cultural emancipation since the unilateral official *light music* festivals. During the 1970s, the rock music scene was in full élan as regards the organization of youth festivals and concerts – *Guitariads*, *Youth festivals* in Subotica, *Boom* festival in the cities of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. It was a time of dynamical rock and roll turnover between larger urban centres such as Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Ljubljana etc. The creation of rock and roll festivals led in two directions – one direction emphasizing their emancipatory role, while the other emphasizing how the festivals were still part of the establishment. On a symbolic level, the first rock and roll concerts and festivals were united in the concept of the revolt of the young against dominant and conventional culture and against the directed social values supervised by the Communist party (youth work actions, youth sections within party committees etc). The rock and roll concept was manifested through the representation of subcultural genres, conquering scenic areas and establishing analogies and relations between music, fashion, and everyday routine. However, in time, while underground scenes firmly conformed to musical autonomy, youth festivals turned decadence and subversion into a mainstream position which in the zone of commercialization also corresponded to established requirements. Thus in the 1970s, youth pop and rock festivals acted as an instrument in socialist festivities and political celebrations. In the 1980s rock and roll completely gained its genre entities, turning to free concert flow and abandoning festival orders. It was the time of mobile rock and roll scenes and their followers on the relations between Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Sarajevo.⁷

⁷ Petar Janjatović lexiconized Yugoslav-rock bends in the second half of XX century (Janjatović 1998).

In the middle of the twentieth century, folklore manifestations in the Balkan area belonged to a uniform model of so-called Yugoslav folklore – this consisted of national songs and dances from every part of Yugoslavia. Folklore paradigms of heritage and tradition were not permitted to disturb the policy of communist Yugoslav unity and the culture of the working class. This model of Yugoslav folklore, which represented all nationalities and ethnic groups, suited an official federal principle and the *brotherhood and unity* ideology. Manifestations which represented particular national and ethnic entities were not widespread. The oldest folklore festival under the guardianship of official cultural policy was the competition of folk trumpeters, which has been held in Guča, Serbia since 1961. This was the beginning of representing folklore under the label of "Serbian heritage", which turned it into one of the biggest festivals in the Balkans. In time, this festival has become an exclusive national product and national brand labelled as *Serbian national heritage* on the European and world markets. Representatives of this music are ethno artists of Serbian and Romani origin. Although folklore heritage of brass orchestras does not enter the domain of a lasting tradition, it became a special invention of the socialist regime. In the time of socialism, parallel to folklore heritage, a new tradition appeared in the form of neofolk culture. Neofolk and pop stars often featured alongside one another in the same programmes of musical spectacles, creating the solid basis of the music business.⁸

In the socialist order, *light music* festivals created a conventional and institutional aura of power administration. Rock festivals and concerts had an emancipatory character with autonomy regarding musical direction, whereas ethno festivals remained faithful to paradigms of tradition and the normativization of folklore as instruments of state policy. Having in mind the festival zones in the time of socialism, we can distinguish the following processes which shaped festival orders: 1. The étatisation of festivals implied a direct influence on them from the centres of political power and establishment; 2. normativization and commercialization implied hierarchical structures in the scenic order and in market competition; 3. liberalization was recognized in the communicative permeability of scene and audience, bearing in mind the space dispersion in larger urban centres of ex-Yugoslavia. Music festivals emerged *from* political legitimacy, giving in turn legitimacy *to* statehood.

⁸ In so far as he describes a unique chronicle of pop music stars, Petar Luković supplies a significant amount of data on public appearances and the creation of pop, neofolk and rock icons (Luković 1989).

Postsocialist Period of Crisis and Transition

At the beginning of the 1990s, during the time of the disintegration of communist Yugoslavia, festivals shifted from being primarily musical scenes to being primarily political arenas. The temporal rhythms of everyday and public rituals, of periodical and seasonal pageants and festivals entered the dramatic orbit of war, nationalistic euphoria, antagonism, separatism and isolation. In Serbia, most of the musical happenings became instruments of political interests, establishing a distinct political voice for music. Political rallies, protests, and political campaigns in the zones of risk and conflict were manifested through the polarization of all musicians. Some musical happenings served the function of national glorification, whilst others strived to open up towards Europe and wider global trends; some musical happenings were in the service of the official policy of Slobodan Milošević's rule, and some were part of opposition campaigns; a number of music scenes was incorporated into neofolk pseudo values of the so-called 'Nouveau Riche', whereas other parts of the music scene remained faithful to urban and rebellious underground values.⁹ In the 1990s, music scenes developed through ambivalent processes of closed and open society. The time of crisis encouraged polarized agents of music and political scenes that by no means fitted the world differentiated music standards. The music scenes demonstrated all the syndromes of cultural autism with an emphasized national hermetism. The organization of festivals in times of economic sanctions, isolation and blockades limited business possibilities. Festival politics was developed on the so-called illegal market, without any possibilities of import or export of festival goods, without adequate specialization of organization jobs, and without coordinated laws of music production. Economic operations and festival policy fitted into the zone of survival and resourcefulness. Music scenes measured their success in the zones of political and economic power i.e. parties in power and criminogenic groups (the biggest concerts and music festivals were financed by individuals belonging to mafia circles).

The transitional turning point in the countries of SE Europe, particularly in Serbia, was marked by the beginning of the year 2000, after the fall of Slobodan Milošević's rule. The shift of power in Serbia enabled the gradual abandonment of the hermetic circles of polarization and inclusion in differentiating cultural trends. Many virtual pictures became reality: bigger concert mobility

⁹ The politization and polarization of music scenes in Serbia in the 1990s were particularly actualized in academic discussions about the construction of "turbo – folk", the marginalization of the rock and roll genre, and the relations between music and nationalism (Kronja 2001: 10) and (Gordi 2001: 127).

and tours of music headliners and hit bands¹⁰ and increased networking into European festival blocks of pop, rock, techno and ethno festivals. There was an increasing number of domestic professional concert and festival agencies; coordination with managerial booking offices was established as well. Bigger cities in the states of SE Europe, particularly Belgrade, Novi Sad and Budva are now becoming interesting destinations for the tours of famous bands and performers. For states such as Serbia, after the isolation period, the tours of famous music stars also represented state ventures. Music export – import turnover acted as an alibi for the interstate regrouping of pro-European oriented parties, in being one of the markers for European association and entering the world and European music markets. In the transitional period, a new festival regrouping occurred. Festival politics unfolded on a number of levels: 1. festival turnover 2. festival networking. In festival production, particularly in Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina active music communication was going on, often functioning as the precursor to many political and economic acts. State music festivals in Serbia and Montenegro officially opened the door to guest performers from the neighbouring countries of Southeastern Europe and the countries of Central Europe (Croatia and Slovenia) and vice versa, which was completely unthinkable in the times of separatism and isolationism. Festival policy played a role in establishing neighbourly relations transnationally, through having a positive commercial effect. During the of Yugoslav era there was a political and ideological concept of Yugoslav festivals, whilst now the politic is created around the Serbian, Montenegrin and Bosnian national entities, as fashioned through the festivals, whilst later through Croatian and Slovenian festivals. Their mutual coordination has not yet been established, as a consequence of the previous conflicts on a national basis.

Pan-European, (Trans)national and Commercial Concepts of Music Festivals

Nowadays, music festivals in Europe create two types of institutional and communicative networked media festivals, with the Eurovision Song Contest still maintaining the leading role, and music open air fusion festivals following. Festival order is now oriented towards established concepts of pan-Europeism and trans-national mapping, i.e. the arrangement of the music of the nations. Festival order is guided by the concept of commercialization, which is based on the music market, i.e. its dispersion. One concept designates music

¹⁰ *R.E.M., Metallica, Tools, Rolling Stones, Iron Maiden, and Red Hot Chilly Peppers* held concerts in the period 2002-2007.

(trans)nationally, the other concept commercializes music according to genre. One type of festival fabricates competitive and voting music, the other type of festivals creates an interactive space of empathy and enjoyment. However, both concepts place music into a bureaucratic panoptic.

Music festivals are part of the network of leading associations: the European Broadcasting Union, the European Festivals Association (founded in 1952, comprising about 35 countries and 450 festivals), the Yourope Association (founded in 1998, with 40 members), the European Heritage Association, and additionally music corporations and lobbies such as the *European Live Music forum*. In this time of European integration, music festivals appeared to be an important parameter of cultural turnover, and of business as well (emphasized in the *Convection on Cultural Diversity* – UNESCO and European Union and *Arts Festivals Declaration on Intercultural Dialogue*).

"European arts festivals initiated a vital process of circulating and giving visibility to the different cultural streams of European arts and cultures, which represented a significant step toward the development of intercultural competences. While respecting and promoting the regional and national diversity of the local communities, cultures, values and traditions, festivals have at the same time been part of a highly common European heritage by promoting a culture of mutual exchange and respect for cultural diversity."¹¹

Declarations and programmes are paradigms and ideal-standard functions of music festivals, which indicate the creation of a desirable image of art in its planetary (un)limited diffusion. However, such principles also represent an instruction in the evaluation of culture and life values. It is the social control of the festival that functions on both a micro and macro plan. Music festivals form modern *mainstream economies* in the direction of goods and profit circulation, particularly in the zones of music production and tourism. How are profit, national interests and cultural needs synchronized? The geostrategic positioning of music can be monitored in the examples of the Eurovision Song Contest and similar *musicvision* patents.

From the very beginning, the Eurovision Song Contest was a spectacle guided by political strategies: the creation of the European Union by six leading western states, the strengthening of western initiatives through admittance of an increasing number of European states and finally, the presence of newly formed states from the ex-USSR and ex-Yugoslavia. For some European states, the order has been established: state sovereignty + access to European institutions and future European association. Each nation pays to be represented in multinational companies and corporations. On the level of state and international spec-

¹¹ Extract from the Arts Festivals' Declaration on Intercultural Dialogue from 2008, within the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008, www.new.efa-aef.eu/FestivalsDeclaration/the-declaration.lasso

tacle, ideological order is established in the positioning of a song as a *national Cause and national Goal*¹² i.e. the musical fabrication of patriotism. Having all this in mind, the principle of the competition is governed by geopolitical positioning, which increasingly favours new 'Baltic', 'Russian', or 'Balkan' blocks.¹³ Over the last five years, Serbia, and then Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia have actively participated in Eurosong, with noticeable results. Eurosong Festival has thus become polygon and stage for the promotion of nations and their representation. International communication proceeds only on the representational level of cross scoring. Centres of financial and organizational power are represented by the European Broadcasting Union¹⁴, multinational companies such as ERICOM, pan-European Sponsorship coordinated with national media services i.e. official policies of participating states. In that way, festival order enters the planetary orbit of spheres of interest. On the other hand, the festival rules of the game, regulations and propositions depend on nations, i.e. national policies. National boards, national ranking for representatives, national sponsorships and complete national infrastructures position songs in the zones of statehood and national welfare. After all, in the rules for the Eurovision Song Contest it is recommended that a "song or its performance should in a way reflect the 'national spirit' of the country."¹⁵

The enjoyment and seductiveness of the Eurovision Song Contest spectacle has turned into national exaltation and patriotism, thus estranging itself from its music mission and the music competition. Media marketing, the everyday routine of the festival, betting interactions, street celebrations and fans' euphoria, the media and marketing messages and recipient forums and enjoyment of national Causes lead to the "surplus of inordinateness" for our Cause which is nothing else but a we-totality and a they-totality.

While the conventional festivals are conducted according to strict geostrategic competitive principles: point – song – nation, *open air* festivals of contemporary music genres are mostly guided by the configuration of the music market. Music

¹² Slavoj Žižek emphasizes that having and enjoying the national Cause exists as long as the members of a community believe in it. However, the main problem is how to organize that enjoyment and how to produce a surplus of inordinateness created by the national Cause (Žižek 1996: 12-14).

¹³ Regarding the voting mode of the Eurovision Song Contest and the structure of blocks (Gatherer 2006: 3).

¹⁴ EBU has appointed a pan-European televoting partner following a bidding process. This partner will be Deutsche Telekom AG and its affiliate "Diagme GmbH", a highly experienced company specialised in a TV driven mass response project. *The rules of the Eurovision song Contest* - archive material from Association of Yugoslav Radio-Televisions, 2004.

¹⁵ Point 8: *Draft of Code for Eurovision Song Competition 2004*, Association of Yugoslav Radio-Televisions 30, 3, 2003.

open air live festivals of contemporary music cut across genres and musical directions¹⁶, proliferating throughout Europe.¹⁷ These festivals exceed purely music contents – they also contain different programs (exciting events, cinema, sports activities, art, spoken word, workshops...). They compete with tourist offers and attractive ambiances, intervening in spaces: fortresses, big green surfaces, an island, with numerous stages as architectural projects and making use of artistic illusionism. Such music spectacles with travelling audiences and fans represent metaphors for global social and cultural crossings. Such cultural turnover creates less difference between popular music and ethno heritage, often creating mutual commercial packages.¹⁸ In Central and SE Europe outdoor music festivals become important gathering points of young people, particularly from the Region, but also from other European countries. Following the example of already prestigious festivals in Europe such as Sziget festival, Glastonbury etc, festivals which stand out in Central and Southeastern Europe include Rock Otočec (Slovenia), Lent Festival (Slovenia), MMS (Croatia), Art & Music festival (Croatia), EXIT Festival (Serbia), Heineken Music Festival (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Interfest (Macedonia) etc. These festivals in the Region are of particular importance. After a decade of isolation, war, economic instability and international conflicts, festivals once again have offered a chance to establish cross-cultural circulation and intercultural dialogue between neighbouring countries in the Region. My research among young people from Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia have indicated that these festivals have become new musical destinations of gathering and fun. However, in relation to European festival circulation in the Region, there are still economic and political impediments in which festivals are more politically connotated than culturally designated.

Two Cases of Festival Order: The Road to Glocalization

Two festivals – the biggest, most popular, labelled as "national brands" in SE Europe are: Dragačevo Festival of Trumpeters (Guča, Central Serbia) and

¹⁶ Rock, Alternative, Pop, Reggae, Hip-Hop, Rhythm'n Blues, Punk, Ska, World, Latin, Funk, Blues, Ambient, Dance, Electro, Techno, House....

¹⁷ Leading festivals are in Glastonbury (1970, UK), Reading festival (UK), Virgin festival, Paleo festival (1976, Switzerland), Roskilde festival (1971, Denmark), Pink-pop (1970, Netherlands), T in the Park (Scotland), Sziget festival (Hungary), Love parade (Berlin) and hundreds of others.

¹⁸ E.g. the folk orchestra of trumpeters from Serbia participated in the Sziget festival; also, there are stages with ethno programs and world music in many European festivals.

EXIT festival (Novi Sad).¹⁹ Dragačevo Festival of Trumpeters represents the biggest ethno festival in the Balkans, having existed for fifty years already, and was patented as tradition during the time of socialism. EXIT festival is a musical spectacle of modern music scenes and genres. Therefore, one festival is linked to folklore tradition, and the other to rock and techno music trends. Although these festivals belong to different genres, conceived in different periods and milieus, with different ideological and cultural strategies – they have become oases of diversified audiences and tourist Meccas owing to their attractive positions in the field of spectacles. However, these festivals are much more than just music spectacles. During the times of crisis and transition in Serbia, the Dragačevo festival of trumpeters and EXIT festival were incorporated into current politics and the creation of the whole corpus of values and lifestyles. In a way, they represented ambivalent sides of Serbia, one which glorifies national – folklore tradition, and the other which remains on the positions of urban underground culture.²⁰ Circulation between local and global has given these festivals the role of promoters, but also authenticators of an image of society in Serbia.

Dragačevo festival of trumpeters and positioning of trumpet folklore as institutionalized music practice fit into social and political realities, which set their own rules on the scale of cultural representatives. Thus the seasonal manifestation of the competition of traditional trumpet orchestras became a representative and constructor of a folklore paradigm of "authentic tradition" in which the cultural policy of national power was concentrated. Trumpet populism (trumpet bands) have become part of everyday life, with all relevant ritual and ceremonial practices and public events being used as an instrument for the glorification and purification of national power. Once only folklore creativity, trumpet culture is increasingly turning into a national emblem as the "Serbian trumpet". The trumpet has become a supra-sign of national identity thus positioning itself on the scale of the nation's characteristics. Establishing a trumpet folklore entity also implies a relation towards other ethnic and traditional entities. While trumpet culture established a specific folklore totality on one side, at the same time it disclosed confrontation. Competition and prestige on the scale of trumpet domination is conducted between Romani

¹⁹ My research on the Dragačevo festival of trumpeters and EXIT festival in Serbia were aimed at clarifying the complex network of reciprocal influences of political formations, economic strategies and cultural forms on each other (Lukić Krstanović 2007: 181).

²⁰ Marina Simić writes that *EXIT* was a dominant metaphor in Serbia in the 1990s. The very name of the Festival alludes to the same ideas as the Student protest from the mid-nineties waiting for the end of isolation and a return to Europe (Marina Simić 2006: 121).

brass bands and Serbian brass bands. Either different music concepts are in question, or maybe it is an attempt to prove whose trumpeting roots are older. Still, folklore trumpeting shows how traditional – ethno – folklore is closed into "cultural prisons" without any chances to be represented in its uncompleted, unrefined and imperfect form.²¹

EXIT Noise Summer Fest has been held since 2000 in Novi Sad – Serbia. This festival meets the standards of European open air festivals and is included in the program of seasonal music happenings in Europe. EXIT is a prestigious festival, which gathers an increasing number of music-pilgrims and tourists, as well as leading headliners who book this destination on their tours. However, the festival's path of development is accompanied by social and political trends in the Region. Namely, this Festival has had several phases: The first Festival was organized in the time of intense political campaigns and support to opposition against Slobodan Milošević's regime. From the very beginning, EXIT fest has promoted the idea of peace, tolerance, multiculturalism, human rights, and open society which at the same time represented resistance to the nationalist regime. After the change of power, this Festival entered the zone of institutionalization, when a number of establishment structures, ministries and sponsors were included in the financing and logistics of this festival. Finally, EXIT is positioned as a commercial product and significant tourist destination. Having in mind this path of development, the festival is much more than a musical spectacle. It is not only a cultural musical value, but at the same time a political attitude taking over social responsibility in intercultural dialogue. For the time being, the festival has achieved a valuable goal in European networking and forging mutual connections (with guests from Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, etc.). However, in the organizational and administrative sense, there is neither clear regional coordination and collaboration, nor regional festival associations.

Should these festival trends continue, we could be witnessing new trends – passing and transitional nomadism. Music festivals represent a strong bastion in the creation of artism condensed in the strong field of visual regimes and interactions. In the increasingly present virtual and media communication, these open air festivals are alive and living processes reconciled with administrative policies.

²¹ Ivan Čolović boldly deals with ethno amalgams in the form of world music and other hybrid achievements on local and global music stages, emphasizing that they should not be founded on primary hybridity, but rather on escaping from verifying cultural borders and the comprehension of "identity crack" as well as the freedom of cultural imperfection... (Čolović 2006: 314-317).

Conclusion: New Tehnological Order and Festival Politics in Perspective

Festival orders have clearly been shown to be collectors of music, enjoyment and structures of power. In different periods, festivals formed their strategies under the close watch of established structures which were reflected in them. However, music and art had their own creative requirements and potentials aiming to break free from imposed limitations and orders, creating their own rules of "chaos and freedom". In between power and subversion, and order and freedom, music scenes chose the middle path, largely helped by the contingencies of the festival environment. Between music and festivals a consensus was found, which encashed creativity, and brought the job into the zone of enjoyment. What was left to satisfaction – sound, illumination, body? There are also the rules of polarizing pleasures and offered choices. Festival planetary life is in full swing, which suits music perviousness. On the other hand, music is still resisting festival canonization, remaining faithful to its ritual remains such as live club music, studio music, listening to music, mini concerts and tours, parties and all forms of music everyday routine. Since festivals increasingly turn to both social and political engagement, music becomes their instrument in achieving geostrategic, corporational, (trans)national goals. Obviously, they have won the right to a responsible place in shaping values, lifestyles and engaged messages, and can in so far be a relevant competitor in the "dangerous social games" that characterize block divisions, antagonisms, prejudices, xenophobia or to the contrary play an important role in the rapprochement and humanization of the world. Different political and humanitarian campaigns, collective interests and formations give festivals the legitimacy of a social barometer. Coherency of music, space and time in the zone of festivals indicates their social usefulness and usability aimed at the creation of policies of pleasure. If festivals are the productive collectors of styles and enjoyment, combined with all their available means such as spatial architecture and stage configurations, tourist programmes and virtual communication, one wonders whether their creators have enough flexibility for their permanent redesigning and restructuring, or will they remain a rigid and degenerated reminder of a previous order. Technological advancement and the music industry will either suppress festivals towards a subordinate role as initial festivities, or contrarily, they will have to conform to the power of festivals themselves. We shall see.

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Festivalski poredak: muzičke pozornice moći i zadovoljstva

U antropološkim razmatranjima muzički festivali predstavljaju kompleksni fenomen koji rasvetljava savremene kulturne i društvene procese. U tekstu se analiziraju muzički festivali, njihov razvojni put u dvadesetom veku i savremeni trendovi u Evropi, regionu

Jugoistočne Evrope i Srbiji. Festivali jesu planetarni proizvod, interkulturalna mreža, ali i produkti lokalnih politika. Njihova popularizacija se može pratiti od šezdesetih godina dvadesetog veka kada se oblikuju u konvencionalne kulturne pozornice koje odgovaraju establišmentu, ali istovremeno i kao emancipovani prostori rokenrol stilova i potkultura. Početkom devedesetih godina dvadesetog veka muzički festivali u Jugoistočnoj Evropi postaju arene i scene kontradiktorne i ambivalentne realnosti (rat, ekonomska kriza, antagonizmi, ksenofobije, nacionalizmi). Muzički hepeninzi i politički događaji politički se polarizuju i hermetizuju. Istraživanja su usmerena na dva najveća festivala u Regionu – EXIT festival (Novi Sad) i Dragačevski sabor trubača (Guča). Istraživanja ovih festivala pokazuju da kulturne pozornice moći i uživanja grade svojevrstne poretke i politike koje su refleksijska aktuelnih društvenih stvarnosti i svakodnevnica.

Ključne reči: muzički festival, birokratija, politika, popularna kultura, globalno, lokalno, moć

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Instauration d'ordre dans les festivals :
les scènes de musique – lieux du pouvoir et du plaisir

Dans les études anthropologiques les festivals de musique représentent un phénomène complexe qui met en lumière les processus culturels et sociaux contemporains. Dans le texte sont analysés les festivals de musique, leur développement au vingtième siècle et les modes contemporaines en Europe, la région de l'Europe du Sud-Est et en Serbie. Les festivals sont un produit planétaire, un réseau interculturel, mais ils sont également des produits de politiques locales. Leur popularisation peut être suivie à partir des années soixante du vingtième siècle lorsqu'ils se façonnent en scènes culturelles conventionnelles que s'approprie le pouvoir en place, mais en même temps en espaces émancipés de rock et de sous-culture. Au début des années quatre-vingt-dix du vingtième siècle les festivals de musique en Europe du Sud-Est deviennent de véritables arènes, des scènes exprimant une réalité contradictoire et ambivalente (guerre, crise économique, antagonismes, xénophobies, nationalismes). Les performances artistiques musicales et les événements politiques se polarisent et hermétisent. Les recherches sont concentrées ici sur deux plus grands festivals dans la région – le festival EXIT (Novi Sad) et le festival de fanfares à Dragačevo (Guča). L'étude de ces festivals démontre que les scènes culturelles du pouvoir et du plaisir s'imposent comme facteurs de la création d'ordres et de politiques reflétant le quotidien et les réalités sociales actuelles.

Mots-clés: festival de musique, bureaucratie, politique, culture populaire, global, local, pouvoir.