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## **UNESCO Chair in Cultural Policy and Management**

*Master thesis:*

### **Festivals, Cultural Citizenship, and Cultural Policy**

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## Résumé

A part leur dimension festive, les festivals possèdent une fonction commune forte puisqu'ils introduisent la participation et l'interaction dans la commune. C'est pourquoi, à part la signification culturelle, ils avaient aussi un rôle social bien développé.

Dans la société contemporaine la notion de la festivalisation est fréquemment utilisée pour décrire la croissance remarquable de plusieurs types de festivals et leur dimension qui peut aller, de purement commerciale et touristique jusqu'à une dimension artistique ou socialement engagée. La variété de ces facteurs a fait des festivals l'un des instruments préférés des décideurs pour pouvoir changer ou au moins modifier le microclimat culturel des lieux où le festival se déroule.

Dans un autre contexte le potentiel de festivals a été souvent sous-estimé et lié exclusivement à l'impact qu'ils ont sur l'économie locale, ce qui a causé la production massive des festivals purement commerciaux et de divertissement, surtout dans les villes. Néanmoins un des rôles les plus importants reste celui de renforcer le sentiment d'identité collective, la stabilité sociale et la solidarité.

Si on part de l'idée que nous vivons dans des sociétés multiculturelles dans lesquelles la migration fait partie de la vie quotidienne, il n'est pas surprenant de voir que les questions liées à l'égalité, l'intégration, le racisme, la xénophobie, et à une vision de la citoyenneté modifiée deviennent les plus importantes. Les gens de différentes origines, mœurs, et façons de communiquer vivent au sein de la même communauté. Parfois, cela peut provoquer des malentendus et l'incompréhension, ce qui représente un défi pour toute la société.

Le changement en tant que caractéristique principale de la société contemporaine a réintroduit la question d'identité. La vie moderne a introduit la globalisation, la mobilité sociale, la migration pour les raisons professionnelles, la pression d'être productif, et la fragilité des relations personnelles, ce qui a provoqué un sentiment d'insécurité et la fragmentation au niveau individuel et collectif. «Qui on est» est devenu difficile de répondre.

Dans ce contexte, la notion de citoyenneté culturelle est particulièrement intéressante car elle offre la possibilité de créer d'autres formes d'appartenance et d'après Gerrad Delahanty elle «doit être plus étroitement liée au discours de reconnaissance d'autrui afin de responsabiliser les gens dans leur propre auto-compréhension, le sens d'appartenance et d'identité».

Comme mentionné ci-dessus les festivals représentent une expression importante de la culture publique et un cadre dans lequel on peut découvrir de différentes formes de citoyenneté culturelle. L'idée de ce mémoire est particulièrement concentrée sur la prolifération des festivals en Serbie et les politiques culturelles qui le plus souvent n'offrent pas suffisamment de soutien pour préserver les concepts et les valeurs de ces festivals.

C'est pourquoi les festivals et la politique culturelle en Serbie sont observées du point de vue de la citoyenneté culturelle et le but principal est de déterminer si la politique culturelle en Serbie crée une atmosphère positive pour les festivals qui soutiennent le développement de la citoyenneté culturelle comme un des moyens d'effectuer le sens d'appartenance et d'identité.

Pour pouvoir réaliser cette intention j'ai pris les exemples de deux festivals serbes très connus EXIT et Mikser festival et à travers leur

- histoire
- contexte social
- concept du festival
- objectif
- influence sur la communauté locale
- évolution
- des obstacles qu'ils ont rencontrés dans le passé

J'ai formé une opinion sur le rapport entre les autorités et les festivals qui cultivent la notion de la citoyenneté culturelle en tant que milieu de travail de la démocratie.

L'étape suivante était l'analyse comparative des données recueillies et la conclusion liée aux différences et similarités entre elles en utilisant:

L'hypothèse principale qui aura une réponse négative au sujet du soutien de l'État aux festivals qui participent au développement de la citoyenneté culturelle.

Cette hypothèse est développée avec les points suivants:

- Festivals pourraient représenter les environnements favorables pour le développement de la citoyenneté culturelle et donc être un outil essentiel pour réfléchir de l'identité et la différence
- La politique culturelle en Serbie ne reconnaît pas le rôle qui festivals jouent dans le contexte de la citoyenneté culturelle
- La politique culturelle en Serbie n'a pas de stratégies liées à la durabilité de ces festivals
- Il n'existe pas d'études qui pourraient démontrer l'importance du concept de fête clairement défini et son évolution à travers le temps

Plus loin dans le texte chacun de ces points seront développés et liés à l'étude de cas spécifique.

En analysant les points ci-dessus, le mémoire vise à poser les questions suivantes :

- Est-ce que les festivals effectuent toujours une sorte de citoyenneté culturelle ?
- Quel genre de la citoyenneté culturelle à travers favorise la politique culturelle aux festivals et qui est inclus / exclu?
- Comment les festivals inspirent les changements de comportement des gens et les modifications des lieux?

La raison de choisir EXIT et Mikser est à la première place leur tradition et donc un statut reconnu par d'autres festivals. De plus il est connu qu'ils avaient plus d'une fois des problèmes avec la dimension financière. Leur expérience a permis à la recherche de suivre l'histoire de leur évolution, surtout quand il s'agit de la notion de citoyenneté culturelle, les crises qu'ils ont rencontrées, le soutien qu'ils ont obtenu ou pas, et l'influence qu'ils ont eu sur les participants et l'environnement.

Si on observe la situation en secteur culturel en Serbie, on peut comprendre que depuis des années 'il n'y a pas de progrès significatifs. Chaque année, une toute petite partie du budget, en 2013, seulement 0,62% est réservée à la culture, des fonds sont souvent attribués avec retard ou certains changements, sans critères clairs et transparents. En plus de cela, ce n'est que récemment, en 2009, lorsque la loi sur la culture est entrée en vigueur, que l'utilisation de la planification stratégique à tous les niveaux a été encouragée et il n'est pas surprenant de voir qu'il n'y a toujours pas de politique culturelle claire ou stratégie de développement qui pourrait mener à la stabilité et permettre à penser aux projets à long terme. Tous ces facteurs créent un climat d'incertitude et de méfiance.

Dans ces conditions, il est difficile de réaliser de grands projets et surtout de penser à leur durabilité. EXIT, Festival du Film Européen Palic, Bitez et Nisville Festival de Jazz sont quelques exemples dont la réalisation a été mise en péril plus d'une fois même si ce sont les festivals qui ont déjà confirmé leur importance sur la scène culturelle serbe et même la scène internationale. Seules quelques semaines avant que les festivals ont été programmés il n'était pas encore certain s'ils auraient lieu ou non.

Quant aux autorités au niveau de la ville, plus de la moitié de fonds va aux institutions dont la fondatrice est la Ville, ce qui montre encore une fois que les institutions publiques sont bien protégées, même si parmi elles il ya celles qui ne font aucun effort pour améliorer la qualité de leurs programmes, diversifier leurs activités, collaborer avec d'autres secteurs, ou moderniser leur fonctionnement sans instructions des autorités.

Parmi les objectifs présentés dans les deux cas, de Belgrade et de Novi Sad, il y a certains qui sont reliés à la question de l'identité et de la citoyenneté culturelle, mais en observant leur mise en œuvre et le manque de soutien aux projets qui cultivent les valeurs démocratiques et qui encouragent la participation citoyenne, on conclut qu'il s'agit d'une contradiction.

EXIT est basé sur l'idée de la démocratie, de multiculturalisme et de la tolérance. Il est aussi souvent lié à l'idée de l'identité car des jeunes s'identifient avec l'atmosphère du festival, ce qui montre que ce genre de festivals a le plus de chance de transmettre des messages avec succès. Les festivals similaires ont la possibilité d'influencer leur opinion et l'attitude et de créer la base pour les nouvelles générations qui auront des valeurs différentes. Quand même, d'après ce qu'on peut voir au présent, à un moment donné, EXIT a perdu la direction et, au lieu de développer l'aspect social, il l'a réduit. Cependant, son rôle ne peut être ignoré, ni son influence.

Quand il s'agit de rôle de Mikser, il peut changer la façon dont le quartier Savamala est perçu, attirer l'attention sur les parties oubliées de la ville, éveiller le sens de la fraternité et organiser des événements culturels afin d'aider cette communauté à s'intégrer dans le système culturel de la ville. Avec la promotion des activités culturelles d'une population culturellement diversifiée, on peut aider tous, résidents locaux, artistes et visiteurs étrangers.

Si on le compare avec EXIT, Mikser favorise un autre genre de la citoyenneté, celui qui est plutôt localisée et concentrée à un certain activisme communautaire urbain, qui est intéressé par l'idée d'appartenance locale, alors que EXIT est plutôt dirigé sur le marché international et multiculturel. Pour préciser on pourrait dire qu'EXIT fonctionne plus au niveau interculturel, et Mikser plus au niveau intracultural. Lorsqu'EXIT favorise l'escapisme et la vision utopique, Mikser vise à atteindre, un changement permanent, presque matériel. Après EXIT reste l'impression que le monde est entré en Serbie et que Novi Sad n'est pas différent de n'importe quelle autre ville européenne et Mikser a une tendance de laisser une trace qui n'est pas directement lié au festival et que les citoyens peuvent utiliser dans le cadre de leur communauté. Malgré cette différence on peut conclure que tous les deux semblent partager une éthique similaire de citoyenneté culturelle.

Les deux ont commencé comme des projets locaux, mais la propagation de la région, et a fait un pas en avant dans l'interculturalisme. Contrairement à certains autres projets, depuis leur fondation, étaient sont contre la culture fermée et isolée, l'ethnocentrisme et le nationalisme qui conduisent à la xénophobie. Dans ce contexte EXIT et Mikser ont créé un lien entre la culture et l'industrie du tourisme culturel et trouvé une façon de plus pour briser les préjugés et développer la tolérance.

Ces deux exemples sont choisis en raison de leur popularité et de leur portée, mais le but du mémoire n'est pas de faire l'éloge de ces deux festivals, mais de se concentrer sur leurs éléments constructifs; ceux qui sont positifs et utiles pour les citoyens et qui peuvent être mises en œuvre pour tout autre festival. Si nous mettons de côté la position privilégiée de ces festivals, dans le sens où ils ont encore un certain soutien de l'État et qu'ils sont dans une meilleure position que de nombreux festivals de petite portée, Mikser et EXIT sont deux grands noms sur notre scène culturelle qui, par la promotion du dialogue interculturel, encouragent la participation citoyenne et en soutenant les petits projets peuvent être considérés comme lieu de travail de la démocratie.

Si on revient au sujet du support de l'Etat à ce genre de festivals, d'abord on peut remarquer qu'il y a une question sur l'utilité et l'économisation de la culture et de nombreux projets sont pris en charge s'ils sont estimés profitables. C'est pourquoi l'attribution des fonds est devenue sur le niveau national aussi que sur le niveau de la ville une sorte de loterie et pour les

décideurs un fardeau, au lieu de comprendre la culture comme consolation dans la situation d'une crise économique et sociale qui a touché la plupart des pays.

La loi sur la culture qui est inapplicable, les plaintes concernant les décisions prises, les accusations publiques et des questions sur des promesses qui n'ont jamais été réalisées ne sont plus rares, mais représentent des obstacles que les employés en culture rencontrent chaque année. Cependant même si toute la scène culturelle est menacée, il semble que les festivals et d'autres projets à court terme sont les premiers à être touchés. Les budgets sont petits en général, mais les institutions sont les premières à être prises en charge

Plusieurs groupes minoritaires et vulnérables sont présents tout autour de nous et la culture est une façon de leur faire sentir acceptés et établir une connexion entre les gens. La première étape serait de faire des recherches sérieuses et de demander l'opinion des citoyens, essayer de comprendre leurs problèmes, préoccupations et besoins. Ensuite il faudrait faire une stratégie qui serait établie pour encourager des projets et des festivals avec l'influence positif sur la communauté, mais pas dans le sens du profit, mais comme un moyen de favoriser un sentiment d'appartenance et la création d'espace où les gens se sentent libres et acceptés.

## **Abstract**

The question of identity has not lost its actuality. It seems that the problem lies in two contradictory forces. On one side it looks that we came to the point of homogenization through the globalization of markets and media, and on the other side need for cultural rooting and regional specificity became more visible. Due to voluntary migration as a way of looking for better life conditions, moving for work as an increasingly common phenomenon in many regions of the world, forced displacement often related to violent coercion, and growing number of families with mixed ethnic backgrounds, blurring of identity became a part of our social and cultural reality.

As Zigmunt Bauman explains: “one thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs; that is, one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioral styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around would accept this placement as right and proper, so that both sides would know how to go on in each other’s presence.”

Here two Serbian festivals— Mixer and EXIT— will be analyzed as case studies to explore the following questions:

To what extent does local cultural policy recognize the role of festivals in shaping cultural citizenship?

To what extent does it support festivals as a means of urban regeneration and of improving the quality of life and sociability?

In this dissertation, I will argue that festival, as a kind of a safe zone, provide *worksites for democracy* (Ballibar) through which broader issues of cultural citizenship could be explored.

Keywords: Identity, cultural citizenship, democracy, festivals, city, cultural policy

# Chapter I

## 1. Introduction

Beside their celebratory dimension, festivals have a strong communal function, as occasions for communal participation and interaction. Therefore, beside cultural significance, they had a strong social mark.

There can be many different types of festivals and they can be determined by their:

- scope,
- goals,
- funding structures,
- duration,
- level of participation,
- and level of their accessibility to population.

Their influence can be subdivided too, but one of the most important and the most mentioned roles they have is to strengthen the sense of collective identity, social stability and solidarity. Otherwise, in case they include the competition, they can lead to some important artistic results, or can be a fertile ground for various experiments and innovation in arts. These manifestations create unique and inspiring atmosphere for the artists on one side, and the audience on the other side, especially the one that does not visit cultural events on regular basis. (Stojkovic, 2003, 162)

As Wolfgang Schneider suggested: “Festivals must take the greatest care not only with the programming, but also with creating open spaces for encounters, for conversations, and for exchange.” (Schneider, 2008-2009:29)

Following that idea, for understanding culture and acting within its borders in this paper culture will be examined with help of UNESCO’s general definition saying that: “Culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs.” (2002)

The notion of festivalization has been frequently used to describe the remarkable growth of various kinds of festivals ranging, from purely commercial and touristy, to some more artistically and socially demanding festival projects. The variety of these factors made them one of the policy makers favorite instruments to reshape or at least to partially change the cultural micro-climate of the places that host them.

It has also led to some ambitious projects during last few decades as organizations saw them as a quick intervention for bigger problems. That scenario was seen in Australia, where cultural industry became one of the main advantages and many young people were not able to pull out huge projects in which they have invested enormous amounts and instead of making big profit, they went bankrupt (Blueprint, Bam Festival 2010, etc.). In Barcelona there was another problem when the government wanted to use cultural potential for economic growth and finally the city was full of festivals, but among which many without any artistic quality and marked by drunk tourists and garbage. Inspired by the idea of profit in culture, some cities applied for European Capital of Culture and followed the examples of big projects that failed. These imposed complex demands and responsibility, ending in failure and showing that lack of systematic planning cannot be replaced by temporary (or quick-fix projects) solutions. Festivals can have remedial function, but only if they are supported by other initiatives and understood as a part of a bigger plan.

However the potential of festivals has often been underestimated and related exclusively to the studies on the impact they have on local economy, which caused the mass production of purely commercial and entertainment festival programs, especilly in cities.

Countries are no longer basic units of measurement of identity and fragmentation of that notion created a situation in which within one country cities represent themselves in completely different way and even act as independent units. Great concurrence between cities stimulated them to use different tactics in order to attract talented people, tourists, investors, manifestations and to sell their products. European cities, such as Paris, Amsterdam or Salzburg benefited using growing trend of city branding and creating an easily recognizable and attractive identity. (Bursac B, 2011)

Through the examples of festivals I will analyze bond between these two notions, and as Dragan Klaic has pointed out: “Culture could be approached as in integrating perspective in the analysis of cities and their prospects.” (Klaic, 2002)

If we put aside their financial aspect, we could look beyond the business and concentrate on the non-market benefits festivals could bring: “In areas shaken by political strife and protracted conflict, festivals acquire a consolidating, healing function; elsewhere they reinforce the self-confidence of an under-privileged community and celebrate its resourcefulness and newly found sense of purpose”. (Klaic, 2002)

Having in mind that we are living in multicultural societies in which the growing trend of migration has become a part of everyday life, it is not surprising that questions concerning equality, integration, racism, xenophobia, and reshaping the vision of citizenship take prominence. People from different backgrounds, ways of approaching tasks, and human interactions, live within the same community. Sometimes it can lead to miscommunication and misunderstanding, which represent a variety of challenges for any society.

In this context, the notion of cultural citizenship is especially interesting as it offers the possibility of alternative ways of belonging and as Gerrad Delanty (2007) emphasizes, it “needs to be tied more closely to discourses of recognition in order to empower people in their own self-understanding, sense of belonging and identity”.

In recent years question of identity turned out to be the topic almost everyone got interest in. It has been part of many articles, studies and debates (about national, ethnic, gender) and used in different contexts and for different purposes. Still, it is not a surprise. At the same time it was described as something unique and consistent that each individual possesses and something that we share with a social group of some kind and which is always “in process”. The nature of the notion, its ambivalence and not so clear concept were like an enigma that asked to be solved from the first time it appeared.

Current period of instability and presence of change as the main characteristic of contemporary society brought back this question on agenda. Modern life introduced globalozation, social mobility, work migration, pressure to be productive, and fragility in

personal relationship, which caused a sense of uncertainty and fragmentation at both level collective and individual. “Who one is” has become difficult to answer.

As mentioned above festivals are an important expression of public culture and frameworks within which various forms of cultural citizenship could be explored. This thesis focuses specifically on the proliferation of festivals in Serbia and the cultural policies, that Augustin Girard explains in his book *Cultural Development* as: “A system of ultimate aims, practical objectives and means pursued by a group and applied by an authority”, and on the fact that they often do not offer enough support to preserve the core concepts and values of these festivals.

Festivals and cultural policy in Serbia are observed from the perspective of the cultural citizenship and the chief aim is to determine whether or not the cultural policy in Serbia encourages the festivals that support development of cultural citizenship as a way of performing multiple modes of belonging and identity.

## 1.1. Methodology

In order to conduct acceptable and reliable research of this topic I will combine qualitative and quantitative methods in this paper.

Before going deep into analysis of specific cases it will be necessary to analyze the concept of cultural citizenship and understand the way it has been conceptualized. As it is my intention to explain its idea from different point of view I will use desk search and go through various recourses (online and off-line books, articles, and reports relevant for this topic) written by different authors, such as Anh Hua, Gerard Delanty, Janelle Reinelt, Renato Rosaldo, etc.

Renato Rosaldo has defined cultural citizenship in the following way:

“The term cultural citizenship is a deliberate oxymoron, a pair of words that do not go together comfortably. Cultural citizenship refers to the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense. It claims that, in a democracy, social justice calls for equity among all citizens, even when such differences as race, religion, class, gender, or sexual orientation potentially could be used to make certain people less equal or inferior to others. The notion of belonging means full membership in a group and the ability to influence one's destiny by having a significant voice in basic decisions.”

Considering the abstract nature of this concept and its general meaning it is essential to connect it to specific issues and particular contexts in order to get more relevant interpretation. In other words, festival context could be used as one of the frameworks within which we could explore how cultural citizenship has been performed and embodied. Hence, I have chosen to look at two Serbian festivals with different profiles, environments and social backgrounds:

- EXIT festival, Novi Sad
- Mikser Festival, Belgrade

The objective will be to perform a detailed and intensive analysis of both examples, including:

- festival history and the social context

- the concept of the festival
- its purpose
- influence on the local community
- and maybe the most important the role of cultural policy as a background for cultural citizenship.

The next step will be the comparative analysis of the collected information and drawing the conclusion about differences and similarities between them using:

The main hypothesis will answer negatively to question about state support to festivals that participate in development of cultural citizenship.

I will try to support the statement by making the following points:

- Festivals could serve as worksites of cultural citizenship and therefore a vital instrument for rethinking identity and difference
- Cultural policy in Serbia does not recognize the role festivals play as performances of cultural citizenship
- Cultural policy in Serbia does not include specific strategies related to sustainability of these festivals
- There are no studies that could show the importance of clearly defined festival concept and its evolution through time

Further on each of these points will be developed and linked to the specific case study.

In exploring and analyzing the above points, the thesis seeks to ask the following questions:

- Do festivals always perform some kind of cultural citizenship?
- How does cultural policy shape the notion of cultural citizenship within the framework of festivals?
- What kind of cultural citizenship cultural policies promote through festivals and who has been including and/or excluded?
- How can festivals motivate change both in people and place?

The reason for selecting EXIT and Mikser is at the first place their tradition and therefore the status they have among other Serbian festivals. Even so, it is widely known they had more than once issues with the financial dimension. Their experience will enable the research to

follow the story about their evolution, mainly when it is about the concept of cultural citizenship, crises they encountered, the support that they got or not, and the influence they had on the participants and the environment.

The fact that these festivals demonstrate different concepts will enable us to see different aspects of the relation between festivals as performances of cultural citizenship and cultural policy. The examples will involve different art disciplines and show how one idea, in this case the idea of identity and belonging, could be applied through different forms.

Location is another important factor because that is how the research will be able to cover two different cities—both of them famous Serbian cultural centres—different kind of communities, and in general different conditions of festival organization and performing.

Interviews, which I have conducted with people responsible for festival organization and management, will also be important resource for this study. Their opinion and their point of view are mostly appreciated when it comes to the concept of the festival, the initial idea, objectives that have been set before the festival has begun, and its evolvement.

The opinion of the inhabitants of the given cities will also be taken into account. These information will have a vital role in determining if the festivals have succeeded to modify the way residents see their neighbourhood and if they perceive the festival as a segment of their cultural citizenship. That is why I will conduct a survey by questionnaire in each city and try to use it in order to get the bigger picture about the festival significance.

Last but not least, I endeavor to explore this research as a means of propose concrete actions to policy-makers and the festival curators in order to set a new legal framework specialized for construction of cultural citizenship.

## Chapter II

### 2.1 The notion of cultural citizenship

Tightly related to the question of the identity, cultural citizenship is quite recent concept, but it has already managed to be very popular in cultural milieu.

Within the framework of human rights, the idea of understanding on the concepts of culture and diversity was highlighted after World War II, but the discussions about cultural rights started during 1970s. In this case the term “culture” is understood in broader sense and it represents one’s access to culture or the right to participate in cultural life. New focus on cultural practices as an important part of everyday life served as foundation of the idea of cultural citizenship and raised some new questions.

Citizenship represents the right to be different, to belong, and participate in democratic sense. In a democratic society, social justice means equity among all citizens, even if differences as race, religion, class gender, or sexual orientation could be used to make certain people less equal or inferior to others. (Rosaldo, 1994 : 402)

If one wants to understand why these two, at the first sight, inherent word were put together, one should start from the core word of the syntagma and look closer to the idea of citizenship, the main concept of democracy. Rights and obligations to society are preconditions for one to obtain first class citizenship. As Anh Hua notes political idea of participation that proclaims enfranchisement and equality has often been used to hide the intention to exclude or put aside certain social groups. For example, during one long period of time women had no right to express their opinion by voting and their right as citizens was jeopardized. The same group was affected when it comes to the obligations. Protection of homeland included arms and was reserved for men, which made women low rated citizens.

Aiming to describe what citizenship should consist of T.H. Marshall offered a three-part definition of citizenship that was widely accepted:

- civil,
- political,

- and social rights.

Civil rights gather all the elements important for individual freedom such as liberty of the person, right to justice, etc. The political element stands for right to participate in politics as a member of the political body or as an elector of the members of that body. Social rights give the opportunity to have economic welfare and security, to fully share social heritage, and the right to live life according to the standard in the society.

Nowadays there is a need to rethink and expand the concept of citizenship. It came with the global sense of unbelonging and breakdown of identity caused by global mobility and increase of multicultural national populations. Distance between communities spread on distance between individuals. “The other” has never been farther. Participation, the essential element of democracy, faded away.

Threatening to become a problem that could endanger the structure of modern societies and set modern system apart, this issue became one of the hot topics in the political sphere. Beside purely political initiatives that could be undertaken, Janelle Reinelt followed the Etienne Balibar’s idea of “worksite for democracy”, which is “gradual construction of a new historical hegemony, that is both new way of thinking, a new collective ‘common sense’, and interacts between multiple interventions stemming from both civil society and the public sphere” and proposed theater as one more worksite of democracy as a chance for theater to connect to politics and function as a kind of mediator.

According to this approach, concept of citizenship is not exclusively related to national identity or civic activity, but also to the creation of spaces of belonging and interaction with others. Culture is an important way to be visible for migrating communities, or as Homi K. Bhabha said during one panel on this subject “the voice of expression”. Often underrepresented and excluded from civic and political participation, in this way they could express themselves throughout cultural practices, as well as any other vulnerable group. Reinelt’s concept of cultural citizenship could be transferred to the festivals and that is the lens through which Mikser and EXIT festival will be observed.

## **2.2. Do festivals always perform some kind of cultural citizenship?**

Before focusing on concrete examples, the term of cultural citizenship will be reviewed as a part of festival in general in order to see if only some kind of festivals promote this idea or it is always present, even if it is not in the foreground.

If we understand the term of cultural citizenship through the idea of “structures of belonging” we could say it is present in all festivals. Some examples, like food festivals in multicultural communities, various film or dance festivals, i.e. Ottawa’s Lebanese festival, put this issue on the first place. These festivals are organized in order to bring closer culture of minorities to the community they live in, encourage their integration in the society, and make them feel as first-class citizens. Due to intensified migration many countries have identified need to make this sort of events where minority groups present their tradition, customs, and in that way participate in every day life of the community.

The number of this kind of festivals is growing and it seems that people from the neighborhood are starting to recognize them as an integral part of their environment. The example that these festivals give is valuable because integration may be a good way in future to avoid ghettoisation of different population and prevent dissatisfaction that can culminate into violence. Implementation of various policies and measures would be the first and the most important step, in order to analyze the problem and to understand its seriousness. Festivals would appear as a part of cultural support program.

Beside the cases that are primarily dedicated to this issue, where the curators organize the activities in order to accomplish this mission, if we take a closer look to any festival, we could find a part of this idea in each of them.

Nonetheless, the general concept of belonging is not applied to each festival in the same way. If we take the example of EXIT festival, it is related to young and urban population from different parts of the world that is attracted by many different musical styles. Sense of belonging is also expressed through the idea of State of EXIT that promotes tolerance and progressive way of thinking. In fact the latter idea was initial intention of the organizers.

The Guca trumpet festival, also known as the Dragacevo Assembly, personifies, on the other side, another kind of cultural citizenship. The first edition was organized in 1961 as modest Festival of Village Trumpeters of Serbia, but since then it has grown and turned into a mainstream event. It is still concentrated on the idea of national identity even though many other meanings are introduced and misused. Visitors are supposed to gather in order to enjoy in ethno music and dance, sounds of trumpets, and traditional dishes, but it appears that commercialization and desire for profit made alcohol, roast meat, belly dancers, and nationalistic symbols main attractions.

Nisville Jazz Festival is an international festival that brings together jazz lovers. It combines music from the Balkans and all types of jazz, but it is above all dedicated to one music genre, the one that is far away from populist culture, short-term and commercial trends. It connects audience in a sense that they share same and exclusive taste in music and appreciate quality.

The examples mentioned above are all well attended Serbian festivals and each of them, although based on concepts that are not directly oriented toward cultural citizenship, aims to create sense of fellowship. In some cases festivals keep the idea they made startup with and assemble the same kind of audience, but most of them gradually alter and invite new kind of public.

EXIT festival emerged from social movements and started as a narrow, regional, home, national manifestation. It was designed for local population in order to encourage democratic changes. People were encouraged to be more than audience, actors of change and participants. It created a strong connection among them and makes them feel as a part of like-minded group.

First few years after official beginning of the festival in 2001 EXIT was mainly visited by people from Serbia and countries in the vicinity who finally had an opportunity to experience that kind of a music festival. Its international function was to introduce popular music streams, performers, and contemporary music production to the young. (Zolt, 2005) It was their window to the world.

Stimulated by marketing and promotion of the festival, the number of foreign visitors started to increase, but it also meant modification of the structure of the program and,

simultaneously, its audience. Inviting big music names, billboards of the sponsors, and placing social engagement into background started to attract greater number of people, but the profile was not the same. Music and entertainment, followed by tolerant environment, became main reasons for coming to the festival and common motives of the visitors. The concept of cultural citizenship has not been lost, but it was modified.

If we take the example of the Guca, we can also notice an evolvement through the time. It started as a traditional trumpet festival, exclusively dedicated to the promotion of national music and its long tradition made it one of the most important festivals of this kind. Lately different stakeholders are trying to exploit its potential: politicians are trying to use festival's reputation in order to get public support, companies are trying to sell as much as possible of their products without carrying if it corresponds to the concept of the festival, festival organizers want to attract foreign visitors and make the festival more international by introducing more musical genres... Commercialization and pursuit of different interests made the Guca trumpet festival almost unrecognizable.

Apparently cultural citizenship is a concept that could be understood and examined in many levels, but it is also an evolving notion that sometimes develops in a way that was not planned by the curators. Due to different circumstances and modifications, festivals can promote a sense of belonging that is different from what they have come up with at the beginning. Choosing a program, promoting specific values and indirectly passing certain messages create an atmosphere that is preferred by one group of people, the one that can identify with the ideas offered by organizers. If these ideas disappear or change, there is a possibility that the audience will respond too and that the old one will be replaced by new one. Still, even if it is modified, cultural citizenship is inseparable part of each festival.

### **2.3. State Cultural policy**

In our country there is still a strong belief that culture is in a great part responsibility of the state, which is considered to be a key actor when it comes to making decisions and creating cultural policy. There is general impression that it goes beyond public reach and this opinion is in most cases accompanied by top-down decision making. With the state at the top of the pyramid, it is not surprising to find out that national and cultural identities are still tightly connected. In other words it means that culture represents base of national identity created by the state, which leads to the conclusion that it is up to public authorities to finance and protect cultural production.

Culture in Serbia has been stagnating for a certain period of time. On one side, each year only small part of the budget, in 2013 only 0.62% goes to culture, which is even less than the amount obtained in 2012. That kind of carelessness points out to what extent it has been marginalized. On the other side, existing funds are often allocated with delay or certain changes, and without clear criteria and transparency. It seemed that in those cases favoritism and monopolistic attitude were only logic explanation. Numerous changes of government in the last decade, globalization, and distorted sense of values facilitated expansion of popular culture, suited to the tastes of the general masses of people. It was not rare to see that politicians took advantage of the situation and financed various low quality programs in order to gain public support. Moreover, it is only recently, in 2009, when the Law on Culture came into force, that the use of strategic planning at all levels was encouraged and it is not surprising to see that there is still no clear culture policy or cultural development strategy that could lead to stability and enable long term projects. All together it creates an atmosphere of uncertainty and distrust.

Under these conditions it is hard to carry out any bigger project and specially to think about its sustainability. EXIT, European Film Festival Palic, Bitef, and Nisville Jazz festival are just some of the examples whose realization has been jeopardized more than once although they have already confirmed their importance on Serbian, but also international cultural scene. Due to reduced funding these festivals were particularly in focus this year. Only few weeks before these festivals were scheduled it was still not certain if they would be held or not.

First time after 15 years Ministry of Culture and Information announced it would not provide any financial assistance to Nisville. It provoked a firestorm of reaction. After many public debates, discussions, open disagreement, online petition, and under great pressure Ministry adjusted its decision and promised three million dinars, which was still less than expected 10 million, and not enough to realize previously conceived plan. Finally the festival was organized, but with revised festival schedule because they had to reduce number of performers and give up on some big names of the international jazz scene.

After struggling with financial problems for several years, one of the most important film festivals in the region, Palic film festival, this year was seriously endangered. Only a month before the festival, the state announced the festival would get only 1.3 million dinars, amount 8 times smaller than previous year. Director of the festival, Radoslav Zelenovic, reminded that in that way the state violate Protocol on co-financing, signed 8 years ago with Ministry of the Province, the city of Subotica and the Open University.

Bitef festival, founded in 1967, and one of the biggest and the most important European theater festivals, faced with similar problem. Previous years Bitef had financial support from the City Assembly of Belgrade (approximately 50 percent), the Serbian Ministry of Culture (approximately 20 percent), embassies and foreign cultural centers, as well as donors and sponsors, but this year its state budget was reduced to thirty million dinars. In an interview festival organizers confirmed that the festival would not be cancelled, but the list of the troupes would be changed according to the financial resources.

The case of EXIT festival is even more complicated. The first official festival edition was generously supported by different levels of government. Presence of many politicians during the opening indicated the intention to use the festival in order to promote and become more popular. Following years the situation changed and cuts were severe. EXIT organizers repeated in the interviews every year that it would be impossible to maintain such a massive event without state support because they would have to increase ticket prices in order to cover all the costs. Comparing to other world festivals, e.g. Sziget music festival where the ticket price in 2013 was € 229, EXIT was relatively cheap with final five-day price of 11990 dinars. Having in mind economic capacity of citizens in Serbia and region they explained that raising of price was not a possible solution. After a period of a lack of confidence in organization's leadership team the festival obtained 32 million dinars from the state in 2012, and promise

that further on it would regularly get 40 million each year. Nevertheless a month before the festival, the agreement was not fulfilled. Eventually EXIT survived one more year, but it became clear that after 13 years of existing and huge profits that the state realizes each year thanks to EXIT, there is no clear strategy for this festival.

More interesting than lack of financial support is this ambiguous and variable position of the state. It shows that it does not assess the quality of the festival, its wider meaning or influence it could have on the community, but only focuses on possible benefits: either related to profit from tourism, which is in the case of EXIT, according to some estimates around 15 million dinars per festival, or positive public image. This undefined relationship leads to the conclusion that there is a need to construct a system that will be stable and functional. After the affair in 2004 and the move towards commercialization, the state could have decided not to support EXIT any more and explain it by the change of its concept. Instead of that, it was sending mixed signals and confirmed that it prefers to respond to the will of the majority and not to follow the already prepared plan.

Since its foundation Mikser team chose different strategy. In 2009 ERSTE bank was the main sponsor of the festival and the trend to animate private sector and companies to finance a great part of the festival program continued in following years. In 2010 City Secretariat and the Republic Ministry of Environment allocated a total of € 30,000 to support the festival and, together with € 6,000 from Secretariat for Culture, the share of state budget was raised to approximately 20 percent. Ministry of culture has not support the festival and it held the position in the future. It financed some small-range projects, such as the exhibition project “Kustosiranje-Experience in Motion” in 2012, but it is city that recognized the importance of this manifestation and regularly supported it.

Comparison of these festivals gives us a chance to catch the pattern in the state behavior. It shows that EXIT and Mikser festival are not isolated examples and that selecting projects is a general problem. Decisions regarding the allocation are changing from year to year without having serious research or arguments (one of the situations is when Nisville was described as “a festival without clear musical conception”). Most of the existing surveys are conducted by the organizers of the festivals (more information is found only for EXIT festival) in order to estimate success of the programming, which means that the state, even if financing a project is not familiar enough with the way funds were spent. The influence these festivals have on

Serbian cultural scene is mentioned rarely and when talking about their tradition, the term “important” is used in a blurred and too vague sense. In most cases decision-makers are not aware of quality of program they evaluate or the impact the festival have on the audience, their cultural habits or needs.

## **Chapter III**

### **3.1. City cultural policy Novi Sad**

Following the story about unsatisfactory state in culture, we arrive to the point where we can see that the state is trying to retreat from culture and leave it to the local authorities. In order to understand local cultural policy and its implementation, especially in the case of the two chosen examples, I have contacted Secretariat for Culture of Belgrade and Novi Sad. The interview with Katarina Zivkovic, Secretary for Culture, is done by e-mail in a question and answer form as well as the interview with the authorities from Novi Sad, but in the other case Secretary for culture hasn't managed to respond and the answers I have received are written by other employees from the cultural sector.

In the case of Novi Sad source of information was reduced and it was not possible to make detailed comparison as with the situation in Belgrade. The interview started with the question about strategy, objectives, priorities, and principles of Novi Sad in terms of culture.

Cultural Strategy of the City of Novi Sad is currently being prepared and one of the goals is development of creative industries that may be economic engine of the city, perhaps even more important than cultural tourism which will also be supported. When it comes to festivals, cultural sector needs to create a plan in order to develop strategies, but before that it will conduct research that will help to see which festival City is going to support and to what extent. On the other hand, the preservation of cultural heritage is also very important.

Focusing on EXIT festival we moved to the reasons why the City of Novi Sad supported the festival and which values were seen as important for city cultural life. In that sense EXIT is observed as one of the biggest music festival in South Eastern Europe, founded and taking place in Novi Sad, but its importance is so great that it goes beyond the boundaries of Novi

Sad and it belongs to the whole country. Apart from gathering the biggest names in the modern music scene, EXIT has a mission to spread a positive image of Serbia and the city of Novi Sad.

City of Novi Sad supported financially and logistically EXIT Festival since its foundation:

- In 2009 Association "EXIT" received 50,000,000.00 dinars for the project "EXIT 2009" from the City of Novi Sad
- In 2010 Association "EXIT" received 20,000,000.00 dinars for the project "EXIT 2010" from the City of Novi Sad
- In 2011 Association "EXIT" received 20,000,000.00 dinars for the project "EXIT 2011" from the City of Novi Sad
- In 2012 Foundation, "The State of Exit" received 25,000,000.00 dinars for the project "EXIT" from the City of Novi Sad
- In 2013 Foundation, "The State of Exit", received 25,000,000.00 dinars for project "EXIT" from the City of Novi Sad

Presented figures illustrate only a small part of the City budget for culture, so one of the questions concerned the rest of the funds dedicated to culture. As in the case of Belgrade, it still can be seen that more than a half goes to the institutions founded by the City, which again shows that another common issue is the fact that public institutions are well protected even if among them there are those that make no effort to improve their cultural offer, diversify it, collaborate with other sectors, or modernize without clear instructions of the authorities. That attitude prevents realization of some creative projects and prolongs the agony of inert cultural institutions. In some culturally develop parts of the continent, it has been already accepted that many cultural activities happen outside the institutions and that can they even have more impact.

Unfortunately, there was no reply to the question about the role of EXIT festival in promoting unity and tolerance in a multi-ethnic environment such as Novi Sad. This year festival edition was marked among other by signing the Protocol on Cooperation between Novi Sad and EXIT festival. I have tried to see what it means for the city, what is the vision of this collaboration and if the city sees that as the sign mean that EXIT is ready to start serious cooperation with cultural institutions in the area. The explanation was that the agreement

implies that the City of Novi Sad will support this year's music festival on the Petrovaradin fortress and allocate significant financial resources and assist in the preparation of the festival, but collaboration is also expected from the other side. It is seen as a sign that both side work on the same mission, and that the role of the festival is to push the boundaries each year and widen its social significance.

Cultural identity and cultural belonging as a part of the city cultural policy are mainly connected to the idea of preservation of cultural heritage and the goal is to support the projects related to this task, as well as projects that encourage the idea of Novi Sad as representative of the European Culture 2020, which City also sees as a way of promoting city identity.

Next subject was about triangle between festival, local government, and state and their relationship. The goal was to see another point of view about relevance of each factor in the triangle and how their cooperation influence local community. Is it necessary to have state support? Can this lack of cooperation slow down development of local community?

Cooperation with local government cultural organizations is important, however, the opinion of the employees in Secretariat is that it is necessary to include these organizations in creative clusters and work on strengthening and ensuring sustainability of their projects. State support is also critical to the successful implementation of individual projects and for the development of local governments.

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In more general sense, it appears that circumstances in domain of culture are not suitable for the most institutions and organizations. There are many complaints from other organizations and cultural workers. Lack of planning and distribution of tax money seem to be the main issues. During the debate called “Potemkinov Novi Sad” culture professionals spoke up about lack of the development of local artistic production due to constant support to the events that actually belong to the domain of entertainment and tourism. It was mentioned that political parties use the potential of group celebration and entertainment as a way of promotion and then explain it as a part of culture, which it is not. EXIT was one of the given examples. They accused the ruling structures of not rationally using tax money because they support EXIT, which has commercial capacity and self-financing structure, and don't invest in artistic

production that struggles to survive. They underlined that organizations related to EXIT became cultural monopolists in the city while nonprofit art production is being neglected.

### **3.2. Novi Sad: Festival location**

Each festival is strongly connected to the area where it takes place and because of that the analysis of EXIT's complex impact on the environment will start with its location.

Novi Sad is the second largest city in Serbia, the administrative seat of the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina, and the administrative center of the South Backa District. It exists for a little bit over 300 years, but its role has always been strongly related to culture. Since its foundation Novi Sad was populated by different cultures. At the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century it was founded by Serbs and Germans, Jews, Hungarians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks and Armanians, and it still famous for its rich cultural diversity.

According to 2011 census data and reports, the urban area of Novi Sad has a population of 307760 inhabitants and if we observe its ethnic structures, beside Serbs who form a majority, and those who refused to declare themselves, there is a significant number of Hungarians (12637), Slovaks (6393), Croats (3781), Roma (3576), Montenegrinians (3186), Ruthenians (1952), and Macedonians (1015), as well as other minority groups.

During the Austrian rule in the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was centre of Serbian culture, political, and social life. Thanks to its prestige and reputation from that period Novi Sad got the nickname Serbian Athens. Due to wars and many economical and political concerns the development was stopped and remaining institutions stayed to witness about "golden era" of Novi Sad.

Becoming the capital of the country, Belgrade entered in the period of rapid progress and took over the role of the capital of culture. However, Novi Sad kept its cultural profile. It still hosts many various international and domestic events, as well as museums, galleries, libraries and theaters.

As culture has gone through many changes, impressive building complexes lost some of their importance. In other words new edifice does not guarantee numerous audiences and a new image of the city. Culture was relocated and huge halls were replaced by public space and moving to a project oriented culture introduced some new requirements and adjustments.

In order to build an identity that will be recognized a city should pay attention to cultural heritage, diffusion of culture, role of the artist, cultural animation and spiritual life.

Government tried to change the image of the city and make it more attractive by organizing various cultural manifestations and music concerts. Improvement was visible, but without great influence. The projects were attractive for limited number of audience or had no strong international potential. At least not until the arrival of EXIT festival.

If we go back to the foundation of the festival, from that year (summer 2000), the number of tourists started to grow, which was remarkable sign, not only for the city of Novi Sad, but for the entire Serbia.

### **3.2.1. Social context**

The last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has brought many economic, political, and social problems to Serbia. Long isolation of the country caused by instable political situation, civil war after breakup of SFRJ, the implementation of the United Nations' economic sanctions, and then NATO bombing in 1999 separated Serbia from the rest of the world and held back its cultural development. Every kind of interaction with the other countries was severely limited. During that period it was impossible to invite foreign experts and artists in cultural field, share with them ideas and innovations, and see things from other perspective. There were some local projects and initiatives, organized in order to present another image of the country and to express critical attitude toward current acts, but they were not big enough to get media attention, that was mostly controlled by the government. Lack of communication created the atmosphere of isolation, which was partially compensated thanks to the Internet that was introduced in the country in 1996. Still, it was accessible only for academic institutions and for small number of people who could afford themselves computers. At that time, the country was far away from being an information society and the exit from that situation had to be found somewhere else.

### **3.2.2. Foundation of the festival**

Organization of EXIT festival marked one step forward. The first festival edition had completely different form from today's. "Noise Summer Fest 2000", better known as EXIT 00 was organized through the Students' Union of the Faculty of Technical Sciences and the University of Novi Sad in summer 2000. The main idea was connected to various protest events of youth organized in previous few years to express their discontent over Milosevic's regime, war, and policy based on hatred dissipated all over the country. The most famous were held in 1999, when more than 15000 people were involved during concerts named "Sakom u glavu" (Fist in the head), and "Mainstream party" afterwards. These student protests were a kind of introduction to a massive gathering that culminated in the shape of EXIT festival. It lasted for about 100 days and it was placed between University of Novi Sad's Faculty of Philosophy building and the Danube's left bank.

Due to fear of regime reactions and arrests that were planned, its activism was hidden and shown in an indirect way, but the festival's connections with Otpor! and other forces that were against the regime were clear. Using the phrase "Izadji na crtu" (Come out) young people were encouraged to participate in political life and the message was clear: You can and should have an opinion, your voice does matter and you can make changes.

It is important to notice that lack of interest of young generations, their apathy, lack of hope and image of the future, and assurance that no one wanted to hear their opinions were a part of the atmosphere that lasted for a long time. They were just "sleepy" observers and this event was their chance to reunite around the same idea, go active, and feel as a part of society.

The multimedia program was designed to include concerts, parties, theatre pieces, movie projections, public discussions, artistic performances, and all of that free of charge. The audience was encouraged to participate. Using the music as a tool for spreading the ideas to young generations, the main organizers, Bojan Boskovic, Dusan Kovacevic, and Ivan Milivojevic, successfully connected activism and culture. The first edition lasted until two days before elections that were held on Septembar 24<sup>th</sup>. The last concert carried the message

“Gotov je” (He’s over) in order to announce the end of Milosevic’s regime. Assumptions were true and his convincing defeat marked the beginning of a new cycle.

Keeping in mind the initial idea and its wider political background, this organization made a long way from three months of activism in order to support democratic opposition and make people vote, to four days festival and commercial program with famous participants.

### **3.2.3. How has the festival evolved?**

Already in 2011 big turnover happened. After dilemmas should the festival continue or not and final positive answer, the head of ambitious EXIT team got the approval from the city of Novi Sad to relocate the festival. From that year EXIT takes place on Petrovaradin Fortress, recognizable historical and cultural symbol of Novi Sad, placed on the right bank of the Danube river. It dates back to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the Austrians built it, but research showed that on that place some settlements existed already in the Paleolithic period. Presence of different peoples during last centuries, important events and dates related to the fortress, gave Petrovaradin added value and made it one of the identity identifier for citizens of Novi Sad.

Having in mind its political background and persistence in fighting against former ruling regime, choosing Petrovaradin fortress as a new location strengthened connection that festival already had made with local population. The idea of a festival that belonged to people has been created, but it seemed that the development plans were heading towards some other goals.

In 2001, besides relocation, the whole concept started to move towards more commercial idea and cultural and entertainment projects. Duration of the festival was reduced to nine days, tickets were introduced and quality of musical program got into focus. The most surprising detail was that the organization that wanted to gather people without state involvement and to promote civic engagement was financially supported from various state institutions. As a way of celebration democratic changes, some politicians even openly expressed their support on the stage.

While story about war and intolerance between former Yugoslavian republics still were up-to-date organizers invited Croatian bands to participate and their performances attracted a lot of attention within the borders of Serbia, but also in other parts of former SFRJ. The first foreign visitors were coming from Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia. Tolerance and willingness to overcome the past, which was clearly defined by the official message of the festival “Serbia are you ready for the future”, were still core values of the event. Following years showed that the number of audience outside Serbia significantly increased, but it was also easy to notice that mainstream names from the world of music as well as putting aside initial political inspiration were good stimulus for foreigners to visit the festival. Some of the countries that were first to hear about EXIT were Hungary, Austria, Greece, the UK, Scandinavia, Canada.

Along with its international popularity, controversy and doubts about the organizers’ motives and intentions were growing. Profit and power became part of questions that people started to ask during preparations of future editions.

The assassination of prime minister in 2003 was a hard attack on Serbian stability and EXIT reacted to the situation by organizing State of EXIT, environment that condemns hatred and violence and promotes tolerance, friendship, and peace among people. In order to make the atmosphere more dynamic, the organization decided to establish a four-day program and cut out one part of non music activities. Slowly EXIT was growing into a world-class musical event, but at the same time unofficially it started losing its original image.

EXIT suffered the most in 2004 when it was not sure if the festival would happen or not. It was related to arrests of two main organizers Dusan Kovacevic (general director of EXIT association) and Bojan Boskovic (EXIT General Manager) shortly before the festival. They were accused of financial fraud, but they were soon released due to lack of evidence. This complicated situation caused different reactions. On one side, credibility of EXIT was threatened, which was dangerous for this kind of festival because it was strongly connected to its political and social engagement and fight for freedom, and on the other side this event provoked revolt. Soon Novi Sad was covered by “I won’t give EXIT away” graffiti showing that one part of population thought this action was a kind of political persecution, and that they would not let the history repeat. Even though the festival was held, and the situation

calmed down, financing, political pressure, control, and power became the words that evoke strong and opposite reactions.

That opinion was strongly emphasized after 2007 festival edition when the plan to dedicate a minute of silence to victims of Srebrenica massacre that happened 10 years before failed. When it became clear that this could provoke riots, they come up with the idea to play the song “I Saved the World Today” by Annie Lennox and in that way show respect to all victims, but again it was cancelled. Political pressure, police warning, and open disagreement of a group of Serbian visitors were the reasons that the organizers gave in order to explain this course of events. Even though it was understandable to put security first, it seemed that their credibility was seriously shaken as well as assurance about their independence.

In the coming years EXIT found its place among the most famous world music festivals and won the UK Festival Award for Best European Festival in 2008, but while it was still presenting a different cultural model than wide accepted low quality creations that have been nursed for more than a decade throughout media, the economic and marketing point of view blurred its unique concept. Its weight was mostly present in organization management.

EXIT was recognized as one the biggest music festivals in South Eastern Europe with more than 150 000 visitors per year. Great influence was marked by BBC Radio 1 that broadcasted the festival live in 2005, and MTV the next year. The festival also got positive reviews in British press and was recommended as an event that should not be missed.

This kind of music festivals was not a new phenomenon in other European countries. Glastonbury Festival in the UK, Sziget Festival in Hungary, Gurten in Switzerland, and Benicàssim in Spain would be just some of the examples, but their long presence at the music scene is just one more reason to notice that Serbian culture needed to experience a world-class musical event. From that point of view, presence of foreign audience was a confirmation that EXIT team has succeeded in creating a different image about Serbia. The most frequently mentioned reasons attractive for foreign visitors are:

- location,
- hospitality of locals,
- affordable prices,

- program.

Gathering people from different cultural backgrounds, presenting various music genres, bringing foreign performers, organizing a high-end event, etc. all of these were the challenges for a country that had a bad image and was famous for violence past and lack of tolerance. Knowing that the performers had no security problems and that such a demanding event could be held in Serbia without greater problems was a turnover that was almost impossible to imagine just a few years ago.

Its public engagement and great influence at the same time showed that already existing places, and especially those that are crucial for city history (in this case Petrovaradin fortress), can be used to ameliorate the image of the city, reshape its identity and to draw attention to historical city sights.

“Can city branding create in the mind of people who encounter the city the feeling (or even illusion) that they are dealing with an entity, with one thing, with which they could have relationship?”

In theory, and also in practice, the answer is yes, as long as the values that are developed as the core of the brand are bound together with a vision which gives them meaning, impetus and direction (De Chernatony and Dall’ Olmo Riley 1998)”

Influence of the festival and its contribution to creation a richer cultural life confirmed this theory. Great numbers of tourists are going to Novi Sad because of the cultural manifestations and it is still one of the rare examples in Serbia.

### **3.2.4. EXIT festival and cultural citizenship**

EXIT festival is based on the idea of democracy, multiculturalism, and tolerance and identity is one of the terms the festival is often related to. As a festival it is closest to the young people, which is a sign that this kind of festivals has the greatest opportunities to send messages that youth will accept. They have possibility to reshape their opinion and attitude and create base for new generations that will have different values. Its potential is vast, but

until now what we can see is that at some point it has lost the direction and that, instead of developing social aspect, it has reduced it comparing to the activities from the beginning of the festival. However, its role can not be ignore, neither its influence.

EXIT team presented a document in which it described the EXIT brand as a social phenomenon and an agent of change. The document explains their development strategy and what the festival should become in the next 5-10 years. EXIT is described as an organization, a movement, and a festival. All together it is conceived as an idea that would stand up against strengthening nationalistic agendas and that would promote changes of the values through activities in all major fields of social, cultural, scientific and political life. It is only a strategy and a vision that needs to be realized and supported by different factors, but this would mean linking all the creative parts of society (prominent artists, scientists, athletes) in a creative network and that positive energy would be directed to work toward the change of nation's mentality.

Having in mind that in modern time festivals are everywhere and that almost every larger village organizes its own, there is a constant tendency to grow and to beet the competition. That is one of the reasons why it is not surprising to see EXIT turning to capital starting already very early. In 2004 the structure of audience changed and there was an increase of foreigner visitors, which is done by alteration of music program and decrease of the number of local bands, together with good marketing and international promotion. The festival has gone through big changes starting from the composition of the team, departure of general director Bojan Boskovic, as well as a change of concept. We can not ignore that it has been evolving toward becoming a private company, however so far it has done a lot of positive things. It was one of the first festivals in the region to promote freedom of speech in an individual sense, without referring to collective and state interest, which was at the time of Milosevic regime seen as something strongly negative.

Audience research that was carried out 2002-2004 confirmed a wider social character of EXIT since young members of various religious communities perceived it as a tolerant gathering that enables communication and direct contacts between members of various religions. (Zolt, 2005)

### **3.3.5. Intercultural context**

It is particularly important to speak up about intercultural communication as a process of cultural exchange between various communities. In a case of EXIT festival it has started with neighboring communities, which was a brave move at that time, especially because, as Teofil Pancic noticed during public debate Petrovaradin Tribe, xenophobia was the core of the “Milosevic era” and its remains have still been present. It was not popular to propose an idea that would mean a sort of reconnection of violently separated sides. After the war local bands were criticized when they performed outside the borders of the country. EXIT was the first bigger project that opened the country after a long period of isolation and just few years after its foundation it became normal to have visitors from former Yugoslav republics, and even from other continents. From the start EXIT included bands from other parts of former Yugoslavia into the program and showed that interculturalism was one of the values that the festival promotes. Thanks to this kind of thinking many connections are also made on a business plan through the cooperation on cultural projects. Once again culture was faster than politics in rebuilding the destroyed bridges.

In the era of Internet and reduced live communication EXIT gives the opportunity to young people to make direct contacts, exchange their opinions, habits and cultures, which are especially important for younger generations, those that were born after the war and have no clear idea about that period. The information they can get from media are often shaped in the form that is suitable for ruling regime. Interactions with people who have gone through the same situation within positive atmosphere of a festival could help reducing tensions and negative image created by older generations. EXIT is a kind of symbol that exists in reminds of the past, but that creates future in the relationship between nations by enabling free communication. That is why activities of the festival should be at the first place dedicated to young generations from the region.

Another information flow can be seen between domestic and foreign visitors. Foreign in a sense of people who are out of the Southeast Europe and who are in that way much further than the people from the former Yugoslav republics. Intensive propaganda and lack of reaction have created a negative image of Serbia all over the world and on one side having a cultural event that is a worldwide known positive example of a good festival can help upgrade the image that people from Serbia have about themselves and the situation in the state. It puts

them in at the same level with the best music festivals and gives certain credibility. On the other side it breaks the prejudices that foreign visitors had before coming to the festival and offers another story that has nothing to do with the wars and violence.

### **3.2.6. State of EXIT**

A form of cultural citizenship visible in the concept of EXIT festival is the creation of the State of EXIT. In a symbolic way participants and audience together create a special atmosphere, occupy the same space, and share similar ideas, which form a sort of temporary state that exists during the festival. Additional characteristic that is similar to the concept of a state is that EXIT has its own currency. The old system was marked by tokens, which was the only recognized currency. This year new payment method is introduced and the tokens were replaced by cards. When entering the festival, there are no more dinars or Euros, the state has its own rules. Those who are against festival, they are out of the state and they are “ennemies”. Within the state and during the festival visitors take another identity and thanks to social characteristic they feel that they have done something, more than just being present at the festival. Political side is tied to the festival and the audience can’t miss it. As a citizen of the State of EXIT, they have chosen to be a part of free territory, that differs from nationalistic or conservative groups who stay outside.

### **3.2.7. Marginalization of social groups**

Among minorities and sensitive groups that are often faced with social exclusion and poor media presence, LGBT community is one that is almost invisible in our country. Period when their role in the society becomes one of the main topics is the time when the state makes the decision if there are conditions to organize Pride march or not. At that time there is an impression that the state has decided to react and to take some actions to improve their status gives only short-term benefits. LGBT persons usually encounter difficulties to realize their rights and the members are often faced with prejudices and rejection. They are often seen as someone who is different, which sometimes cause mistrust or it can even lead to a conflict or violence. EXIT festival has been supporting everyone’s right to be different from its foundation and it has been collaborating with LGBT activists since 2009. In 2011 the organizers went one step further and set a stage “Loud & Queer Cruising Point”, where visitors could learn more about gay and lesbian subculture and community. This was step

further in dealing with acceptance of the LGBT community members and bringing them back into the arms of society. It has shown that it is a place with different criteria, other way of communication, understanding of other, presentation yourself, and in that way it is a free territory and a state of freedom.

### **3.2.8. Who is excluded?**

Even though the organizers claim that the festival is created for all young people with progressive ideas, and survey participants went even further saying that the festival is dedicated to all people, there is an impression that urban public is the real target group. People who visit the festival maybe have no same musical taste, but they belong to certain subculture which is present at the festival or they are familiar with it. Rural audience does not fit in the atmosphere of the festival and it seems that they are part of non-audience because they can not develop sense of belonging and become part of “EXIT state”. In that sense EXIT is state with democratic ideas, where everyone can enter, but there is a part of young population that is excluded.

Elder people often experience disadvantages in many areas of life. They are generally left out from most cultural events and there is only a small number of participatory art programs. Even though it is possible to meet few older visitors during the festival, there is no initiative or a plan to include this part of citizens into potential audience. EXIT is promoted as a festival for youth, and among those who participated in the survey and who have already visited first few festival editions, most of them declared that it is no more for them.

As well as older people, children are directed to other cultural events and festivals and one of them is Baby EXIT, a festival that attracts children of all ages.

## **3.3. EXIT festival through the eyes of the organizers**

The purpose of the interview with the organizers was to see in which way they observe and understand the role of the festival, its evolution and interaction with the world outside the “state” they created. From the interview with Dusan Kovacevic, general director of the festival, and the document that EXIT organization shared with the public, we can conclude

that there is a need to reassess the festival and to set new vision that will be unique for all team members and lead them in the same direction.

In the document team presented their vision, the image about EXIT as a sort of festival of creativity, which will bring together and promote the best of national and international cultural and creative scene, and not just a music festival. When asked about the collaboration of the festival and cultural institutions in the region, Kovacevic supported that idea by explaining this year festival edition and the name Revolution, a kind of transformation, progress and improvement that EXIT should go through in next few years.

When talking about state support and the understanding of the influence EXIT has on the cultural life of the city, Kovacevic mentioned that there are some kind of support, but when it comes to the of the benefits that EXIT brings to Serbia he noticed that the state has no clear position. The festival is a specific product that hardly could survive alone in the Serbian economy. The ticket price for similar events in the world is about €200, while the domestic market can not submit more than €50 per ticket. The situation is similar with the sponsors of the world know festivals that have about 10-20 times larger budgets. Therefore, that is mutual benefit. If Serbia wants that to have income measured by millions, and positive reviews from world's media about our country, there must be a long-term plan for public-private partnership between the state and festivals.

Location of the festival was frequently discussed subject and there were many remarks about damaging Petrovaradin fortress during the festival. This year income from the tickets for the first day of the festival was planned to be used for the reconstruction of the fortress and the intention was to see the organization point of view and meaning of this act.

Petrovaradin Fortress is a special feature of EXIT. Thanks to it, EXIT has the most original location comparing to other European festivals. Therefore, it is natural that EXIT team wants to help it sustain. Otherwise, the fortress itself was made for the army with heavy equipment, so the objection that EXIT is damaging the fortress with music equipment is not valid. Kovacevic went one step further saying that thanks to the EXIT festival, the public in Novi Sad understood what a historical and cultural treasure it has. At the same time when EXIT was launched the restoration of many areas of the fort started, and EXIT was for sure key factor in its “revival” and international promotion.

Regarding the initial idea of creating a festival and the vision that its founders had about the changes it could bring, Kovacevic said that their aim was to motivate young people of Novi Sad and Serbia to become active in social processes. After democratic change of 5th of October the question about future of the festival emerged. As his own vision, Kovacevic mentioned he thought to at least symbolically try to make up for “lost decade” for young people, both in Serbia and in the region through a big international music festival.

Description of core values and themes that EXIT promotes started with cultural role that marked the first edition of the festival. Those generations could not afford to travel the world, but EXIT brought the world. Also, EXIT is the first event in the former Yugoslavia, which is still 2001, brought together young people from Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia, countries that were until recently in a war.

Since then EXIT promotes progressive ideas and positive social values, and points to the important topics - from human trafficking to the abolition of visas for Serbia. It is known that Even Oli Rehn during the conference in Brussels devoted to the abolition of visas showed as a special memory of Serbia the Diploma of State of Exit that he received in New Sad during one of these campaigns and confirmed importance of similar actions.

Since 2005 another social role of the festival has been remarked. With the first mass arrival of foreign tourists from the West, in addition to cultural, there is a tourist contribution to the wider community. Independent studies have shown that EXIT contributes to Serbian economy, to about 15 million per year, and so far, through tourism development (accommodation, transport, catering, etc.) Serbia earned over 100 million thanks to EXIT festival.

However, as there is an impression that social commitment of EXIT is not as recognizable today as during the first few editions, Kovacevic presented his point of view. The slogan of EXIT festival 2013 was R: EVOLUTION which aimed to highlight the social roots of Exit and show that social engagement is exactly the element EXIT that differs it from almost all other European music festival. It is also important to say that this fact largely contributes to the reputation EXIT has in the world public. Social campaign that marked this year's conference is the realization of national branding, called R: BRAND SERBIA. The

conference was held on the day of the birth of Nikola Tesla, the most important domestic brand. That is why the whole festival began on the same day, when for the first time the festival's opening performance was held on the main stage in honor of Tesla. The conference brought together many world experts on the subject, the media, and representatives of the state, in order to make this subject more popular in public.

Beside above mentioned conference, other social issues were initiated, numerous actions were organized, as well as meetings and other activities and Kovacevic singled out the most important European festival environmental conference organized during this year EXIT festival.

Answer to the question if EXIT is shaped by the needs and tastes of the audience, or as a result of organizers' conception was that the festival is result of synergy of expectations of the audience and the organizers thinking which music genre is the most appropriate for the image and the development of the festival. It is necessary to satisfy the tastes of different genres of "urban music" and it seems that the best results are obtained when combining proven popular names with exclusive bands that promote new musical trends.

When it comes to the collaboration with local community and the reactions of local people to the festival, I aimed to see if organizers think that locals recognize it as a content they can identify themselves with and be presented in the world, they see it as a profitable venture, or there are those who see this as a violation of the peaceful life of the community. Kovacevic said that people in Serbia can be hard to satisfy, but that there are more and more people who realize the full significance of the EXIT festival for Novi Sad and the festival gets more and more support all over the country. As one of the signs of local support he gave the example that this year there was a great number of citizens of Novi Sad who visited the festival, which has never happened before.

From organizers' point of view it is better not to divide the audience into locals and foreigners because EXIT is designed for all progressive young people, wherever they are, whatever color, religion or nationality they are. Having a mix of different cultures and languages gives a special charm to the festival and reminds that EXIT is also born in the city that is famous for its multinational character.

The interview was completed with the overview of the role of EXIT festival in shaping the cultural identity of Novi Sad. Kovacevic introduced the story with the observation that EXIT has greatly popularized Novi Sad on the world map and that in 2008, due to the EXIT, Novi Sad was declared by Guardian as the best tourist destination in the world for the month of July of that year. Even the Tourist organization of Novi Sad was established only in 2005 when that became necessary to host tens of thousands of tourists who come to the festival.

### **3.4. Survey: EXIT**

Survey was conducted during the last festival edition and its goal was to try to understand the attitude of locals toward the festival that exists over a decade in the vicinity of their homes. The main assignment was to see if, besides having two groups of people, one that is for, the other that is against EXIT festival, local citizens accept the fact that the festival became the part of their lives, or they don't understand it as a part of the cultural program of their city.

I have chosen to examine 300 people in the central part of the city of Novi Sad. The questionnaire consisted of nine questions with only where the participants were asked to describe their opinion in a sentence. In other cases those were yes or no questions, with one exception where the participant were suppose to chose multiple answers. Survey lasted 5 days.

If we take a look at the results 30% of sample visited EXIT festival this year, 30% more than once in the past, and 18% once in the past. When asked if they were familiar with the reasons and the time of the foundation of the EXIT festival, 42% answered positively, but some of them had unclear information and only the frame of the story. For example, certain knew about gathering young people in 2001, but did not know about the student manifestations during 2000 and the connection with demand for democratic and regime changes. It was interesting to see that some participants that responded negatively were informed about EXIT only in a context of music festival even though they were living in Novi Sad when the festival was created.

Further on, I was interested to see if the citizens thought that the festival changed its concept and direction, so that was the 4<sup>th</sup> question. More than half (56%) noticed the change, but while

the question was about the ideas that the festival promotes, one part of the participants clearly pointed out the change of the music program. However, it could be also observed inside of bigger picture and seen as commercialization of the festival in order to attract foreign visitors and more general audience that is not interested in local bands. Few answers were in favor of the evolution of the festival as they saw it as a positive change that means going closer to the famous world festivals and having the same conditions.

From the interview with Dusan Kovacevic EXIT is for everyone who identifies with the ideas that the festival promotes, but this time I wanted to obtain the other point of view and compare them in order to understand if the citizens follow the concept of the organizers. It was possible to choose more than one answer and they chose among:

- a) Locals
- b) Foreigners
- c) Professionals in culture
- d) Young population
- e) Children
- f) Older generation
- g) All
- h) Other

37 % saw festival as door open to everyone, which confirms organizers assumption, 23% were more precise and said that it was dedicated to young population, while there was a significant number of those who said the festival was organized to foreigners (21%), which could be a sign for the organizers to reassess the conclusions they have and to ask themselves in which direction they want to take the festival.

The following question that was formulated to examine if EXIT contributed to the construction of positive image of Novi Sad got 89% of positive answer, which means that among those who have never visited EXIT festival there is a great part of population that understands benefits that the city gets from the festival. 35 % have no remarks and don't see negative effects of the festival. The others have as the most common comments related to the environment mentioned pollution, crowded city, and noise. The rest of the observations were directed to the disadvantages and problems that happen during the festival, such as high

prices, interdiction to enter drinks or food, payment method, bad position of the camp, weak security, absence of discounts for local citizens, and mainstream names in the program. Still, there were three loudest groups:

- One that noticed alcohol and drug abuse, and higher rate of incidents in the city (23%)
- The other was concentrated on the commercialization of the festival, not investing into the city, and the conclusion that the festival has become a way to make the organizers rich (12%)
- While the third one was against damaging of the Petrovaradin fortress with heavy music equipment (10%).

Still, 86% of the participants agreed that the festival has been the part of annual life of their city and almost all (96%) that they would recommend it as one of the cultural event in Novi Sad.

One question was about the relationship between organizers and local citizens. The idea was to see if the inhabitants think that their opinion has a certain value for a huge festival machine as EXIT is and if they feel that some adjustments can be made if there is a common interest. 36% believe that EXIT organization makes some effort to take into account their complaints or propositions, 35% responded negatively, while the rest was not informed and decided not to take any side.

Taking into account all the answers, there are few points that should be underlined:

- Significant number of those who don't know how the festival was founded, which implies that political aspect is not promoted in media, as if the festival wants to make a distance and evolve into widely accepted world festival. Even though the founders claim differently and insist on that fact in their interviews, it is not a case in the commercials, or other kinds of promotion.
- Related to this many citizens think that the festival has changed its concept into profit factory and that its social engagement is reduced.
- Beside drug and alcohol abuse, which are probably not present in that extent and they are spread word of mouth because that was the main argument of older population that has never visited the festival and that admitted that those were rumors, citizens of

Novi Sad do not see that the organizers use the city for their own interests and then do not invest any money into the city, but even endanger the fortress, which is one of the most important symbols of Novi Sad.

- Lots of people see the foreigners as the main festival target group and think that most things are organized according to their taste and wishes. For a festival that started as a local project and was organized in order to inspire changes on the state level, this remark is a serious sign that citizens are developing a sort of alienation and that a part of them see the festival as something foreign, something they can not identify with anymore.
- Besides all the changes and the remarks, most of the people have got used to EXIT festival and see it as a part of their city and it seems that they are proud to host this kind of cultural event in their city.

## **Chapter IV**

### **4.1. City cultural policy Belgrade**

The interview with Katarina Zivkovic started with describing cultural strategy of the city and the main objectives and principles of cultural policy on the territory of the City of Belgrade. Based on the current strategy of the City of Belgrade goal of cultural improvement is described as a mission to create a supportive environment for cultural development and artistic creativity through the openness and accessibility of content to public and citizens. Emphasis is placed on freedom of expression in the cultural and artistic creation and the integration of cultural development in the long-term socio-economic and political development.

Constant aim that city should strive to is the autonomy of entities in culture as well as decentralization of decision-making, organization and financing of cultural activities. Respect to cultural and democratic values of the European and national traditions and diversity of cultural expression, preservation of cultural and historical heritage and the promotion of sustainable cultural environment as an integral part environment are also elements of the

conceived plan.

This goal is planned to be accomplished by achieving the following tasks:

- The introduction of new mechanisms and organizational forms of cultural policy and the creation of a system to balance private and public initiatives and facilitate intersectorial cooperation;
- Development of the audience as one of the strategic priorities, particularly paying attention to children's culture, and marginalized groups;
- Developing and encouraging adjusted models to characteristics and needs of urban municipalities and local communities;
- Easier access, availability and use of facilities owned by the City and urban municipalities, for what should be defined status as non-profit cultural activities;
- Developing a culture of "neighborhoods" and local communities by improving the space for cultural activities of all generations;
- Encouraging sponsorship, donations and endowments in culture;
- The continuation and strengthening support for alternative and informal programs and activities in the field of culture that define the peculiar urban and unique cultural identity of the city on the international level;
- Encouraging creativity for the young talents in culture;
- Inclusion in the Agenda 21 for culture;
- Construction of modern cultural institutions as city attractions;
- Intensive involvement in international programs;
- Continued implementation of projects and activities in the field of culture, with special emphasis on the protection of cultural property, and to the city of Belgrade candidacy for European Capital of Culture 2020.

Even though cultural sector in the capital is much more protected than in the other parts of the country, and it is easier for lower levels of government to define their own strategies, there are many errors and omissions made so far on local level. Many issues and unresolved questions are similar to the circumstances on national level. The main objection is that presented measures do not reflect the real situation. If we take a look on the open-call results, numerous projects were selected, but they obtained only small, symbolic amounts. That kind of fund distribution creates an illusion that the city has helped the most of the participants, but in fact it influences realization of some important projects and reduces the quality of their program.

It also means that there is no difference between those projects that deserve to be supported and the others that are less important for the city cultural life. Moreover, even if selected, the project could encounter more problems. Late payments are another setback because even after signing the contract, it is not sure when the funds will be transferred, which can stop all the activities.

The abyss between what is written on the official site of City of Belgrade and what has been implemented is noticeable when talking about film making stimulation, which is one of the listed tasks of Secretariat for culture. In 2012 it seemed that Author film festival, founded in 1994, was going to be cancelled due to insufficient resources. Its budget was around € 33.000. As one the representative of film festivals that offer to audience something different than pure entertainment and Hollywood blockbusters, and that is marked by artistic vision of film authors, this festival should be promoted and supported, and not to be led to a situation of survival.

Next part of the interview referred to the issue of cultural identity and cultural citizenship, and the goal was to see whether Secretariat for culture prepares any plans or projects related to this topic. The answer was formed as an explanation of the effort to promote the identity of Belgrade, and related to the increase in the number and kind of unique facilities, programs and activities that give identity and recognition of the City and its urban center, the regional and global network of cities.

Suggested ways to accomplish the goal are:

- Establishment of an urban vision of Belgrade with development studies, projects, and competitions according to models of European capitals;
- Emphasizing the wealth of different types of architecture and urban tissue as a heritage of different epochs, recording and promotion of modern architecture in Belgrade as well as the architecture of the second half of the 20th century;
- Promoting catalyst development, promotion and support of industry of knowledge, creative sector, scientific, technological and business parks in the surrounding of commercial and residential areas;
- Continuation and strengthening support of alternative and informal programs and activities in the field of culture that define the urban and cultural identity of the city on an international scale.

City and the relevant institutions are focused on the elements of the identity that belong to the field of urban design and architecture. Presenting significant cultural landscapes through integrated projects also helps promotion of identity in the context of modern communication of the European region. Preserved and attractive historical heritage, the most important areas and objects of natural and cultural heritage sites and industrial archeological complexes should become a cultural and tourist attraction.

When it comes to the financing of the projects on the territory of Belgrade, Secretariat for Culture has general and specific criteria that those projects have to accomplish in order to get their support. They have classified cultural production in seven areas:

- Library and information services,
- Cultural and educational activities,
- Protection of cultural property,
- Musical creativity and amateur creativity,
- Performing arts,
- Visual arts,
- Creative cinematographic and audiovisual.

According to the official documents, secretariat primarily takes into account some general criteria related to the quality of the project, its importance of the project for the City of Belgrade, development of new forms of culture, encouraging inclusion of children and people with special needs, as well as young artists, etc. and after general conditions that project should accomplish, there are also specific criteria listed for each area.

Due to Mikser festival's multimedia character, it can't be reduced to one field, which also makes the job more difficult to the city authorities and which they use as an explanation when selecting projects. In order to demystify this question, I have marked out the criteria that could be related to Mikser festival:

- Cultural and educational activities:
  - Debate projects content achieved by developing an interactive relationship with the public,

- Educational projects that enrich the content of the cognitive world of the audience, especially children, youth and people with special needs
- Workshops that develop the creative abilities of the participants,
- Projects that encourage cooperation activities of culture and education,
- Projects which highlight the importance of a creative approach to education, using artistic means, modern audio-visual technology, in order to enable young people to understand and develop critical thinking, creative thinking and self-expression,
- Projects to be implemented in the local environment and specific target groups,
- Multidisciplinary projects created as a result of multi subjects.

- Protection of cultural goods:

- Contributing to the protection, preservation and use of cultural property
- Contribution to the popularization and promotion of cultural heritage,
- Education, information and programs that contribute to raising awareness to the public is

- Musical creativity:

- Support for projects less-known or under-affirmed young artists,
- Events in the field of musical creativity: festival, competition or conference presenting, popularize and promote musical creativity.

- Theatrical creativity:

- Projects in the field of performing arts: performances and original project, stage performance that in its content and artistic significance of contributions / supplements offer the culture of Belgrade,
- Events in the field of performing arts: festival, competition, commemorative events, or conference presenting, popularize and promote the theatrical creativity,

- Visual Arts:

- Contribution to the development of contemporary art forms and expressions and to advance understanding of the ideas and language of contemporary art, as well as support for innovative and experimental projects;
- Contribution to the development of projects that present traditional techniques and technologies in the field of fine and applied arts

- Support projects retrospective character of importance to the cultural milieu and its memory
- Durability, sustainability, innovation and rational quality events and exhibition projects that contribute to the promotion of the visual arts.

- Cinema and audiovisual creations:

- Film events, festivals, film shows, projects which supplement the offer of events in the film are important for Belgrade, cultural and educational projects (workshops, educational programs, and animation), which is enriched in a superior manner and popularize the cinema and audiovisual culture.

The above mentioned contributions can be connected to the actives promoted by Mikser festival. Since projects are strictly divided into categories, one of the problems that Mikser festival encounters when applying for funding is a wide range of activities it consists of. Thus it does not belong to one particular sector, but to all of them. Despite certain difficulties and comparing to the state approach, the city has shown the interest in supporting the festival. According to the report sent by Secretariat for Culture, city authorities participated in the financing the festival every year except in 2012.

Mikser Festival - founded by the Association MIKSER in 2009:

- 2009 - Ministry of Culture financially supported realization of Mikser Festival with 800,000.00 dinars
- 2010 - Ministry of Culture financially supported realization of Mikser Festival with 600,000.00 dinars
- 2011 - Ministry of Culture financially supported realization of Mikser festival with 4,600,000.00 dinars (1,600,000.00 per contest, 3,000,000.00 from budget reserve)
- 2012 - nothing
- 2013 - Ministry of Culture financially supported realization of Mikser festival with 300,000.00 dinars

Obsolescence in the work of institutions and not adapting to the demands of new time prevent multimedia festivals to develop, and these kinds of projects are becoming more and more popular because they can present rich cultural offer to diverse communities and in that way diversify the audience. In fact, that would be the main idea and advantage of Mikser festival.

Fusion of arts is bringing talented people from different fields, but also attracts audience who can be interested by one sort of event and then stay for another. The future of this kind of festival would be to create health environment filled with culture, a kind of cultural hub that invites people to gather around art and culture, to resist to bad influence of low quality entertainment.

From the information I got from Secretariat for Culture it seems that the main part of the budget still goes to the institutions founded by City of Belgrade and the other, smaller part, planned for festivals and manifestations is divided between a large numbers of organizations. Among presented goals there are some that are connected to the question of identity and therefore cultural citizenship, but when observing their implementation and lack of support to the projects that cultivate democratic values and encourage citizen participation, there is a contradiction and a doubt when it comes to city's determination to pay attention to the welfare of the citizens.

## **4.2. Mikser Festival**

“This grand city seems to have always been like this: torn and spilt, as if it never exists but is perpetually being created, built upon and recovered. On one side it waxes and grows, on the other it wanes and deteriorates. Ever in motion and rustle, never calm and never knowing tranquility or quiet. The city upon two rivers, on the grand clearing, bound by the winds.”

Ivo Andric

Belgrade rich and turbulent history is undoubtedly related to its geographical position and it seems that each part has its own story and should be observed as a separate entity.

### **4.2.1. How has the festival evolved?**

The 2008 financial crisis, the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s, as many say, hit the whole world and led to global recession. It caused many problems all over the Europe and slowly it came to Serbia. The situation had already been difficult and turbulence from economic crisis resulted in heavy budget cuts. More than modest budget for culture was focused on keeping the existing institutions and projects. It seemed hard to realize any kind of new initiative in that atmosphere, but in 2009 new festival was founded.

The idea actually started in 2006 as a Ghost Project organized for young talents from the field of design. It was a multimedia installation that was presented during the first Belgrade Design Week manifestation. The concept, that was conceived by Maja Vidakovic, program director at Belgrade Design Week at that time, was supposed to motivate the authors to become active, to create, and re-shape the society they are living in. Aiming to gather young and creative artists and show their potential on one side, and point at the lack of connection between designers and industry in our country on the other, the project was named Ghost. The first edition was a small local exhibition of unrealized projects, but each year it was growing and the Ghost Project has become a sort of communication channel between domestic artists and wider, domestic and foreign media, and manufacturers. After getting positive reactions it seemed that this way of thinking found its way to reach the target groups: the first year 30 authors applied and the next one more than hundred.

Three years later the project separated from Belgrade Design Week and continued its story as a part of another project. The idea spread to the other disciplines and spontaneously evolved into Mikser festival, the biggest regional festival of creativity and innovation. The first year the festival was named Mikser Design Expo and lasted six days. Inspired by the world spread idea about revitalization of neglected urban areas it took place in the industrial zone of Belgrade in Zitomlin silos at the Lower Dorcol.

Next year the festival consisted of Expo, Art, Talent, Educational, Contact, and Party zone, with the focus on the events in the Southeastern Europe.

In 2012 the festival was relocated. It moved from the industrial setting of Zitomlin production facility to Savamala, one of the oldest neighborhoods in Belgrade. This marked a change in the program structure and the events were dispersed in different locations, instead of just one.

As previously mentioned the conditions and the situation in which a festival occurs are important and inevitable component of its image. Mikser festival is largely connected to the city and, even though first three festival editions were related to the industrial zone of Belgrade in Zitomlin silos and from later on to Savamala district, both places are based on the same idea, the idea of urban regeneration and using forgotten areas of the city in order to give

them another purpose and revitalize them. In this paper I will focus on the later Mikser editions and analyze their effect within the Savamala neighborhood.

#### **4.2.2. Savamala: Festival location**

Belgrade is the centre of culture and art of Serbia, but even though cultural offer is rich, it is not equally distributed. Most programs are concentrated in city center, more precisely in the municipality of Stari grad, then Vracar, Savski venac, and Novi Beograd. Going further to city's periphery the number of cultural activities significantly reduces. Still, despite its location, not so long ago the neighborhood of Savamala did not share characteristics of the municipalities it belongs.

Savamala got its name from two words, the river of "Sava" and word "Mahala" which in Turkish means settlement, quart, and city area. Its northern zone is a part of the municipality of Stari Grad, and central and southern zones belong to the municipality of Savski venac. Karadjordjeva is the main street of this city area.

Invisible city is another name for a city quarter placed on the southern bank of the Sava River in a neighborhood of the old town. The neighborhood of Savamala belongs to both municipalities Stari grad and Savski venac, but just few years ago it was one of the forgotten parts of the city. It was surrounded by various cultural activities, but at the same time isolated and separated by some invisible boundaries. It used to be one of the most important political, administrative, and commercial areas of the city, but wars, economic crisis, floods, and years of neglecting changed its appearance. Today Savamala is famous for being center of the city traffic: a railway parallel to Karadjordjeva Street and the tram tracks, bridges over the Sava, main bus and train stations, and the Sava port.

The golden era of Savamala neighborhood, that was village at that time, started in the 1830s with the urbanization of this area. The prince of Serbia, Milos Obrenovic gave an order to build a Serbian settlement outside the fortress and the Turkish settlement. It used to be a swamp, but it was drained out and the settlement was constructed around it.

Prince Milos wanted to move city port that was placed on the Danube and build the port on the Sava River, but also to make this area the center of the city merchandise. For that reason

he asked all merchants who wanted to trade in this area to move here and he built them stores. At first they refused because the place was not developed and they estimated it was not good for their job, but the prince was determinate and his idea was soon realized.

At the end of the nineteenth century new changes have been introduced with the arrival of the railway. After the construction of the railway station and the first railway bridge, new buildings emerged and the area was slowly becoming attractive for rich households. One of them, Luka Celovic, who started as an apprentice and later on became an independent merchant and one of the most prominent people in the country, wanted to transform Savamala into city center. He bought land and financed the construction of some of the most beautiful buildings (The Belgrade Cooperative building, better known as Geozavod, and hotel Bristol are some of them) in his area. Development of economy and banking in this area changed the image of Savamala and made it one of the most exclusive neighborhoods of the city.

The area continued to grow and many valuable buildings were constructed in the district. At that time this neighborhood was much wider and represented the area between squares Terazije square, King Milan Street, Slavija square, Nemanja Street and Knez Milos Street. Nowadays it is reduced to the area between streets Karadjordjeva, Savska, Gavriilo Princip, Sarajevska and Queen Natalija.

Unfortunately, after the Second World War and mostly because of the authoritarian regime who did not invest in infrastructure, this period of prosperity was stopped and replaced by stagnation and decline.

It is difficult to perceive remains of the glorious past today. Wide streets, river bank and beautiful architecture stay hidden behind grey and ruined buildings, dark, abandoned halls, and heavy traffic that increased pollution and damaged facades. Nowadays Savamala is economically underdeveloped and socially disadvantaged neighborhood that seeks to back to its original value.

Fortunately, at least once people did not wait for the state initiative and an alternative urban development project started spontaneously. It began in 2007 and the transformation of warehouse of former publishing house Nolit into the cultural center Magacin. Two years later

Cultural Center Grad moved into the warehouse and so did Mikser organization in 2012. This was an example to follow for many other artist and designers and step by step history, tradition and potential of this area started to get attention they deserve. Some nightclubs and cafes also found their place here and gave their contribution to the improvement of the image of this area. It became popular place for gathering and one of the most surprising things was that many people, even born and grew up in Belgrade, for the first time became familiar with this part of the city, transit zone they used to pass in order to get to some other and more beautiful corners of Belgrade.

When talking about activities in Savamala, it is necessary to talk about The Urban Incubator: Belgrade, an alternative urban development project organized by Goethe-Institute, supported by the City of Belgrade and the Municipality of Savski venac, and curated by German urbanist Tim Rieniets. The idea is to rejuvenate the neglected Belgrade city-quarter of Savamala, the neighborhood that used to be the symbol of culture and prosperity, with help of creative force and people who are directly connected to this neighborhood. Artists, architects, activists, and the residents of Savamala and Belgrade are supposed to stand in front of planners, politicians, or investors, give advices, and contribute to shaping the future of the Savamala city quarter. Based on cultural and social values, the Urban Incubator: Belgrade praises for active participation and responsibility of the residents of Savamala. It is up to them to take charge of their quarter and participate in the neighborhood development, preventing commercial and real-estate business interests to come to the foreground. The project is seen as collaboration between more than ten local and international projects from the fields of art, architecture, urbanism and social engagement, which should be realized in Savamala for during 2013.

### **4.2.3. Cultural Citizenship Mikser festival**

One of the important roles that Mikser festival plays includes changing the way in which the neighborhood of Savamala is perceived. As already mentioned Savamala is neglected part of the city and the story about glorious past is all that left. Neighborhood lost its privileges and in a way it made inhabitants feel as second-class citizens.

Mikser festival, as well as other cultural initiatives and activities, can draw attention to the forgotten parts of the city, awaken sense of fellowship and offer cultural services in order to help this community to integrate into cultural system of the city. Promoting cultural activities for a culturally diverse population makes a good place for all, local residents, artist, and foreign visitors.

If we paralel with EXIT, Mikser promotes a different a kind of citizenship as it is localized and focused to a certain urban communal activism and more concentrated on the local idea of belonging, while Exit is more focused on the international, multicultural. Exit works more on intercultural level, Mixer more on intracultural level, but they both seem to share a similar ethos of cultural citizenship.

#### **4.2.4. Festival and minority groups**

Beside the intention to go beyond Serbian cultural scene and to gather the creative people from other countries in the region, the third festival edition in 2011 spoke out on the problems and the status of minority groups. Within the program “Kino Mikser” different regional film festivals were presented: Eastern Neighbors Film Festival from Utrecht, Trash Film Festival from Varazdin, DOKUFEST from Prizren, Film Festival Starigrad Paklenica, and Ljubljana Gay and Lesbian Film Festival Ljudmila. Among these chosen documentaries, music, and underground movies, it is interesting to see that Mikser festival hosted a festival that concentrates on LGBT community. Why is it so interesting? In Belgrade there is already Free Zone Film Festival that is based on current social and political issues, but in order to have greater influence and to improve the status that minority groups have in our country, it would be necessary to motivate other organizations and institutions to follow this example and to introduce these issues in their regular program. Mikser festival is recognized as a festival of design at the first place, but during the years it has been trying to evolve and to become an active participant in culture of the city. Talking about problems that are part of our every day life, e.g. encouraging vulnerable groups to participate in cultural activates or showing prejudices they are encountering every day is a good way to promote tolerance, educate, and maybe the most important follow-up, it can give these people feeling of belonging.

One more project to talk about when it comes to the promotion of belonging and of less visible groups is Femikser, extension of Femix project, specialized in the promotion of women's creativity. It presented women's work in several areas through a combined program: poetry, short dramatic form, music, film and street art. It brought together women's creative power: young poetesses, head bangers, playwrights, directors, street artists, and female bands reminded the audience about their last year presentations and gave a hint about the projects they would present during the next edition. This collaboration with NGO OPA is an initiative that Mikser festival is famous for and it has great importance for smaller projects that in this way can find their way to the wider audience and draw attention to the important subjects or marginalized groups.

In 2012 free workshops for young people were organized within the project "Vocational guidance" in order to get help in deciding them on a career, how to choose the school and the profession, provide a job, in general how to find a solution for some of the dilemmas young people are often faced with. Consultations were guided by experienced psychologists that tried to help young people learn about their capacities, give them information about educational opportunities and careers, as well as to clearly set goals and identify steps to achieve them.

The 2013 festival edition was marked by another initiative that dealt with the appearance of their neighborhood of Savamala. Program Mikser Urban Lab organized debates in order to find a model for its development. What made it different than other discussions were members that were chosen. It was a group of people that are important actors for the future of Savamala (representatives of the municipality, city, community, town planners, small businesses), the people who are already part of Savamala, who work or live there and shape in that way their own life without state and private investment or pressure. The project was supported by Germany Organization for International Cooperation in partnership with the Ministry of Education and Science in cooperation with the Ministry of Youth and Sport.

The structure of all of these projects shows that Mikser organization wants to cultivate the concept of differences and tolerance, but it is also interesting to see that it is done within the same frame, which is probably the best way to make vulnerable groups feel accepted. They can all participate in the same valley of values that Mikser promotes.

#### **4.2.5. Intercultural context**

Spreading the scope of the festival beyond the boundaries of Serbia is particularly important for this topic because putting it in the international context establishes the festival on the world scene, but also invites people from other countries and enables interaction with citizens of Savamala. Moving cultural events into forgotten or neglected parts of the city represents a kind of revival, but also gives an opportunity to inhabitants to be proud of their neighborhood and to change the way in which the neighborhood is perceived. That is why it is important to have the international competition for young industrial designers - Ghost Project, a competition for the small wooden items, intended for enthusiasts and professionals from around the world, Soundtruck Call, with more than 80 bands from the region, as well as literary competition for new and unpublished stories Savamala and Sava slope Belgrade, organized in cooperation with the publishing house of the Arhipelag.

By offering a kind of mix of broad spectrum of disciplines Mikser shows the other role, the one that is dedicated to the artists and a chance to gather creative people at the same place and encourage their collaboration. This approach is highly important for local cultural scene, having in mind that many young Serbian artists are still invisible and have no many places where their works could be presented. One of the initiatives that Mikser has supported and that confirm the thesis about connection artists beyond the frontiers of our country is formal networking of all relevant events of Southeast Europe engaged in the development and promotion of creative disciplines. It would mean establishment of a regional network that would enable the member states to intensively cooperate, it would help them coordinate events, organize exchange programs and initiate joint projects. These kinds of projects are also important because they promote young talents from the region, offer them a chance to present their work to the broader public, feel appreciated and supported, and also encourage cultural tourism

### **4.3. Mikser cultural citizenship through the eyes of the organizers**

In a short conversation with two members of Mikser organization team, Tamara Markovic and Ivana Ibrahimov, I have tried to go through some already approached topics and issues in order to compare how they perceive the festival, its activities, collaboration with the locals, and the influence the festival has on the neighborhood with the impression of the citizens. Unfortunately, there was no opportunity to organize another, more detailed interview, and I had no access to official documents. We started with development of the idea to create Mikser festival. The plan was to follow the reasons that inspired the founders, what was their vision and how the festival has developed.

Mikser was founded by people who have studied design. The festival was initially created as a design festival with the idea of promoting young design scene and the first zero Mikser was named the Mixer Design Expo. Some projects existed before the establishment of the Mikser festival, for example Ghost Project, with the idea to promote invisible design scene, first from Serbia, that from the region and also the international one.

At first, 8 years ago when the Ghost Project was organized and when Maja Lalic, then Vidakovic, worked for the Belgrade Fashion Week and was one of the organizers, an exhibition was held in London without any prototypes. It consisted of some sketches and drawings. Many artists did not have a website or email, they used only fixed phones. It seemed like an impossible mission, but now the initiative gather more than 350 works from all over the world, there was a major exhibition in Geozavod, last year in Bristol, but this time with prototypes and some of these works are supposed to enter the fall in production with label of Mikser Design. As Mikser festival grew, so did the number of areas and creative people from different fields that Mikser festival gathered. The idea was to create an event that uses its multidisciplinary approach to draw attention to a variety of creative areas, and create a new cultural scene, not only in the country, but in the region. Founders of Mikser festival understood that there is still the same issue: the institutions have no energy or adequate staff to deal with creating a new cultural scene and the personal initiative might answer the questions that this modern time brought.

Next part of the interview was about basic values that Mikser promotes as a festival, but also in a broader sense as a concept. The first thing on the list was a chance that quality comes to surface, which is why competitions are very important part of the activities that Mikser organizes, giving a chance to young people who do not have the opportunity to promote their work to become visible. Then the idea is to get together with various companies, which Mikser sees as small ministries of culture, and then to invest in the promotion of the winners of the competition. This year winner of music competition got the opportunity to play at EXIT, their album will be released, and before the festival they played in small clubs, which is usual for all the musicians here due to the lack of serious music industry. Openness, quality, and multidisciplinary approach are also values that Mikser supports because, thanks to modern trends no artistic, creative, or other discipline would survive alone in future.

Integration of Mikser festival into the neighborhood of Savamala, collaboration with the locals and the target audience for Mikser festival were the next topic. Representatives of the organization said that cooperation with the local community is very important for them and that they have established cooperation with the NGO called Savamala. Otherwise they try to have a good relationship with the people in the neighborhood and to listen to their needs and to hear what they think about what they do, first as a festival, but since the foundation of Mikser House, as someone who is always present in Savamala. Projects are usually moderate to youth, as well as competitions, but there is an idea to create a project that would include third age people, which has already started when retired professor ran the children's workshops. The plan is a project dedicated to this group of citizens.

Before moving to Savamala, the festival was held in silos at Zitomlin industrial area of and I was interested in that change of location and the reasons for that decision. The idea was born when the 2011 festival edition ended. The organization was making a plan to move forward, to find another challenge. Festival was growing, number of participants as well, there were many guests from abroad and the region, but the organization wanted something different. Savamala imposed itself as the next step as a more socially responsible component. Mikser wanted to initiate actions, to try to animate the people and gather them in order to bring into focus various issues: neglected and forgotten institutions, absence of any cultural program, ruination of Geozavod building, heavy traffic, the famous project of Belgrade on the rivers that never happened...

Next part of the interview was focused on this year's theme of Mikser festival called "Transit". Semantic layer refers to the transit Savamala identity and asks where it is and where it could be with the help of various interventions. Mikser team presented its vision of Savamala in future:

It is a very complex issue that is still looking for an answer. Savamala by nature deserves to be similar to something that it used to be, some two centuries ago, the cultural core, and not just because of the history that is crawling everywhere, but because of its location, the indigenous population and impressive edifices. It should be a kind of return of cultural life and one day when the heavy traffic leaves as a cultural oasis of Belgrade.

It became clear that Mikser has the intention to stay in this neighborhood and that, in order to realize it, the cooperation with the locals is necessary. We talked about their beginning and the way that the residents reacted to one more change next to their homes.

Reviews were mostly positive, but there were some negative impressions. Last year there was the project of painting the doors during the festival and a team of about a dozen street artists gathered, but not everyone wanted to participate. These were old door, some have been ruined, but some people just did not like the idea. Some were very skeptical, but then they changed their minds. While painting a mural on the building next door there was a completely different situation and neighbors offered workers a coffee.

Living conditions in this part of town are disappointing and Mikser team explained how they see it could be changed, or how they can contribute. Primarily by drawing attention, but also by motivating others to participate. Few years ago, there was nothing going on in Savamala, and then it changed. Some bankers organized environmental campaign to fix the plateau under the bridge, a smooth transition line was installed, which is removed due to administrative and technical problems, so the influence is visible in some concrete actions.

We also discussed about the number of visitor after the relocation to see if it has influenced the festival and the answer was positive. The answer was that after the relocation the festival attracted more visitors because it is more accessible part of the city and many people end up in the neighborhood by accident, then come to a club, see the festival and visit it.

Mikser House was conceived as a new creative center, but the name also refers to the motive of adopting the culture within Savamala and creating a corner that would become part of the daily life of the local population. During the interview I tried to discover if this perception was a part of a broader conception of the festival, and if the organizers think that it can be achieved. Thesis was confirmed, but this cultural corner is designed not only for the local population but also for the whole Belgrade, and finally for visitors from abroad that could also use the service of Tourist Organization of Belgrade that on the initiative of Mixer prepared a tour around Savamala. The plan was to create a space where one can spend most of the day: work on the computer, take a book and read, buy some Balkan design, eat, and participate in some workshop.

Mikser is sustainable thanks to cooperation with the private sector and in this part of the interview I wanted to see how Mikser team sees the attitude of the state towards the festival and if they see any progress since the foundation of the festival. The answer was negative. Unlike the state, the city provided help to Mikser festival several times, but with those were small financial supports. This year the festival had more than 1000 participants and 100 000 visitors and got the help of 300 000 dinars. The biggest problem that Mikser encounters when it turns to the Ministry of Culture is the explanation: “We do not know where to classify you“, which means that this multidisciplinary approach is considered as an obstacle.

The activities that Mikser offers are free of charge and according to Mikser team and festival policy they will keep it that way because that is how they can make the content closer to the wider audience, especially young people. There are some events that represent some of the segments of the Mikser festival, most often the conferences that are normally considered as chargeable; to hear some of the speakers, to pay a fee, but thanks to negotiations and the fact that many participants have realized the importance of this kind of festivals in the region, the team has managed to invite the experts without financial compensation.

When asked weather the program of the festival is designed to meet the needs of the population, or it is the audience that adapts to the program, the conclusion was that there is a constant communication with the audience, they send recommendations, criticisms, praises, and the organization tries to take them into account, but it does not always pander to public taste because it is always looking for a challenge. Relocation in the neighborhood of Savamala already meant moving the boundaries and changing the themes. Last year it was

discovering this part of the city, this year the focus was on the relocation of traffic and revitalization in the form of murals, drawing the attention to the deterioration of Savamala that is still present, and next year it will be some other subject.

#### **4.4. Mikser Survey**

The survey made on the subject of Mikser festival was conducted in July in the neighborhood of Savamala. It lasted for three days and number of participants was hundred.

Even though Mikser was initially held in silos of Zitomlin, I haven't chosen to survey the inhabitants of that part of the city because during the conversation with the Mikser team's representatives it became clear that they see the future of the festival in Savamala, which is confirmed by founding a new centre of culture, Mikser House.

The structure of the survey was almost the same as for EXIT festival. The first question revealed that 39% of sample visited the festival this year, and the score for previous festival editions was 15% more than once, 21% once in the past, and the rest haven't visited any former festival. It is interesting to emphasize that there was a significant difference between level of information of population in Gavrila Principa Street and Karadjordjeva Street. Both streets belong to Savamala neighborhood, but being its core, Karadjordjeva Street came more into focus of professionals in the culture, so the inhabitants are more informed about cultural events in their vicinity, or the actions that are going to happen. Of course, it is also related to physical closeness to Mikser House, KC Grad, Gallery G12 Hub, and other places dedicated to culture. Citizens situated in Gavrila Principa Street were mostly informed by television, flyers, or word of mouth about same actions and a great part of them haven't heard for the festival, or could not say what it was exactly about.

The aim of the following question was to find out if the local population has the idea when Mikser festival moved into Karadjordjeva 46 and the result was that 47% knew that 2013 was the second Savamala edition. Further on I wanted to do the same analyze and to see what is public opinion about the groups of the population that Mikser festival attracts. Those who were not familiar with the concept of the festival had no answer, but among those who responded, the most votes went for two options: 17% emphasized that the festival is organized for local population, 23% saw young population as the main visitors, and 45%

expressed the opinion that it is dedicated to all. As in the case of the survey for EXIT festival it was possible to choose more answers.

Even if it is not possible to see it from the results, it is interesting to mention that during the conversation and thanks to additional question that were not part of the questionnaire a lot of respondents mentioned presence of foreigners at the festival in a positive way, hoping that if their neighborhood becomes more popular, it will help its reconstruction.

When it comes to the influence of Mikser festival to the construction of positive image of Savamala 73% agreed on its importance, only 6% said that it either does not help, or it is irrelevant or short-term action for the neighborhood, while 21 % could not decide due to lack of information about the festival. Then we passed to the negative effects that Mikser could bring and noise was at the first place among the inconveniences that citizens mentioned (35%).

Nevertheless, it should also take into consideration that most of them explained that it is related to the recently developed night life in the neighborhood, so it is not directly addressed to Mikser festival. It is possible that noise comes from other clubs placed around Mikser House, especially because Mikser programs last no longer than 1 a.m. In addition to the explanation that this remark is not a common observation is the fact that is described by the respondents from Karadjordjeva Street. The other disadvantages are also related to the night life, such as alcohol abuse, lack of parking spots for locals, and taxis that occupy Savamala until 5 a.m. High number of participants had nothing to add as negative influence (38%), while other results had no lots of supporters, besides those who were not familiar with the festival.

Last few years there are many debates and articles about new look of Savamala, many projects are proposed, many analyzed, but this time the idea was to ask locals how they see Savamala in future and what they would change. Their visions were different, but they all agreed on one thing- it can not stay this way. There is a need for. Among other, they talked about:

- Modernization
- Belgrade on river project
- Cycle track that connects Savamala with Ada,

- Relocation of bus stations and heavy traffic,
- Restored facades,
- And Savamala as city oases, pedestrian zone, and elite part of Belgrade.

Two things were the most desired- giving back the importance that this neighborhood used to have and introducing more cultural events and programs that would animate the neighborhood.

Ratio between 68% and 11% illustrates superiority of the idea that Mikser festival is slowly becoming a part of cultural life of the community, which is a great stimulus for the festival having in mind that it only had two editions in this part of the city. Confidence and belief in the project that the organization prepares is shown through the 47% of residents that think that there is collaboration between the festival and the residents of Savamala and that their opinion does matter. Therefore 74% of participants would recommend it as one of the in their neighborhood.

It is noteworthy to underline thesis extract from the obtained answers and results:

- People who are located a bit further from Karadjordjeva Street are not familiar about Mikser festival as inhabitants in Karadjordjeva Street, which means that Mikser festival could expand its influence when it comes to locals and create stronger connection with the community. Otherwise, people are mostly positively inclined to the idea of having a festival in Savamala and it seems that they believe in healing power of culture.
- According to the survey many people think that festival is dedicated to all, but there is also a number of older population that don't see the activities of festival as something that they could identify with and they are an important part of the community. Arrival of foreigners is estimated as being positive for Savamala, developing tourism in this part of the city, and sharing the history and tradition of this old part of the city with the world.
- Going from one to another image of Savamala in future that residents mentioned it could be seen that these are mostly projects that Mikser proposes and supports. They have the same aim, which implies that the festival could think about sustainability in

this part of the city, especially because locals have welcomed introduction of cultural activities in their neighborhood, more than developing night life.

- considerably large part of the survey participants reacted well when asked about identification with Mikser festival, among others they appreciated the fact that the changes are not done without their permission.

## Chapter V

### Conclusion

James Holston and Arjun Appadurai describe the concept of cultural citizenship as the “moral and per-formative dimensions of membership that define the meanings and practices of belonging in society (Hol-ston and Appadurai 1999:14). Cultural citizenship is for some time now in the focus of scholarly research, but it is still not a well-known concept in Serbia. There in no research that could be found on this subject and therefore it is difficult to expect a systematic improvement without a broader research effort, since policy tool analysis is not widespread.

As many experts in culture notice there is a growing trend of certain forms of privatization in many sectors and among them culture. There is a question about the utility and economization of culture and many projects are being supported if they have economic purpose. Both on national and local level funding has become a sort of lottery and for decision-makers choosing the winner has become burden, instead of chance to understand culture as consolation in the difficult situation or crisis that affected most of the countries. Inapplicable Law on Culture, complaints about decisions, public accusations, and questions about promises that were never fulfilled are not rarities any more, but obstacles that cultural workers encounter every year. It seems that even though the whole cultural scene is threatened, festivals and other short-term projects are first to be hit. Budgets are small in general, but institutions are first to be supported. If we just try to remember all the debates in this year related to prominent festivals that were threatened at that extent that they were almost cancelled, the conclusion would be that it became common phenomenon.

Many minority and vulnerable groups are present all around us and culture is a way to make them feel accepted and make a connection between people. The first step would be to make serious research and to ask citizens about their opinion, issues, and needs. Next would be to make a strategy, which would among others consist of supporting and encouraging projects and festivals that are estimated as positive for the community, but not just in a sense of profit, but as a way of fostering a sense of belonging and creating space where people feel free and at home.

I took the examples of EXIT and Mikser festival because of their popularity and their scope, but due to their reach and commercial character, they could probably find a way to survive, unlike many small and non-commercial festivals that can't find a way without help of the state. Purpose of this paper is not to praise these two festivals, but to focus on their constructive elements; the ones that are positive and useful for citizens and that can be implemented to any other festival. If we put aside privileged position of these festivals, in a sense that they still have certain state support and that they are in a much better position than many small-range non-profit festivals that are not influential enough to be interesting for the decision-makers, or suitable for advertising of some private companies, EXIT and Mikser festival are two big names on our cultural scene that, by promoting intercultural dialog, encouraging participation of audience, and supporting smaller projects can be seen as workplace of democracy.

Meeting different world cultures and customs are things that our country didn't have for more than a decade. EXIT and Mikser are festivals that are active on this field. Both of them started as local projects, but spread on region, and made one step forward in interculturalism. Unlike some other projects, from their foundation they are against closed and isolated culture, ethnocentrism and nationalism that has lead to xenophobia. In that context we cannot ignore the role of tourism, one more way of migration that permits contact with people of different cultures. EXIT and Mikser created a link between culture and tourism industry and enabled one more way for breaking prejudices and developing tolerance.

Intercultural education is an important benefit from these two festivals because it could help every person acquaint with their rights. Different cultures and lack of knowledge, lack of understanding of other cultures can lead to limitations in communication. Even though it is not the central idea of these festivals, it is a part of their concept. They have understood that it is important to take civic responsibilities seriously and to implement them in their program. The idea of cultural citizenship is to promote cultural activities for a culturally diverse population and make it accessible for everyone, and to draw attention to the most fragile and disadvantaged communities and citizens.

EXIT has always been a sort of escapism and it is its idea of possibility to choose the other, positive side, alternative, that makes its existence necessary. So far it has developed civil and

social program with large number of civil society organizations, it provided employment with high levels of employment of local and minority groups and involving local people and minority groups. However, due to constant growth, as every big and successful project or festival, while growing it has been transforming from the alternative into something that becomes mainstream and some of its values from the beginning started to weaken. Even though the organizers don't admit it, it is confirmed by public opinion, but there is a chance to get back on the road. As described in the strategy document published by the organization, in the future the festival would not offer only music content, but would represent a cross section of activities of all associations and EXIT. Musical part of the festival would be held primarily at the fortress, while the artistic, scientific, political and social part of the festival would be held throughout the city. In that case EXIT could be, as Zelimir Zilnik called it is "rare and occasional expositions of normality and freedom." (Zilnik, 2005) While regimes are changing and issues stay, the audience, the citizens of EXIT state could have their shelter and the impression that they have something other to chose than inert politics as it was when the festival was founded.

Comparing to EXIT's escapist and utopian vision, Mikser aims to achieve permanent, almost material change in some cases (i.e. various activities connected to the renewal of Savamala, among which painting a mural over one of the ruined façades) and this difference can be transferred on the notion of the cultural citizenship. While EXIT after the festival leaves the impression that the world came into Serbia and that Novi Sad is no different than any other European city, Mikser tends to leave a trace that is not directly related to the festival and that citizens can use as a part of their community. EXIT illustrates identity through European values, and Mikser through the fruits of talent.

The question of identity that is related to cultural citizenship could be also perceived through the perception of the other and in that way our identity would be the sum of all features received by the others. (Stan, 2010) It would mean that the others are responsible for the image about us, but it does not mean that it can't be influenced by inside activities. Following this idea EXIT, but other similar festivals too, could help people from our country to show another, positive image about themselves and in that way start to build a new identity, the one that will not be related to war, destruction and mutual accusations.

Mikser festival is an example that shows its democratic characteristics primarily by its openness. This year festival edition joined around 70 different initiatives, with the idea to gather and represent various contents in one place. Its multidisciplinary approach as the main commitment of the program includes projects from different areas of architecture, design, urban planning, music, film, visual arts, new media, but also areas such as environment, education, social activism. This cultural mix is also present at EXIT festival and may be the best way to make culture accessible to everyone and to diversify the audience, especially because those organizations are collaborating with other from different sectors and in that way they are creating a network, which gives unlimited number of possibilities: Social engagement is present through various projects, minority groups are supported, young people are invited to participate in educational workshops, local citizens are encouraged to be included in reshaping their community, young artists are welcomed to demonstrate their skills and talents, and maybe the most important value of each cultural intervention, active interaction among different groups that helps citizens learn to be innovative not only at work, but in their human and social relationships.

Festivals that cultivate idea of cultural citizenship need state support in order to help creating conditions for the development of society where, with the help of culture, the main word is inclusion, and not exclusion.

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## Annexes

### EXIT Survey

1. Did you go to EXIT music festival this year?
  - a) Yes.
  - b) No.
2. Did you go to EXIT previous years?
  - c) Yes, more than once.
  - d) Yes, once.
  - e) No.
2. Do you know when and where EXIT was founded?
  - a) Yes. \_\_\_\_\_
  - b) No.
3. When it comes to the ideas that EXIT festival promotes, do you think the festival has changed comparing to its beginning?
  - a) Yes, it has changed.
  - b) No, it has stayed the same.
  - c) I don't know.
4. Would you say that EXIT festival contributes to creating a positive image of Novi Sad?
  - a) Yes.
  - b) No.
5. Which could be negative effects of EXIT festival?

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6. Would you say that EXIT festival has become a part of annual life of your city?
  - a) Yes.
  - b) No.
7. For whom EXIT festival is organized?
  - a) Locals
  - b) Foreigners
  - c) Professionals in culture
  - d) Youngsters
  - e) Children
  - f) Older generations
  - g) Everyone
  - h) Other \_\_\_\_\_
8. Does the organization of EXIT festival tries to cooperate with the local population and listen to their needs and suggestions?
  - a) Yes, through different actions.
  - b) No, they do not care about our opinion.

c) Other\_\_\_\_\_

9. Would you mention EXIT festival as one of the attractions in your city?

- a) Yes.
- b) No.

### **Mikser Survey**

1. Did you visit Mixer festival this year?

- a) Yes.
- b) No.

2. Did you go to Mikser festival previous years?

- a) Yes, more than once.
- b) Yes, once.
- c) No.

3. Do you know in which year Mikser festival has moved to Savamala?

- a) Yes.
- b) No.

4. For whom Mikser festival is organized?

- i) Locals
- j) Foreigners
- k) Professionals in culture
- l) Youngsters
- m) Children
- n) Older generations
- o) Everyone
- p) Other\_\_\_\_\_

5. Would you say that Mikser festival contributes to creating a positive image of Savamala?

- a) Yes, because\_\_\_\_\_
- b) No, because\_\_\_\_\_
- c) Other\_\_\_\_\_

6. How do you see Savamala in future?

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Which could be negative effects of Mikser festival?

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Would you say that Mikser festival has become a part of annual life of your community?

- d) Yes.
- e) No.
- f) I don't know.

9. Does the organization of Mikser festival tries to cooperate with the local population and listen to their needs and suggestions?

- g) Yes, through different actions.
- h) No, they do not care about our opinion.
- i) Other\_\_\_\_\_

10. Would you mention Mikser festival as one of the attractions in your neighbourhood?

- a) Yes.
- b) No.
- c) I don't know.

\*Question number 4: You can choose more than 1 answer

## **Biography**

Vesna Marić is born on 24th of July 1987 in Banja Luka. In 2006 she finished Philological high school in Belgrade, French and English language. In January 2011 she graduated from Philological faculty of the Belgrade University and received a Diploma of French Language and Literature at the Belgrade University. In July 2011 she started working as service coordinator responsible for communication with clients and engineers from the southern part of France in NCR Serbia, American computer hardware and electronics company that provides products and services that enable businesses to connect, interact and transact with their customers. She left the company in April 2013. Currently she is working as a French translator for Asylum Protection Center APC / CZA an independent, non-profit organization that provides legal, psychosocial and other support and protection to asylum seekers, refugees, displaced persons and any other persons who are in trouble of migrating. Since May 2011 she has been working as volunteer-journalist in Wannabe Magazine, fashion, beauty & lifestyle web magazine. Occasionally she participates as a volunteer in various humanitarian, sport, and cultural projects.