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Master thesis:

**PLACE OF THE CLASSICAL MUSIC FESTIVALS IN A TRANSITIONAL
SOCIETY**

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SOMMAIRE

La thèse de troisième cycle sous le titre LA PLACE DU FESTIVAL DE LA MUSIQUE CLASSIQUE DANS UNE SOCIÉTÉ EN TRANSITION est rédigée sous le mentorat du professeur Madame la Dr Milena Dragicevic-Sesic. La thèse présente une tentative à unir mes intérêts scientifiques et les expériences pratiques dont j'ai acquis pendant la période de presque cinq années, exerçant sur le domaine de la production de la musique classique à Belgrade, et particulièrement des festivals. Puisque je suis quotidiennement confrontée aux problèmes multiples qui apparaissent dans le fonctionnement des dites manifestations et lesquels sont dus à la conséquence des changements dans l'environnement social, j'ai senti le besoin de faire les recherches sur leur état actuel ainsi que d'étudier le contexte dans lequel les festivals survivent aujourd'hui en Serbie. Néanmoins, mon objectif était de tenter à trouver les modes pour leur adaptation efficace aux influences nouvelles de l'environnement, provoquées par la transition économique en Serbie. Étant donné que ce type de recherches n'était pas fait depuis longtemps dans le domaine de la musique classique en Serbie, j'espère que cette thèse présenterait le début d'une nouvelle vague d'étude des structures organisationnelles qui agissent dans ledit domaine artistique.

Vu le fait qu'il existe un relativement grand nombre de festivals de la musique classique ou artistique au pays, j'ai choisi de faire l'analyse de quelques uns qui montrent clairement la situation actuelle. Ces festivals ont lieu à Belgrade (Bemus,¹ Festival International de violoncelle de Belgrade, Festival artistique de Guitar et Tribune internationale des compositeurs) ou à d'autres villes serbes (Nomus à Novi Sad, la seconde ville importante au pays et le Festival Mermer i zvuci - Marbre et sons - à la ville Arandjelovac). Cet échantillon de qualité est choisi sur la base des critères de diversité, puisque les festivals énumérés diffèrent par la tradition, l'orientation de programme, le budget, l'organisation de structure et de l'importance. Aussi, mon choix était motivé par le désir de faire l'analyse de certains festivals que je connais bien "à l'intérieur" ce qui veut dire que je travaille sur leur production, ce qui me permet de discuter au point de vue de "l'expérience" et non seulement de la position du théoréticien. Cela me paraît remarquablement important, car lorsque j'ai réfléchi préalablement du modèle et des méthodes de recherche j'ai découvert qu'aux

¹ Abréviation de désignation "Beogradske **m**uzicke **s**večanosti" – Festivités musicales de Belgrade..

organisations artistiques manque d'une manière générale la qualité " d'autoreflexion ", la vue réelle de sa propre position, de ses propres vertues et vices, ce qui les empêche de mieux voir les risques et les chances dans l' environnement. Je serais très reconnaissante si cette thèse que sur le domaine de la musique artistique provoque d'autres ménagers d'organisation de festivals de réétudier leur activité et de trouver les modèles de travail plus efficaces dues aux circonstances actuelles. De l'autre part, le choix final du festival lequel sera l'objet de cette étude est basé sur la littérature disponible (monographies, coupures de journaux et sim.) laquelle m'a permise de mieux reconnaître les festivals avec une tradition de très longue durée (plus de trente ans).

La thèse est divisée en cinq chapitres principaux: **Introduction** (page 3-10), **Transition-définitions de notion et son interprétation spécifique** (11-39), **Festivals en focal** (40-72), **Ménagement du festival dans la société en transition - dépassement des difficultés, exploitation des possibilités** (73-113) et **Conclusion: Festival tant que l'investissement dans le futur de la société serbe** (114-127). A la fin de la thèse se trouve les remerciements et la liste des références bibliographiques choisies.

Introduction est destinée aux définitions - particulièrement les festivals tant que notice et les formes artistiques et ensuite la description du domaine de recherches. Le titre de la thèse - Lieu du festival de la musique classique dans la société en transition - a la double signification dans la langue serbe. Avant tout, il désigne la tentative de trouver pour les festivals "un endroit sous le soleil" dans l'environnement négatif de la société. Dans cette lueur, je fais des recherches dans mon travail des perspectives de l'existence future du festival en temps de transition au pays, étant donné que les changements de transition ont de peu en commun avec le mode actuel de fonctionnement de ces événements artistiques extrêmement spécifiques. Ce n'est pas un secret que les festivals de musique classique en Serbie d'aujourd'hui sont confrontés aux nombreux problèmes, tant que la diminution des budgets publics, la baisse du nombre de public aux concerts, ou bien l'impossibilité de gagner un bénéfice propre plus élevé (par la vente des billets aux guichets et d'autres activités) afin de justifier dans des termes économiques l'investissement des festivals. D'autre part, le titre peut s'expliquer en sens de l'importance, du rôle ou de signification du festival dans la société en transition et pour ladite société. A partir de cette perspective, cette recherche est dirigée vers l'analyse du niveau d'exploitation du potentiel de festival, notamment en ce qui

concerne les possibilités de collaboration subrégionales et régionales, la présentation de la musique artistique serbe sur la scène internationale et, bien entendu, produire du profit. Ma thèse de base consiste à ce que les **festivals de musique classique devraient modifier et adapter leur structure organisationnelle et les modes de gestion** afin de justifier leur existence future, aussi **l'application de nouvelles techniques de ménagement, des sources de finances alternatives et des activités de propagande développées** peut assurer non seulement leur existence mais aussi le développement de ces événements, tandis que les nouvelles possibilités qui grandissent du passage progressif aux activités du marché, devront se reconnaître et s'utiliser.

Dans le second chapitre **Transition - définitions de notice et son interprétation spécifique**, je me confronte au phénomène de transition qui forme la société serbe d'aujourd'hui. En écrivant ce chapitre je me suis appuyée à la littérature disponible de transition dans des pays européens de l'est et les pas balcaniques (c'est à dire les pays de l'ex bloc de l'Est et les pays formés après la désagrégation de l'ex. RSF de Yougoslavie) et aussi en Serbie laquelle dévie en plusieurs sens du modèle transitaire prédominant. Notamment, j'ai suivi les recherches de Nada Svob-Djokic (2000, 2004) et des collaborateurs scientifiques de l'Institute des recherches européennes de Belgrade (2004). En partant des définitions générales de transition, qui se manifeste dans des pays européens sus-cités en transition nommée **postsocialiste**, j'arrive à la question importante **du début des changements transitaires en Serbie**, la question qui est souvent posée en public. Ma thèse est (appuyée par les opinions de certains experts de la littérature consultée) que la transition postsocialiste en Serbie "en retard", soit elle a commencé beaucoup plus tard qu'aux autres pays de l'Europe de l'Est et de Sud-Est. D'après mon opinion, la transition en Serbie n'a pas pu commencer avant l'an 2000, pour une raison qu'à l'époque n'a pas été accompli une des conditions importantes de transition postsocialiste et c'est **la tendance vers l'intégration - globale, européenne, régionale et subrégionale**. Le régime réactionnaire de Slobodan Milosevic, grâce auquel ont été introduites les sanctions de la communauté internationale européenne en bloquant les changements transitaires lesquels se déroulaient d'une façon importante dans les autres pays déjà depuis le début des années '90 du siècle passé. Ce retard considérable d'une dizaine d'années présente la raison pour laquelle en Serbie actuellement commencent des changements législatifs, économiques et autres, qui provoquent les problèmes dans le fonctionnement des organisations artistiques. Dans ce chapitre je considère aussi la question de la **régionalisation** (comme encore un aspect de globalisation, et aussi son

inverse), des implications économiques de transition, des réformes institutionnelles étant la partie intégrale du processus transitionnel, et enfin, l'influence de transition sur le domaine de la culture et de l'art.

Dans le chapitre intermédiaire, **Festivals en focal**, je présente un court aperçu des circonstances sous lesquelles ils étaient formés ainsi que les conceptions de programme des six festivals choisis. Ensuite, je présente les résultats de mes recherches effectuées dans la période du février au mai 2006. Pour recueillir les informations de l'état actuel et de la position des festivals choisis, j'ai utilisé le questionnaire développé par l'Association Européenne des festivals pour European Festival Research Project² que j'ai envoyé aux directeurs artistiques et administratifs, soit aux secrétaires exécutifs du festival, en leur demandant de le remplir conformément aux connaissances personnelles. Les réponses aux questions du questionnaire (dans lequel sont combinés les méthodes qualitatives et quantitatives de recherches) j'ai présenté en forme de tableau, pour que les différents festivals peuvent se comparer suivant les paramètres importants (structure organisationnelle, budget, élément international, public...). Ces réponses servent comme base pour l'analyse comparative qui suit, et comme l'exemple illustré particulièrement j'ai présenté l'étude du cas du festival international de violoncelle de Belgrade, jeune mais apprécié, dont le sort est très incertain. Par l'exemple dudit festival on peut considérer clairement les conséquences que la transition peut avoir sur les festivals de la musique classique, si on ne reconnaît pas à temps les faiblesses et les menaces de l'environnement et par conséquent d'introduire les activités pour éliminer lesdites menaces et faiblesses.

Quatrième chapitre, **Ménagement du festival dans la société en transition - dépassement des difficultés, exploitation des possibilités**, est destiné au ménagement du festival et à la tentative de démontrer à quelle point les festivals pourraient avoir le profit maximal provenant du moment économique et social. Dans ce chapitre, je m'occupe à prouver l'hypothèse générale de ladite étude: que certains problèmes dont les festivals sont actuellement confrontés peuvent se résoudre à l'aide des méthodes de ménagement en culture. Dans le quatrième chapitre j'ai considéré les différentes techniques de **positionnement institutionnel, d'autoévaluation et diagnostic d'organisation**, ainsi que le **planning stratégique**, lesquels étaient développés par des auteurs comme Ichak Adizes,

² Je me suis appuyé sur la version du questionnaire du novembre 2004. Les résultats de ce grand projet, qui dure

Milena Dragicevic-Sesic et Sanjina Dragojvic, Keith Diggle, dont j'ai illustré l'application avec les exemples des six festivals analysés. Ces exemples sont comprises comme les recommandations pour les ménagers des festivals, étant donné qu'en Serbie, ce que j'ai mentionné préalablement, l'autoévaluation des performances des organisations artistiques du secteur public pratiquement n'existe pas, et ceci est certainement exact pour le planning stratégique en quelque période (courte, moyenne ou bien de longue durée).

Enfin, dans le dernier chapitre - **Conclusion : festivals comme investissement dans le futur de la société serbe**, je tente de trouver la réponse sur la question fondamentale posée dans le titre de cette thèse: la place et l'importance des festivals de la musique classique en Serbie, dans l'année 2006, dans le pays qui passe à travers des changements économiques pénibles, en réfléchissant du design de la société future et tente d'acquérir à nouveau la crédibilité et la confiance de la communauté internationale. Les travaux des auteurs françaises comme Robert Lacombe (2004) et B. Faivre-d'Arcier m'ont guidé 'en passant' le dernier chapitre. Le problème **de définir à l'avenir la politique culturelle**, laquelle en Serbie est en embryon, aurait une grande influence sur toutes les prévisions de l'avenir des festivals, vu qu'il faut prévoir les priorités dans le domaine de la culture du pays. D'Après ma conviction, la politique culturelle en Serbie doit se comprendre comme un facteur important de la **politique sociale**. Lié à cela il y a la thèse que la politique culturelle dans la société en transition ne doit pas se comprendre que comme répartition du budget public pour la culture. La politique culturelle, soit **l'intervention public dans le domaine culturel**, doit avoir aujourd'hui en but fondamental **la démocratisation des institutions culturelles**, pour permettre l'accès égal à tous les citoyens serbes, y compris les groupes sociaux dépriviliégiés. Je considère que les festivals de musique classique peuvent représenter le moyen excellent de médiation interculturelle entre les différents groupes sociaux, vu qu'ils sont très convenables, pour la promotion dans les médias, de façon que les messages transmis arrivent jusqu'à un grand nombre de gens. Aussi, à travers des programmes concomitants différents, les festivals de musique classique peuvent intéresser pour ladite musique les gens qui ne font pas partie de la catégorie des admirateurs. Le déplacement des festivals hors des espaces de concert habituels - dans des galeries, des musées ou bien des espaces ouverts- peut contribuer à cet objectif. Lorsque il s'agit des groupes dépriviliégiés, il faut constater que certains festivals de la musique classique en Serbie sont engagés d'une manière importante pour incorporer ces

groupes dans leurs propres programmes, en contribuant de leur meilleure intégration d'une manière plus visible dans la société. Cependant cette dimension utile des festivals n'est pas assez promue en public, et certainement à l'avenir il faudrait lui consacrer plus d'attention, vu qu'elle représente un fort argument au profit du maintien et de financement futur des festivals de la musique artistique. A part de la démocratisation de culture, une provocation importante dont la politique culturelle serbe devra se confronter est la question de **décentralisation**, soit la ranimation culturelle des villes et des milieux provinciaux.

En reprenant la question du ménagement dans le chapitre conclusif, j'évoque la discussion pourquoi il est difficile aux organisations artistiques (comme les festivals de musique artistique) de prospérer sur le marché libre. Je considère qu'il existe les raisons objectives et subjectives – les raisons objectives, remarquablement identifiées par Ichak Adizes et qui portent sur les différences dans la production des arts interprétés par rapport aux autres types de “marchandise”, et les raisons subjectives portant sur le manque des conducteurs dans des organisations artistiques, sur l'action en conformité aux routines, le manque de vision et de connaissance dans le domaine du ménagement d'étude et du ménagement stratégique. Néanmoins, ma conclusion définitive est que les festivals de la musique artistique en Serbie ont de bonnes chances de survivre ainsi que de se développer dans le futur, si on reconnaît les nombreux bénéfices sociaux qu'ils apportent: en bref, leur importance consiste **dans la possibilité d'améliorer la collaboration au niveau local et international, dans l'apport du développement de la conscience et de la connaissance sociale, et, comme résultat du précédent, dans l'accroissement, en totalité, de la qualité de vie au pays.**

INTRODUCTION

*N'y a-t-il point trop de festivals? Le public n'est il pas épuisé par le concept de festival? À l'évidence il y a une saturation de ce qui est devenu **plus une formule qu'un état d'esprit.***

Bernard Faivre-d'Arcier, *Comment donner un avenir aux festivals*³

The paper entitled *Place of the Classical Music Festivals in a Transitional Society* represents an attempt to sum up the experience that I've gained over the period of almost five years of working in field of the classical music production in Belgrade. Being faced on everyday basis with numerous problems which occur in functioning of these events that appear as a consequence of the ever changing social circumstances, I felt a need to research their present condition and study the context in which the festivals in our country exist today. My goal in doing this was to find some modes for their more successful adapting to new influences from the environment, caused by the economical transition in Serbia.

Concerning the fact that there are quite a few festivals of artistic or classical music in our country, I've chosen to analyze several of them which clearly depict the current state of affairs. These festivals take place in Belgrade (Bemus,⁴ Belgrade International Cello Fest, Guitar Art Fest and International Review of Composers) or in other Serbian towns (Nomus in Novi Sad, second largest city in the country, and *Marble and Sounds* Festival in Arandelovac). This qualitative sample is chosen according to the criterium of diversity, since they differ in tradition, program orientation, budget, organizational structure, and size. Of course, this is a subjective choice, and some of the festivals analyzed in this paper could have easily been replaced with similar examples (for instance, Nimus in Nish instead of Nomus, or International Harp Festival instead of Belgrade International Cello Fest). However, my choice was also motivated by the wish to explore the festivals that I already know very well from the 'inside', meaning that I am involved in their production, which also enables me to speak 'from practice' instead of being merely a theoretician. On the other hand, the final selection of festivals was made according to available literature (monographies, press reviews and similar), so that I could get a better insight into the festivals with a long tradition (thirty years or more).

³ Detailed bibliographical pieces of information about all books are put at the end of this thesis.

⁴ This is an abbreviation of '**Be**ogradske **mu**zičke **sve**čanosti' – Belgrade Music Festivities.

Definitions of festivals

The root of the word 'festival' suggests notions of festivity, feast and celebration (D. Klaić in Fenton, Neal, 2005: 149). According to the same author, festivals have the capacity to temporarily alter social conventions and to usher in a tentative *utopian program* requiring mutual trust and cooperation. This is a striking counterbalance to the business ethos of marketing and competition which prevails (*ibid*: 152). Festivals dedicated to classical or artistic music fall in the category of cultural-artistic events, the primary aim of which is to value and present artistic creations originated from a certain environment and in a certain period. They possess a twofold meaning: they give support to development of creativity (by validating) and to reception of these creative efforts (by popularizing the event in the broad public). Also, they often possess a character of festivity, and therefore they may become interesting even to the audience that does not normally enjoy that field of culture and art (Dragičević-Šešić and Stojković, 2003: 169)⁵.

Former director of the Festival d'Avignon, Bernard Faivre-d'Arcier justfully observes that today there is plenty of research going on concerning the **festival templates ('formules')**, and they are classified according to their size, frequentation and disciplines, while their 'spiritual' component is not so much in the focus of the researchers (*op. cit*). Having this in mind, I have tried throughout the thesis to combine these two approaches to the problematics of the classical music festivals in Serbia, hoping to show that the size and other more 'quantitative' descriptions of the festivals are directly linked to their 'imaginary' purpose, which in some cases becomes painfully obvious (I have in mind the oldest festivals researched here).

Festivals and reviews represent a very important way of diffusion of culture, because they provide validation of artistic creation: reviews by very selection of presented programs, and festivals by awards given to the artists (Dragičević-Šešić and Stojković, *op. cit*: 171). Both types of events give an insight into artistic achievements of an environment in a given period of time. When speaking about festivals of classical music, they don't necessarily have the competitive character (*ibid*, 173) – and indeed, in Serbia they most often don't involve any

⁵ Cultural-artistic events can be classified according to various criteria. The main type of classification – according to the events' goals – identifies festivals (of a competitive character), reviews (non-competitive, revial character) and celebrations (festive character). It is also possible to classify them according to geographical criteria, participants, frequentation (Dragičević-Šešić and

sort of competition, unlike the theatre festivals.⁶ In that respect, it is not a mistake to call them both festivals and reviews. This confusion in terminology is the reason why in this thesis I use the term festival as a general notion to describe all types of events.

Some of the festivals explored in this paper create regularly or occasionally their own productions. The most striking example for this is Bemus, but even the International Review of Composers had some very successful productions, such as Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* in 1998. Other festivals gain in complexity by featuring not only concerts, but students competitions as well as master classes (for instance, Cello Fest, Guitar Art Fest). On the other hand, the *Marble and Sounds* Festival is specific because the classical music program forms only one part of a very broad whole that also encompasses visual arts, film, theatre, applied arts etc.

Küllli Hansen, one of the researchers on the project *Festivals: Challenges of Growth, Distinction, Support Base and Internationalization* identifies another important classification of festivals: according to the organizing body. In this respect festivals can be divided into two types. First, festivals initiated by the city, region, institution, etc., with the aim of increasing the popularity of the city, region, institution and the number of visitors and tourists. Second, festivals initiated by an individual or a small group of entrepreneurs. In the first case, festivals often have organizational boards established in the very first year, professional managers are selected and hired for organizing them and their budget is largely funded by the respective city, region or institution. In the second case, festivals often focus on a specific topic (sometimes very novel) and are aimed at a narrow audience. These festivals often start off with a modest budget and grow year by year along with their managers, until the city or the state starts supporting them over the years, once they have proven that they are able to survive.

Both types of festivals are expected to be professionally organized, have very good performers and create a positive image of the city, region or institution. However, festivals of

Stojković, 2003, 170).

⁶ The International Review of Composers represents an interesting example, since originally it encompassed two different events – the competition (awards were presented to best pieces composed in the period of last three years in the country) and the review (concerts of international contemporary music ensembles, with their own, freely chosen programs). Later, the practice of awarding the best compositions was abandoned, but the ‘competition’ is nevertheless evident in the selection of pieces to be performed on concerts within the Review.

the first type always have a greater guarantee of being sustained, especially when their preservation is of a special significance for the city or region where they take place (such is the case of Bemus, for instance, which is defined as a event of a special significance for the city of Belgrade). The management and survival of the festivals of the other type depends almost entirely on the visions of the festival manager.

Out of six festivals which are the subject of this research, Bemus, Nomus, International Review of Composers and *Marble and Sounds* Festival fall in the first group, while the second group is represented by the Guitar Art Fest and partly by the Cello Fest (the latter initiated by a public cultural institution /Jugokonzert/, as a supplement to their yearly program, but it is developed largely owing to artistic and organizational knowledge of a single person employed in that institution).

Field of research

The very title of the paper – *Place of the Classical Music Festivals in a Transitional Society* – has a twofold meaning in Serbian language. First of all, it signifies an attempt to find a ‘place under the Sun’ for the festivals in an unfavorable social context. In that respect, the events are seen as an ‘endemic species’ that needs assistance in order to survive a transitional ‘ice age’ in Serbia. On the other hand, the title may be read in the light of *significance, role or meaning* of the festivals *in* the transitional society and *for* that society. Seen from that perspective, the research can be aimed towards analyzing the level of exploitation of the festivals’ potential, especially when talking about the possibilities of sub-regional and regional cooperation, presentation of Serbian artistic music on the international scene and, of course, making profit.

While examining both possible meanings of the title, in this paper I focus on the present moment, which means that I barely touch the history of these events. This approach is justified by the fact that monographic studies already exist for the two festivals with the longest tradition – Bemus and *Marble and Sounds*, while the other events (except for Nomus) are ‘young’ enough that it is still too early for serious retrospectives. Therefore, I choose to analyze the program orientation, goals and achievements of the six festivals, as well as their impact on the cultural life of Serbia. Also, I examine the perspective of their further existence at the time of transition in our country, since these changes have very little in common with

the ongoing ways of functioning of these events. Namely, it is no secret that the classical music festivals in Serbia are at present facing numerous problems, such as reduction of public funds, decrease of the number of audiences on concerts, and inability to create a more significant income (through box office and other activities) that would justify the investment in economic terms. Does it mean that people in Serbia, generally speaking, are not interested in classical music and its festival promotion? Or is it possible that the transition, as a social phenomenon, creates a unfavorable climate for prosperity of this sort of cultural life? And, who is to blame for the festivals' alienation from their audience in Serbia – their managers and program directors, the audience itself, media, politicians, or someone else?

My basic hypothesis is that **Serbian classical music festivals will have to make adjustments and modifications in their organizational structure and leadership models** in order to justify their further existence. I will try to prove that **use of new management techniques, alternative sources of financing and elaborate propaganda activities** may ensure not only the survival, but also the development of these events, while new opportunities, which arise from the gradual transition towards the market economy, must be used and exploited. I will also comment on the questions of festivals' relation towards the important issues of the cultural policy in Serbia, such as decentralization and development of cultural tourism. I will try to identify the present **audience** of the selected festivals, and offer some strategies which would enable its enlargement, or in other words, involvement of a greater number of Serbian citizens in cultural and artistic life which is at their disposal.

In this paper I will also argument some other, more specific hypotheses. First of all, I believe that the cooperation with foreign partners (festivals or organizations in charge of their production) could represent a solution to some of the difficulties identified beforehand. Regional co-operation and festivals' memberships in different international networks seem to be of particular importance.

The second specific hypothesis is related to the question of decentralization – namely, to the fact that there is a huge disproportion in development of the cultural life in Belgrade and in other Serbian towns (the so-called 'Belgradization'), which is a consequence of the existing models of financing and managing the festivals, and the fact that the present state of Serbian economy is rather difficult. Therefore, it is especially challenging to think about ways of reviving cultural life outside the capital. As observed by D. Klaić, in the big European cities a festival is perhaps a little more than an extension of the normal cultural program, but in

smaller places a festival could provide an extraordinary impulse for creativity, community self-conscience and civic development (in Fenton, Neal, 2005: 146). Examples of Salzburg, Avignon, Edinburgh, Waymar and other towns which host prestigious performing arts festivals and which are not administrative centers of their respective countries, give evidence that the cultural decentralization is definitely possible in capitalist societies. The answer perhaps lies in closer interdependence between events and their 'host' communities, in the development of cultural tourism, or something else.

As a basic argument for the defense of Serbian classical music festivals it is worth pointing out to their significance in creating a good image of the country and facilitating international cooperation. Therefore, the festivals must not be observed as mere consumers of public funds. Having in mind economical changes that took hold of Serbian society, we should start thinking about the additional value that the festivals may create for the society (and not only in economic terms!) and make a good use of their potential.

Structure of the thesis

Since I was originally educated in the field of art, and not economy, law or sociology, I feel that it is necessary to face the phenomenon of transition at the very beginning of my paper, the phenomenon that characterizes the present reality of Serbian society. Namely, I am interested in the context in which festivals in our country exist today, as well as the implications of the social-economic changes on these specific modes of cultural life. In writing this paper I rely on available literature dedicated to the transition in the Eastern European countries and, more specifically, in Serbia. I think that one of the most important questions is the exact dating of **the beginning of transition in Serbia**, so that we could draw conclusions about the progress of the economic, legislative and other reforms.

The next step is choice of a certain methodology of research. In order to gather information about the present state of the chosen festivals, I use a questionnaire, filled in by the festivals' administrative and artistic directors or their executive secretaries. I use a slightly modified questionnaire developed for the *European Festival Research Project*, initiated by the European Festivals Association (EFA-AEF)⁷. Answers to the questions from this

⁷ I rely on the questionnaire dating from November 2004. The results of this ongoing project can be

questionnaire (which combines qualitative and quantitative type of research) serve as a starting point for conclusions about the organizational structure of the festivals, ways of financing, cooperation with other festivals and institutions within the country and abroad. All that research is presented in the chapter called *Festivals in Focus*. As a supplement to this questionnaire, I use conversations with the festivals' directors, held on various occasions, then I rely on available literature, and finally, on my own 'first hand' experience in production of this type of cultural-artistic events.

The following chapter is dedicated to the festival management and an attempt to show possibilities to draw maximal benefits from the present social-economic moment. Finally, in the last, concluding chapter, I sum up the results of the research and I try to give an answer to the initial question, put in the title of this paper: what is the place and significance of the classical (artistic) music festivals in Serbia, in the year 2006, in a country that is undergoing painful economic changes, while contemplating about the future social design and attempting to regain credibility and trust in the eyes of the international community? The question of the emerging cultural policy in Serbia largely influences all predictions of the festivals' future, since it is yet to be seen what the cultural priorities of the country called Serbia will be.

Literature

In the course of preparation and researching, as well as writing the paper, I consulted literature from several scientific fields such as organizational management, marketing, transition, cultural policy, cultural economy, etc.

Two recently published monographies were of particular value to me since they offer a thorough insight in the history of the festivals that go almost four decades back. These are the books by Dejan Despić *1969-1998. Thirty Years of the Belgrade Music Festival* (published in 2000, in Serbian and English language)⁸ and Dragana Čolić-Biljanovski *Smotra*

found at the network's web site www.efa-aef.com .

⁸ Using Despić's monography on Bemus, as well as available catalogues and daily programs, I tried to reconstruct complete yearly editions of this festival since its launching in 1969. I devoted special attention to known cases of cancellations after the catalogues had been issued. This research is available since October 2005 on the Bemus' web site www.bemus.co.yu (Archive), in Serbian and English language.

jugoslovenske umetnosti "Mermer i zvuci" 1968-2000. published in 2002. A collection of Gordana Krajačić's articles called *Muzički festivali* also represents an important document about the reception of the programs of certain festivals at different points of their history.⁹

Concerning the phenomenon of the transition, two studies were especially helpful: the collection of papers of the researchers of the Institute for European Studies *Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive* (2004), as well as the book by Nada Švob-Đokić *Tranzicija i nove europske države* (2000).

Finally, in the field of management and marketing, I relied upon several books by Ichak Adizes (2002), Milena Dragičević-Šešić and Sanjin Dragojević (2005), Keith Diggle (1998) and several other authors.

⁹ Detailed bibliographical references are given at the end of the thesis.

TRANSITION – DEFINITIONS OF THE TERM AND ITS MORE SPECIFIC INTERPRETATIONS

Transition is a valley of tears that one has to cross to get closer to the progress of the luminous West.

Radmila Nakarada (*Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive*)

Transition, in general

Before I start researching the chosen music festivals in Serbia, I find it necessary to say something about the context in which I examine these events – that is, the period of transition in Serbia. Although much has been said about transition in the past few years, the notion itself, as well as its implication, still remain mostly unclear. There are numerous reasons for that. Firstly, in the papers by various scholars who examine the achievements of the transitional reforms – both in the broader context and in Serbia - there are different opinions about the meaning and the ‘range’ of this term. Further, the transition in Serbia is not something accomplished, which can be observed objectively from a distance – quite the contrary, we live in this ‘transitory period’ every day and we are faced with the fact that our reality is ever-changing. Therefore it is easily possible that the things I am writing about now (in the beginning of year 2006) will be ‘out of date’ in several months, or even before. Faced with this uncertainty I must, therefore, state that my **present** overview of the transition in Serbia is based upon **present** state of things. Besides the ‘first-hand experience’ of living here and now, I relied upon the works of numerous scholars from the region, especially Nada Švob Đokić (Švob-Đokić, 2000; Švob-Đokić, ed., 2004), as well as the researchers from the Institute for European Studies in Belgrade (*Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive*, 2004; Stojanović, 2005).

The term ‘transition’ nowadays has two meanings, the narrower and the broader one. **In the broader sense**, the word transition represents **the change of the social system** (Švob-Đokić, 2004, 9). What differs it from the social transformation is its **systematic nature**; therefore transformation is a necessary, but not the decisive condition of the transition (Švob-Đokić, 2000: 9).

It is important to point out that the change of the social system is not something which comes about 'naturally', by itself, but it is a **deliberate, politically initiated change**. The very change encompasses a range of social subsystems: the economical (acceptance of the free market and introduction of all the institutional changes which enable its functioning, the intensive economical 'opening' of the society, liberalization and restructuring of the production...), political (introduction of basic elements of democratic institutions, political participation and encouraging of the democratic redefining of the social role of mass media...), legal, cultural, etc. (*ibid*, 98). The complexity of the transition is caused by the fact that it is not possible to change all segments of the social order in equal speed, nor simultaneously. Therefore a series of specific crisis and transformations of the subsystems mentioned above accompany the process of transition.

Although it is quite legitimate to use the term transition in the broader sense, today it is primarily used in a narrower sense to describe **the political, economical and social change characteristic for the contemporary postsocialist societies which have abandoned the socialist social order and are striving towards capitalism** (Švob-Đokić, 2004: 9; also *Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive*, 2004: 10). According to this understanding of the notion, the second decisive cause, besides the systematic social transformation, is a **successful international integration or networking into the total international exchange**, the communication, as well as a subregional, regional and global connection (*ibid*). Therefore, transition is a consequence of **globalism**,¹⁰ which represents, in fact, an increased and deepened internationalisation and the dominance of the market-oriented economy onto the contemporary world map. The globalism is a mode of development of the contemporary world, based upon the functioning of free markets, spreading of democracy and respecting the human rights (*ibid*: 130).¹¹ Today it can be observed that capitalism has indeed evolved

10 A popular TV show 'Mile vs. Transition' (B 92) should, in fact, be called 'Mile vs. Globalism'!

11 According to Đuro Kovačević, **globalisation is a sign of capitalism, moreover of the condition where the profitability of capital has become a necessity for survival and a measure of development**. This process has started from its inherent logic of capital, it has developed and it's been questioned and denied because of its contradictions, while today it has become predominant. The freedom of choice has been reduced to searching for possibilities to acknowledge differences within the internal structure and dynamics of the globalisation process. The process itself has become irreversible, and therefore necessary and without alternatives. Of course, it doesn't mean that the process is straightforward and that there aren't any obstacles and resistances.

All in all, it is a process which leads to the planetary acceptance of the principles and structure of the civil society. The market and its institutions, the largest capital and the most efficient economy,

into becoming a global system, that it has integrated all the societies and civilisations, but in many different ways (*ibid*: 26).

Therefore, the contemporary post-socialist societies are today facing the necessity to abandon the centralized, governmentally regulated and planned production, and to transform into the market-oriented mode, which is again related to the nature of property (the private property instead of the social one). Nowadays one usually speaks of transition from socialism into a certain type of liberal capitalism, especially regarding the post-socialist countries of the Central, East and SouthEast Europe. For the purposes of terminological clarity, it is useful to use the term **postsocialist transition** for this type of change, in order to distinguish it from other forms and meanings of transition.

If we stick to the narrower meaning of the term transition, one can also speak about the 'Europization' which brings these societies so much closer in constitutional, legal, economical and political sense to the societies which constitute European Union that it becomes possible to approach the achieved European standards in all the relevant dimensions such as: the total ordering of the society, market and economics, position of a person and its human and civic rights, preservation of natural resources and the development of human ones etc.¹² (Transition a Decade Later: Morals and Perspectives, 2004: 10). For the majority of these societies, the point of transition is entering the European Union, which is the goal that some of the post-socialist countries have already achieved, while the others have approached it to bigger or lesser extent.

From the historical point of view, there are two types of transition: the transition from the pre-capitalist productional and social formation into capitalist ones, and the transition from

democratic values and stable democratic institutions, life standard, rights and freedoms of men, well arranged political community and rule of rights – all that adds to the advantage of the liberal capitalist model and serves as a means of justification of the leader's ambitions and domination of own interests.

However, the process is not based on principles of equal rights, but on **relations of power**, which are limited, to a certain extent, by some ideological and normative boundaries. The United Nations, as well as some other international conventions and entities such as the European Union, form those boundaries through systems of rules and definition and instiutalization of goals. Nevertheless, interests, their power and ability of their promotion, represent the very essence of the transition process, its structure and dynamics (*Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive*, 2004: 7-8).

12 There are, however, societies such as Russian Federation, which occupy a special position in the world (and not only because of their size!) and therefore they are not expected to simply fit in a general European model.

socialism to capitalism. Both types of transition are connected to the industrialisation, but in different phases. The acceptance of capitalism in a long-term perspective denotes the acceptance of the market-oriented production. On the other hand, when socialism was accepted after the Second World War, it signified the attempt to create an alternative economic system (Švob-Đokić, 2000: 116).

In the examination of the current state of post-socialist societies, the transition from the pre-capitalist formations into capitalist ones can be understood as a relevant experience, because it mirrors many developmental tendencies which are currently encountered in contemporary European transitional processes. Quite simply, the transition in post-socialist countries repeats, in an adapted form, the processes typical for the establishment of original capitalist societies, such as various models of the preliminary accumulation of capital, formation of new elites, total impoverishment and marginalization of certain social groups etc.

In the case of transition in the newly-industrialized Asian countries, the analysts were much more interested in the final stage of transition - a well organized and an innovative market-oriented production. On the other hand, in the case of the transition in the Eastern, Central and Southeastern Europe, the analysts are more interested in *the transitory process itself*, and not so much in its initial or expected final stage (*ibid*, 17-18). Therefore, most of the European authors mainly concentrate on investigating the social transformation - namely, the actual changes in the actual areas (*ibid*).

When it comes to the European countries coming through transition at the very moment, it is important to recognize that we are not only dealing with certain lateness in the phases of the pre-capitalist and early capitalist development, but also with **abandoning an alternative (socialist) model** (*ibid*, 19). Although Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia belonged to the group of the newly-industrialized countries, none of them managed to complete the transition so rapidly and successfully as Asian countries and Brazil. It turns out that everything is far more complex when it comes to leaving the alternative solutions and adopting a different system, then when it happens to be an almost 'natural' transition from the pre-capitalist into the capitalist order. The former socialist countries are transgressing from one world to another, which is very functionally different, and with differently structured values. At the same time it is often forgotten that neither of the systems can fall apart at once, not can it leave a 'vacuum' in which a new model can be implanted immediately. The social consequences of such an inability to conceive, direct and conduct the

changes in an organized and systematic way, lead to the catastrophe in many post-socialist societies, with Serbia being one of the most notable examples.

By accepting the systematic changes as a means of abandoning the socialism, the countries from Central and Eastern Europe moved towards their final goal – the change of their position on the global scene, in order to take part in the global developmental scheme, division of power and production and distribution of world's wealth. Nevertheless, even the countries in which transition was the most successfully conducted (for example Slovenia, Czech Republic, Estonia) did not fully achieve the radical change of system. These countries are yet to reach the new quality of life, which should be preceded by changes in economy, ownership, social structure, constitution of system and government – in other words, they are yet to create *welfare*. At present, they are mainly situated in the marginal areas of system changes, and such a condition (which is described in literature as 'a wild capitalism', 'the elusive socialism' etc.) is non-productive in developmental terms and makes it difficult (or even impossible) for them to take a more active part in global development – which is the basic purpose of transition.

When it comes to the ways of introducing and conducting the transitory changes into the former socialist countries, there are two basic types of approach: the first is called '**shock therapy**' and is related by its nature to the revolutionary changes, while the second one – **the gradual approach** – is based upon more gradual, evolutionary transformations (*ibid*: 20, 21; *Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive*, 2004: 11). Therefore, the two basic protagonists of transition have been profiled: one of them being a revolutionary advocating the neoliberal concept of society (in Serbia this type of protagonist could be embodied by Mlađan Dinkić, or the assassinated Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić), and the other one being a reformist working under the shield of social sympathy for the men (for instance, the current Prime Minister of Serbia Vojislav Koštunica acts in that manner). The shock-therapy is a model which implants the change primarily into a single area (for instance, a financial area), where it produces a shock, and it is expected that the effects of that shock should initiate positive changes in all other, related spheres. Some scholars believe that this approach mainly focuses on its effects at the national level while, on the other hand, the gradual approach understands transition primarily as a global, multi-phased process (CF: Švob-Đokić, 2000: 20-21). This definition of the shock-therapy is, however, confronted by Radmila Nakarada's opinion, who sees this type of introduction of transitory changes as a part of a 'global project'

(*Zeitgeist*), inside of which a certain understanding of the nature of transition in post-socialist societies is promoted. Namely, shock-therapy relies upon a general model of reforms which originates from the so-called Washington Consensus, which was applied broadly from Latin America to Central and Eastern Europe. Its constitutive elements are firm monetarism, strict budget restrictions, cancelation of social subventions, radical privatisation, and minimized role of the state (*Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive*, 2004: 100, 203). The same author makes an interesting point that this model contains numerous similarities to the Bolshevik transition! Firstly, transition is conceived as a revolution (which is the very essence of the shock-therapy), and not as a gradual reform which takes into consideration specific characteristics of the society, as well as its citizens' experience and historical background. Secondly, the neoliberal model of capitalism is presented as an ultimate problem-solving paradigm, as the only way to go towards the desired goal. Thirdly, transition is conducted as a social engineering, which means imposing the changes upon the society with such a pressure as if it was a *tabula rasa*, and not a historically grounded and shaped society. In short terms, the present time is suspended for the sake of future, as if in socialism, but with expectance that 'the bright future' is much nearer – that it can be reached within several years. The unexpected outcomes, problems and crisis are also interpreted in a bolshevik way: all the problems are caused by the inconsistent or incomplete application of shock-therapy – while in socialism all the problems were explained by the inconsistent realisation of the socialist program, or its insufficient development (*ibid*: 203-204).

Shock-therapies have been acknowledged as the 'simplistic ideology of changes' and are exposed to severe criticism. The effect of shock-therapies has been marked out as 'mismanaged transition'. The course of events gives support to the gradualists school, because it turns out that the accelerated privatization does not lead to good results (which shall be discussed later), and also that the institutional changes are very important as they represent a valuable part of the successful reform. The conviction of the first school that the newly-achieved private property and economic liberty should build immanently all the necessary institutions is unrealistic, and it is necessary for the state to conduct these changes on its own (*ibid*: 100).

Both options have their advantages and disadvantages. The two different approaches lead to a mutual conclusion: the process of change must be designed in every society in accordance to its specific developmental strategies and possibilities for systematic restructuring; however,

the process is simultaneously a part of global changes, therefore the global situation can not and must not be neglected while designing one's own developmental strategies.¹³

Transition in Serbia

An important question if we speak about transition in the narrow sense, is a question of its **temporal spread**: to be precise, in case of Serbia, when did transition actually begin. The answers to that question which we encounter in the available literature are very heterogeneous. Firstly, one might say that the post-socialist transition is preceded by the collapse of socialist regime, especially in its core – the Soviet Union and the countries of the so-called Warsaw Pact. The downfall of the Berlin Wall, Perestroika... marked out the ending of the 'cold war' and the abandoning of the 'alternative' socialist model of the social order. The collapse was caused by the interaction of the constitutive limitations of the Soviet model (which had blocked the development and prevented the modernization) with the pressure of the globalism carried on the wings of superiority of the capitalist model of development. In the competition for the world power, the winner was the profitable economy of capital that defined the challenges to the development and traced out the roads of transition (*ibid*, 10). Therefore the definition of transition as a transgression from the totalitarian to the democratic regime should be extended to include that transition happens after the supposed **historical debacle and downfall of the totalitarian regime**. The essential definition of the changes described as (post-socialist) transition is of a renewal and establishment of normality, which is a normal civil society.

In that sense, the creation of fourteen new European countries from 1989 to 1993¹⁴ marked out, in Nada Švob-Đokić's opinion, an attempt to overcome the systematic dysfunctions of

13 According to Nada Švob-Đokić, the downfall of the socialist system in Europe is observed in most cases as a consequence of the economical inefficiency of socialism rather than of strong influences from abroad. However, there are some authors who actively oppose to that point of view and say that the international community has played a much bigger role in destruction of the socialism than any internal functional problems (see, for example, Chossudovsky, Michel, 'Dismantling former Yugoslavia, recolonising Bosnia', *Development in Practice*, Vol. 7 no 4, 375-383). (cf. Švob-Đokić, 2000).

14 In chronological order: Republic of Lithuania, Russian Federation, Republic of Bellarus, Republic of Croatia, Republic of Slovenia, Republic of Estonia, Republic of Latvia, Ukraine, Republic of Moldavia, Republic of Macedonia, Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Czech Republic and Slovak Republic.

the socialist federation by the decentralization and a full affirmation of some of their parts as the eventual constitutive elements of some future, more modern, flexible and desirable integrations (Švob-Đokić, 2000, 32).

This author declares herself as an exponent of a thesis that transition in all post-socialist countries, therefore in United Republic of Yugoslavia (later Serbia and Montenegro) as well, commenced immediately after the splitting up of the socialist federation (*ibid*: 63). Still, the formal introduction of the multi-party system, the elections and the other democratic institutions, did not ensure at first the actual democratization of societies in the brand new European countries. In reality, in all the new countries (with possible exceptions of Czech Republic, Slovenia and Estonia) the collapse of the Socialist federation was followed by the rise of the new authoritarian regimes, the power of which was not based upon the successful economical transition and the actual democratization, but upon manipulation with all that was left behind the previous regimes: mostly criminal privatization i.e. distribution of the ex country's wealth; preserved and even worsened governing methods; populist exploitation of the cultural and civilizational merits of the people. The new authoritarian leaders such as Lukashenko, Milošević or Tuđman manipulated the developmental transitional crises, but they did not resolve them. These leaders relied upon the new elites which were given rise by the usurpation of the former communal properties or by the external help; they did not truly support the changes of property or the creative changes in societies. The establishing of authoritarian regimes in the new European countries was a sign of the incompatibility to control the crises caused by the transitory changes and to direct the social development towards some kind of liberal capitalism. The recentralization of the governmental system, the strict and yet unsuccessful controls of all the spheres of social life and production, the shameless accumulation of the economic power achieved by stealing and usurpation the properties which did not belong to the new elites, are the basic characteristic of the new authoritarian regimes (*ibid*, 64-65).

Furthermore, there are certain authors who believe that transition is a brief process which had practically ended with the extinction of the communist governments, no matter how the actual extinction had happened (CF: *ibid*, 14-15). In such an interpretation, the change or the replacement of the government represents 'the end of transition'. This is explained by the fact that the Central and Eastern European countries, after the downfall of the socialist regimes, found themselves in a completely new situation, which called for a new type of action.

Whatever the characteristics of the new system were, it was by no means socialist. Still, the opinion which prevails in the literature is that the process of transition, apart from being eclectic, is a multi-phased and a longterm one (*ibid*).

Bearing all these in mind, it is quite difficult to mark the exact moment of the beginning of transition as a systematic transformation in Serbia. For, speaking about our country, the ‘historical debacle’ i.e. the fall of the socialist regime, did not fall simultaneously with the disintegration of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, because the leftist parties retained the power – thus one of the main conditions for transition (the transgression to the market-oriented way of production) was not fulfilled. Furthermore, if we accept the opinion that the downfall of the totalitarian regime is a necessary condition for its beginning, we come to the conclusion that it could not begin before October 5th 2000 and the dethroning of Slobodan Milošević. For that matter, another consequence of the totalitarian regime in Serbia and the economic sanctions imposed upon Serbia was that the process of the regional (European) and global integration was made impossible - while this process is being regarded as another important ‘symptom’ of transition. The opinion that transition began here only in the end of 2000 was given in the Report about transition in Serbia and Montenegro, published by Belgrade institute G 17 and the ISSP from Podgorica on June 22nd, 2004;15 and several researchers from the Institute of European Studies also agree with that statement (*Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive*, 2004, 14, 213). However, some authors from this circle have a different opinion on this important matter: namely, Božo Stojanović in his book *Tranzicija u Srbiji: privredno lutanje* (2005, 7), points to the fact that changes in production and society as whole in Serbia had begun in the early 1990s. In his opinion, social and production system which had been functional up till then was demolished in a subtle and conscious way although, probably due to the skillful rethorics of the bearers of political power of the time and their accompanying pyrotechnical effects, it seemed quite different to many. This very process which, for the most part, had been taking place away from the public eye which was overshadowed by the turbulent war events of the time, was about the fundamental economical changes in the sphere of the new distribution of wealth and power. There was neither a consistent economical policy, nor the introduction of the reformist laws, but in the darkness and behind the wails new economical and political elite was formed. Dragan D. Lakićević (2005) agrees on that: when the advocates of production reforms, in

15 A brief critical overview of this report can be found in web edition of the magazine *Ekonomist* No.

accordance to the demands of transition, attained the power, they faced a new oligarchy, the exhausted market, inappropriate media and impoverished people. In other words, since one of the aspects of the political democracy by its definition is the struggle for power, prestige and benefits, it is no wonder that the new economical elite easily found its allies in many exponents of the new government. Therefore it is no wonder that the conditions for the successful functioning of the effective market-oriented production based on the free competition have not been created yet.

Considering the weight of the arguments stated above in favour of the opinion that the starting point of Serbian transition dates from the downfall of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but also in favour of the opinion that we can not discuss changes before October 5th, 2000, I can only make one conclusion: this question can not be answered easily and uniformly. Still, I would prefer the second opinion on Serbian post-socialist transition, that it started some five years ago, because only then – I dare say – did we begin to understand the real purpose of transition: that it did not represent only the change of the economic system, but also a **process of integration**. From that moment onwards the social changes in Serbia have truly been directed towards approaching the standards of the European Union (at least on the conceptual level, if not in practice).

Perhaps even more important from the question on the duration of transition in Serbia is the question about the actual **status of the state (državnog statusa)** – bearing in mind the international protectorate over Kosovo – which should in future direct the social changes and determine our position in the regional and global frames. In that sense, I totally agree with Đura Kovačević's opinion (2004) that our current thinking about the future of Serbia as an independent country must ultimately and unconditionally be formulated as a question on **how to accelerate the process of joining the European Union**, especially having in mind the challenges of globalization, which are increasingly influencing societies worldwide, including even the big nations and powerful countries - and this is even more true for the small ones.

Integration as an imperative of transition – a global, regional, sub-regional one

I shall stick a bit more to clarifying the relationship between globalism and transition, the two processes which intertwine and comprise each other. As noticed by Radmila Nakarada (*Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive*, 200-201), the process of globalism is at the same time also a sort of transition, in two senses. Firstly, transition does not include only certain (post-socialist) societies, but the whole world is in transition, especially after the ending of The Cold War. Namely, the world progresses more and more rapidly from the organization of society according to territorial and national principles towards the trans-national and supernational ways of organization, from the bipolar towards the unipolar, from ideological divisions into blocks towards the ever increasingly sharper civilizational and economical divisions. Secondly, globalism connotes a certain type of internal changes of the given societies, it dictates the velocity, direction and the nature of their transition (which we have already discussed).

On the other hand, transition is also a kind of globalism. Transition is not just a process taking place within local frames, but also an actual way of taking part into globalism. The inner political and economical transformation of the former socialist countries makes a constitutive part of their incorporation into the global order. This type of incorporation of societies is not a new one, for it has had numerous layers that comprised some parts of Latin America, Southern Europe and South-Eastern Asia. The current transitional wave has the greatest scope, for it comprises the greatest number of countries, their inhabitants and territories. However, it is the most difficult one as well, because it requires the transformation of the total order of the society.

Transition also requires introduction of the political liberties and political pluralism, the market-oriented economy, production and private property. However, these, generally favourable processes, can be performed in different ways according to various models, strategies, with different velocity and different social price, all of these depending on the capability and interests of their protagonists. Hereby we see once again that the project of transition is notably determined by the project of globalism. Still, by introducing democracy and market-oriented economy, the countries in transition do not gain a greater degree of autonomy when it comes to defining of the economic, foreign or security policies, but they are more dependent in these areas on international monetary institutions and the policy of the main global hegemony (The United States), and less on the desires and needs of their own

citizens. In that sense, transition could be regarded as a way to establish a 'dependent democracy' (*ibid*, 201).

Finally, the relationship between globalism and transition is not just one of intertwining but also of mutual tension. Globalism puts pressure on the erosion of the social state in the name of competitiveness, while the painful economic reforms in post-socialist countries demand for the network of social protection. Unevenly distributed, the drastic prize of transition can cause social clashes and the return of the non-democratic regimes. Globalism neutralizes the power of the national state, although a successful transition requires a measure of an effective intervention of the state, at least in the first phase (*ibid*).

The same author believes that globalism also becomes an internal determinant of transition thanks to the external actors (transactors) which form a pact with the local reigning elite, or which confront it. Therefore, when one speaks of the globalism and its impact on transition, it is not just about the objective processes which spread throughout the planet, but also about personalized exponents of global project and the transmitters of global processes. The axis of local/global is created by means of creating a pact with the reigning elite or by fraternizing with the opposition (*ibid*, 206).

Furthermore, the character of the transitional processes is also conditioned by the type of the global political intervention which takes several shapes. One of its shapes is an active modeling of political scene by means of financial, political and media support to certain parties, by support provided to the non-governmental sector, syndicates and media, with the purpose of extending the local/global consensus. The second way takes a form of political interventions which are performed through gradual incorporation of these countries into regional streams, such as European Union, NATO's spreading onto East, the programmes of Partnership for Peace etc. (*ibid*, 207).

One may thus conclude that transition is a remarkably local/global phenomenon. Transitional changes are only one of the aspects of the global development and the true integration of all societies into the global system of trade, which represents one of the basic generators of economical growth. That also means that various results and successes of transition are a consequence of both the pre-transitional start (the point of departure for the given countries) and the international community's attitude towards those countries.

Integration is a reaction to the process of globalism and at the same time one of its most

elaborate characteristics (a communion of its old national institutions and the new, supernational ones). In the economic sphere it leads to the integration of the capital market, creating a unique currency, hegemony of the macro-economic conditions by creating precise criteria for the budget deficits, inflation, interests and public debt (*ibid*, 199).

Nowadays, integration represents the only way to improve a country's position. Integrations can be heterogeneous: partial, total, political, economical or systematical. Also, they may be regional or global, more or less defined in organizational and legal aspect, then, specialized in different ways, or conditioned by some short-termed but very clearly stated interests. They reflect the way in which the global system functions, thus being the unavoidable frame of the contemporary international relations in general. As a means of international connection, integrations are much more functional and overwhelming than the traditional bilateral or multilateral types of connection between states. Namely, from historic point of view, only the organizations that were chosen in the bilaterally international contracts, due to their top-class national acknowledgments, could participate into the processes of international exchange. Today, the participation in these processes depends primarily upon the organization itself, its success, but also upon desire and motivation to operate outside its country's borders (Dragičević-Šešić, Dragojević, 2005, 219).

If we speak about the cultural organizations, nowadays they can take part in international activities in many ways: ranging from membership into networks and associations, participating in the festivals, consultations, realization of the partnered projects, to being prepared to connect the artists and troupes from other countries in realization of their own activities. The criteria for measuring the results of the international collaboration, both in the sense of realization of quality programmes and the organizational development, are as follows: *becoming a part of the European and regional networks; realization of international projects; taking part into programmes and projects of various international organizations; exploitation of macro-regionally available resources (human, informational, technical) for the purposes of better international positioning of both the organization and its region; inclusion of individuals and groups from other countries and regions into one's own projects and activities etc. (ibid, 219-220).*

Regionalization

One of the accompanying effects of the globalism is regionalism, which is a division of the world into three blocks: European (EU), Asian-Pacific (ASEAN) and North-American (NAFTA) (*Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive*, 2004, 199). It is important to note that regional connections are complementary with the processes of globalism and that regional development becomes the dominant tendency of the contemporary world (Švob-Đokić, 2000, 138-139). For the European countries, including the new post-socialist states, European Union is a firm bearer and creator of integration processes (*ibid*, 159).

Regionalism can be observed in two ways: **as a way in which globalization is manifested, or as a way of defense from the globalism.** Perhaps it is most accurate to say that regionalism comprises both elements.

Transitional changes unavoidably face all the new post-socialist countries with the necessity to design their relationship towards regional integrations as a key element of their international relations and their mutual position. All of them have chosen to join the European Union, however there is a huge gap between the declared political will and the political and economical reality of these countries. From the standpoint of the countries in transition, European Union as one of the key protagonists of globalism as well a form of regional integration which all the former communist countries are striving to, has a special significance, because it represents simultaneously a kind of globalism and the response to the global processes.

The United Europe is one of the most important phenomena which has had a deep impact on the shaping up the New World Order.¹⁶ Among other things, a successful economical integration and establishing consensus in the sphere of the international politics, can contribute to the polycentric structure of the world power and oppose to the unipolar dominance of the USA as world's leading force. EU is also important as a source of structural innovations which represent one possible answer to the question of the crisis of national states. The new ways of governing are being formed around it, the new institutions in all layers (from local, national to the transnational) as well as the new type of state – ‘the

¹⁶ European Union (former European Economic Union) was constituted in 1957. godine. Its founding members were The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Germany (West Germany until 1990), France and Italy.

network state' are being created (*Tranzicija deceniju posle: pouke i perspektive*: 199).

EU does not cancel the actual national states, but it represents a means of their survival, under the condition that they give up a certain degree of sovereignty in favour of greater inclusion and impact onto the world-wide and internal matters in the era of globalism.

However, EU also faces difficulties which are produced by the dominant form of globalism, above all because it otežava survival of the social country, increases non-egalitarianism, unemployment and poverty. The reactions to the unemployment, insecurity and the increased social differences reflect themselves in the increased racism and xenophobia. Also, in the countries of the EU there occurred a necessity to defend local cultural identities when confronted to the homogenizing powers of globalism (ibid, 200).

The situation with European Union has become even more complex since 1990, kada na njen „dnevni red’ dolazi pitanje proširenja na istok – that is, integration of the states which had liberated themselves from the former socialist federations and stepped into the international scene as independent protagonists. Namely, by that time, the processes of European integration had been taking place among the countries which had, basically, had the same system of production and social order (the capitalist one). But, then the question occurred: how to preserve stability, efficiency and predictability of the integration process, and yet include the countries whose system processes are not the same, that is the countries undergoing the post-socialist transition. For, as I had shown before, the abandoning of one system and its replacement with another is a very uncertain process, accompanied by crisis in all subsystems which are subjugated to transformation; the incorporation of these countries could lead to the destabilization of the EU, which could in turn result with nesagledive consequences for the member countries and ‘the loss of match’ against the USA.

When it comes to the sovereign countries which were once Yugoslav republics, they must answer another challenge posed to them by Europe, that challenge being the sub-regional bonding. The general context of the sub-regional bonding of the European post-socialist countries begins with the establishment of the good neighboring relations, which is especially challenging for the countries whose departure from the federations was accompanied by clashes and wars, namely to the countries which came out of disintegrated Yugoslavia.¹⁷ The

¹⁷ In order to help establish stable neighbor relationships among ex-YU countries, the diplomatic Initiative Royamont has been formulated within the EU. This Initiative joins broader actions to start

collaboration between the former Yugoslav republics (which are nowadays independent countries, each one of them with its own response to the imperatives of transition) is still very much imposed upon from the outside, by the interfering of the European Council, European Union and the United Nations, as well as a broader international community. The new programs, schemes and platforms have been created such as the Pact for Stability, which insist on the (sub-)regional networking and bonding (Dragičević-Šešić i Dragojević, 2005, 26). It is quite clear that the broader regional stabilization - but also the fruitful and effective stabilization - will not be possible until the former Yugoslav countries create the mutual relations on the basis of constructive, egalitarian and interest-oriented collaboration. For, despite the assistance of the foreign community in partaking into dialogue, if we look at the long-term prospects, only the forms and types of collaboration grounded upon the desires and interests induced from inside will survive – especially in the artistic and cultural domains (*ibid*, 27-28).

Economical implications of transition

The change of economic situation in the post-socialist societies can be observed - in short terms by answering two intertwined challenges: **the privatization and the exchange**.

A majority of the post-socialist countries accepted that introduction of the radical economical reforms is a necessity and the basis for the entire social transformation. Reforms are based on the change of ownership, i.e. on the process of privatization and the total economic liberalization (of the financial streams, prices, open markets etc.) which should remove all the administrative and institutional boundaries to production and exchange.

The change of ownership - privatization - had been regarded, since the beginning of the post-socialist transition, as the most important systematic change and the basis for the restructuring of these states.¹⁸ There had been a belief that the owners' interests would have

regional cooperation, special projects and economic exchange (Švob-Đokić, 2000).

18 The global project of privatization started during the eighties in Great Britain initiated by the Margaret Thatcher's government. This process has spread to encompass not only former socialist countries but also developed countries and countries in development. All governments are trying to 'get rid' of state companies, even though some of them are still hesitating, hoping to use these companies a little longer for their own enrichment (Tranzicija deceniju posle..., 98-99).

the immediate impact on the efficiency of the institutional changes and the adequate arranging of the total sum of production and social relations. However, the results of the process of ownership change were disappointing everywhere, since that social process turned out to be incontrollable, often criminally-oriented and directed towards accumulation of wealth of certain individuals, without development and without functional use of the available resources (primarily human resources). The way in which privatization had been conducted in most countries led to unemployment, the rise of the criminal groups and organized mafia, to marginalization of the once-leading layers of the societies and to the rise of the new economic elites etc. (Švob-Đokić, 2004, 144-145; Dragičević-Šešić, 2005, 22). In this 'transitory' period, as noticed by Dragan Lakićević, the state-owned capital melts down and is transferred into the funds of the private enterprises. Since the state resources have an abstract owner - the state - who finds it hard to control the allocation of its resources, it turned out that, during the full expansion of privatization certain managers delegated by the state used their positions to transfer a part of this collective property into their own private companies and accounts. The same author notices, with some good humour, that one could write volumes and volumes on how the 'communal' property was running away from the state and into private possessions during the last decade (*Tranzicija deceniju posle...*, 162).

Today it is obvious that the attempts to pursue the economic restructuring quickly and effectively were not successful in any of the post-socialist countries despite the reformists' recipes, liberalization of prices and opening of the market. Even the exceptionally precisely designed and executed privatization can not guarantee the optimal practical effect of the totality of economic and social changes. Economic reforms should be accompanied by successful conducting of the institutional and legal reforms directed towards consolidation of the ownership rights (Švob-Đokić, 2004, 145).

If we observe privatization as a model of a systematic transformation of Serbian society, a basic model imposed was **selling out of the communal and state-owned capital** (*Tranzicija deceniju posle...*, 117). The current state of Serbian economy or, to be more precise, of Serbian companies with major part of communal and state-owned capital is very bad. These enterprises may be classified in three groups: the first one consists of companies which are operational and which can be easily privatized;¹⁹ the second group comprises companies which face tremendous difficulties but which do have some business perspective after the

19 For instance, the Knjaz Miloš in Arandelovac company was sold successfully.

restructuring; finally, the third group consists of companies with no business perspective.

The advantages of the sales-model in Serbia are multiple. Firstly, the sale of enterprises provides the best management for the privatized ones, which is, from the view of the economic efficacy, the top priority of privatization. Secondly, selling of the communal and state-owned capital provides the state with an infusion of fresh income, which can be used to service debts of the state, to cover fiscal deficits, to finance the social security, and for other beneficial purposes, such as lowering the rate of taxes (*ibid*).²⁰

Surely, one must not forget the fact that the debt crisis, which is evident in Serbia, adds pressure to sell out the entire property, i.e. 'the total privatization' (*ibid*, 205), which leads to the problem of **exchange** as the second central issue for the transitory economies. The exchange is a basic annotator of participation of a certain country into the global developmental context (Švob-Đokić, 2000, 147). The analysis of the position of European post-socialist countries shows that their comparative advantages in the international exchange are: a relatively cheap and highly qualified working class and, for some countries, the availability of natural potentials and resources. But, what these countries lack, in order to make these resources functional, are the capital and the market-oriented evaluation of the very resources (*ibid*, 148). In case of Serbia and other poor countries in transition, the appearance of the foreign investors does not help the restructuring of society - which should be one of the privatization's goals - but it only contributes to expanding the market for the investor and to the exploitation and export of strategic resources (such as clean fresh water). In that sense, this type of dependent position in the global market can be understood as a new kind of colonialism! The desperate situation that some of the post-socialist countries found themselves in is a consequence of the fact that the greatest part of their international exchange had taken place within the former federations, or they had exported their products into the industrially undeveloped countries - while today all the European countries undergoing transition have more than 50 percent of their market exchange (both import and export) with the much more developed countries of European Union (*ibid*). That is the very place where the devastating effect of globalism and regionalization of world to the economies

20 Compared to other models of privatization that have been used in post-socialist countries, the model of sale is, from politicians' point of view, the least opportune for the government: it presupposes selling at full economic price and, consequently, it doesn't allow the property of the state to be 'given away' to the citizens, as a means of 'bribing' them for the next elections. Nevertheless, what makes this model so important are its economical advantages (Tranzicija deceniju posle..., 117).

of the countries in transition reflects itself. These countries are forced to open their markets primarily for the **export of the production surpluses from the highly-industrialized countries – such as technological devices, agricultural products and other goods**. Such a structure of the international exchange clearly reflects the true position of the post-socialist countries in transition: they are primarily consumers of the production rests from the highly-developed countries, and to the much lesser extent and very selectively producers and exporters of the industrial goods the production of which is supported by export of the foreign investiture capital. They are also appreciable as exporters of their potentials, such as natural and human resources.²¹

The unhappy picture of our economic situation leads unavoidably to reexamining of the social consequences of pursuing transitory changes in Serbia. As Nada Đvob-Đokić states, the introduction of the market-oriented economy is a process which lasts for years. Objectively, reforms of the financial area, privatization, restructuring of the big state enterprises, liberalization of the work market, reorganization of social services, education of administration, systematic and long-term institutional reforms etc. require a great and long-term effort. If these reforms are not well-planned and executed, which is a common case in transitory societies, the social chaos is almost inevitable. The faults come at a heavy price, immediately and right away, and they lead to great social tensions. The losers are all of those who have to pay the bill for the execution of changes, and the winners are only those, small in number that manage to direct some parts of communal goods to their benefit. The current transitional processes in the Central, South-East and Eastern Europe represent a rare historical example of creating new wealthy elites in times when the social income and production are practically two times less than they used to be, and when a tiny social class gets rich over the continual impoverishment of the society, and not over the arousal of the social production and the process of a total economical expansion (*ibid*, 93-94). In most countries undergoing transition, some of the public services (for example health care, education, culture etc.) became casualties of the sudden social changes, which was indeed

21 Metaphorically speaking, classical music festivals in Serbia can illustrate nicely the conditions of global 'exchange': the festivals import expensive foreign products (ie. musical stars) as well as 'production surpluses' (quasi stars), while our own 'products' are not exported (meaning that it is very difficult – almost impossible – for distinguished Serbian artists to have any success at foreign classical music markets) – we can only export 'raw sirovina', ie. students of music, who are re-shaped by the West only to be re-imported as a Western 'production surplus' (because they cannot find employment there)!

related to the quality of life and the entire social security of the countries' inhabitants.

The following negative effects of transition have been noticed in the countries of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe:²² the poverty increased in almost all countries; also, the unemployment rate increased everywhere, although not by the same percent (the South-Eastern Europe has got the largest percentage of unemployment: for instance, in FYR Macedonia it is 34,5% and in Serbia over 50%); in the course of transition everywhere (except in Slovakia) the social inequality was increased, taking the most drastic shapes in Russia and Ukraine; one of the signs of the general downfall of social standard is also a return of the old diseases, especially tuberculosis, diphtheria and syphilis in Russia, Estonia, Romania and Serbia; the average life length has deteriorated, etc. (*Tranzicija deceniju posle...*, 207-208).

These consequences also put some light on the relation between the character of globalism and the nature of transition. Namely, as noticed by Radmila Nakarada, there is a correlation between the bad social annotators - which were characteristics of the 'wild capitalism' of the 19th century - and the nature of globalism: they are all reflections of the systematic global pressure towards the destruction of the socially-oriented state in favour of ever-increasing profitability.

Institutional reforms as a part of transitional process

Institutions are social regulations, which determine human interaction. Institutional changes include constitutive, legal and regulatory changes, and at the same time they shape up the factors (political, social or economic) which initiate those changes (Švob-Đokić, 2000: 106-7).

In post-socialist societies, the aim of the institutional reforms in political and social spheres could be defined as **improvement, or even optimization of the social organization, then, reduction of operational costs of organizations which define a society: the state with all its organizations (legal, political etc.), as well as non-governmental organizations (professional, religious, cultural ones etc.)**

22 The data originates from the year 2000.

Douglas C. Nort makes a clear difference between institutions and organizations. If institutions are a sum of formalized rules by which human beings define their mutual relations, especially regarding exchanges, then organizations are the 'players'. They are composed of groups or individuals which are engaged on a purposeful pursuit. As a synonym for the word organization, I shall also be using here a term *ustanova*, which is more commonly in use when spoken about the cultural domain.

The terminological distinction mentioned above is very useful, but we should note that the other scholars use the term institution with a different meaning: for instance, when Vesna Čopič (*Cultural Transitions in Southeastern Europe*, 2004, 43) talks about 'transition in the field of institutions (such as theatres)', she actually speaks about transformation of those which are being defined as organizations by Nort (and Švob-Đokić). By quoting the words of Otokar Roubinek, Čopič warns us about the fact that the old (socialist) system of life-time contracts and fixed relations among the institutions, in which the achieved results had not been questioned, led to the deterioration of the level of professionalism in performing a job. It had been perfectly morally acceptable to receive a salary without actually doing anything to earn it. Such a system also led to the fact that entire generations had lost a sense for *preduzimljivost*, *odvažnost*, independence, responsibility, professional competence and creativeness (*ibid*, 44). When it comes to the *ustanovama* koje se bave kulturom u Srbiji, pa tako i festivalima, u odnosu na maločas rečeno gotovo se ništa do današnjih dana nije promenilo. They still very much rely upon the subventions received either from the Ministry of Culture, or from City councils for culture - both for the realization of programmes and for the salaries - which is the topic that interests most the working people of Serbia. Moreover, an increasing part of the public resources is given away for the salaries; therefore the funds remain empty for the programme activities of the cultural organizations - which represent a treat to their future development. The fact that salaries have become top priority leads to the conclusion that the main social goal is preservation of the social peace, and not performing the activity which opravdava the very existence of these organizations - and that is pružanje dobra. Therefore, one speaks more commonly about the social politics in the domain of culture than about the cultural policy (*ibid*, 47).²³

23 Recently attempted restructuring of Serbian Radio and Television into a national public media service provides an excellent example: a social program was designed for the employees so that a large number of them wouldn't get fired – instead, all workers who fulfilled at least one of two legal conditions for retirement (or were close to its fulfillment), were offered to leave the company while

On the other side, a great part of society suffered strong quakes caused by the privatization of state-owned property, by restructuring the economical sector and de-nationalization, and paid a big social prize in the course of the process.²⁴ Therefore it is hard to expect that the public sector - where the public cultural organizations belong - will be completely protected from these social changes.

As Vesna Čopič observes, the basic problem which has not been resolved in most of the post-socialist countries is redefining the status of public institutions (i.e. organizations): whether they represent the 'extended arm' of the state, that is the organizational entities by which the state offers public goods to its citizens, or they are independent, and the state commits public goods from them (*ibid*, 47).

The core of the problem lies in the fact that the former one party state controlled the quality and distribution of public goods and after the introduction of democracy and multiparty system, a question arose: who would take over the responsibility to decide whether the public goods are delivered in proper way. The solution was sought in **professionals**, employed by state organizations, because it was believed that only they are qualified to pose the criteria and to give the estimation if the criteria had been fulfilled - namely, it had been concluded that only such an autonomy of public professions would prevent the political abuse of the area (*ibid*, 46). Those placed even greater responsibility in front of the employees in that sector.

In order to enable transformation of the social area, it is necessary to define precisely the nature of social organizations and their position within the state. Of course, nowadays it is pretty much clear that the position of the cultural organizations from this sector will be increasingly 'insecure' because of limitation of the subventions, the decreased number of the permanently employed workers and introduction of the public competitions for financing the projects in the domain of culture, the competitions in which public organizations have equal opportunities with the organizations from, say, the civil sector to win - or not - the requested finances for realization of their programs. The communal cultural organizations will be forced to take - in the name of autonomy - more risk and more responsibility towards

receiving financial compensation for all the remaining years before fulfillment of both conditions for retirement.

24 For instance, several thousand people lost their jobs after four national banks were extinguished.

consumers of the public goods (*ibid*, 50). In such circumstances, the solution is to be sought for in the crisis management, which means turning crisis situations into single institutional advantages (Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, 22-23).

Surely, one should not fear that culture is about to become only one among the goods - because it is almost certain that artistic ideas and projects, which are of great value for the local cultures will continue to be financed from republic or city resources. The aim of the institutional reforms is to initiate creativity and to come to the competitive ideas, in order to achieve the best possible quality of the cultural products, which are regarded as communal goods. The other goal is rationalization of organizations in the public sector, again for the purpose of raising the consciousness of the employees in these organizations about the significance and the responsibilities of the tasks, which they had been assigned.

The influence of transition to the cultural sphere

In the cultural field, wars and break-up of Yugoslavia caused a strong advent of nationalism and an aggressive renewal of national myths and false histories. In the very beginning of transition in the ex-Yugoslav countries, and especially during the wars, all the cultural institutions experienced radical deterioration of their social position - the decrease of financing, the loss of professional personnel, the first encounter with the market-oriented business logic, the rise of the nationalistic cultural myths, lack of self-criticism, the interruption of the cultural contacts with neighboring peoples and the oppression of the minorities' cultures (Cultural Transitions in Southeastern Europe, 2004, 2-3).²⁵

25 As observed by Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, the crises in cultural subsystems arise as a consequence of deeper economical and political crises. The external factors which have got a particularly strong negative influence on the cultural subsystem are the following:

- a) crises of public policies and public sector (lack of professional competence in cultural administration, creation of developmental policies which neglect the field of culture and its actors, inadequate privatization, poor coordination among different sectors and levels);
- b) underdevelopment of relationships among three sectors (public, private, civil)
- c) crises of institutions (their position and social role), highlighted by insufficient development of the staff, leading to de-professionalization (lack of competence and neglectance of own experiences and successful practices), especially in comparison to the demands of the world market and new relations in culture;
- d) crises of participation and cultural market, caused by the lack of interest of the potential audience

Today these cultures are gradually waking up and starting to observe realistically their position. The cultural identities are being redefined now, which is accompanied by strong tendencies to identify themselves with European cultural values. A lot of attention is being paid to the evaluation of the cultural heritage, technological and communicational innovations, support to the creativity and regeneration of the cultural activities, development of cultural industries, cultural exchange and redefined cultural collaboration which relies upon networking, partner-oriented bonding around certain projects etc.

After fifteen years of transition in SouthEastern Europe, this region was radically changed, under the influence of external factors (EU), as well as under the influence of the local efforts to join the EU. The identity of this sub-region of Europe is distinguished by its readiness to admit its cultural variety and to promote new polygons for collaboration which are based upon flexibility, coordination and partnership (*ibid*, 3).

Besides permanent efforts to find the right measure between extremes of worshipping national cultures and succumbing to the global streams, the post-socialist countries of the South-Eastern Europe face additional challenges posed by globalism, which are related to the change of the total social context in which cultures are born and developed. Namely, they are influenced by national politics, employment policies, means of communication, processes of production and distribution of goods, the new role of the state, the ascension of the civil sector and the influence of non-governmental organizations on the domain of culture etc. The new position of the cultures is also defined by market integration of cultural production with other types of production, by global economic inter-dependence, technological and scientific influences, de-territorializing of cultures, their hybridization and the constitution of new cultural and creative areas (*ibid*, 9). The Organizacioni and financial aspects of the cultural life have definitively changed: the cultures are no longer under the strong ideological aspect (which is especially obvious in the case of Serbia!), the role of the state as the organizer and sponsor of cultural activities was reduced and transformed (which I have already mentioned). Paradoksalno, the cultural production in transitory countries is not decreasing but increasing, but it is not possible to give a precise judgment on the quality of its output, especially because it is being presented in small and undeveloped markets. Of course, some of the elements of

faced with global market of entertainment and its vast offer, leading to change of tastes and values. The crisis of interest in cultural goods and contents, especially local ones, further deepens the crisis of cultural institutions and organizations, as well as the sector as a whole (Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, *op. cit*, 23-24).

these changes are welcome (such as increased openness and flexibility, increased communication, the genesis of the market of cultural values), but some of them also reflect negative aspects of globalism (plagiarism, commercialization etc.)

When we speak about cultures - not only the transitory ones - in this time, the concept of transculturality, developed by German philosopher Wolfgang Welsch seems to be of great importance. Welsch claims that traditional understanding of the notion of culture, which had occurred in the late 17th century, is no longer sustainable. Namely, the traditional concept of culture, as formulated by Herder, was distinguished by three determinants: (1) social homogenization, (2) ethnic consolidation (the metaphor of an 'island') and (3) intercultural razgranicenje. Welsch argues that the three elements of the tradition concept of a homogeneous culture have been overcome: firstly, the contemporary societies are so varied inside themselves that uniformity no longer counts as their 'constitutive' feature, nor they can achieve it: they are multicultural and thus comprise many different lifestyles. Secondly, the ethnic consolidation is a product of fiction: today it is clear that nationally-grounded definitions of culture had been forcefully imposed by means of force over the historical fact that the ethnic cultures do mix up. Finally, the double accent which is placed by Herder on the glorifying of our own and denying everything foreign does not only prevent understanding among different cultures, but the call for the cultural identity of such kind leads to separatism and clears a path to political conflicts and wars (Welsh, 1997, 4-6) – the fact which we could, regrettably, see for ourselves.

The prefix 'trans' in the notion of 'transculturality' has a double meaning in Welsch's interpretation. Firstly, it marks the fact that cultural determinants are crossing from one culture to another, therefore 'trans' bears the meaning of 'cross', as much as the word 'transition' contains the idea of crossing into a new state. However, in longer perspective, this development shall contribute increasingly to the birth of the cultural order which transcends the traditional understanding of cultures as closed systems - therefore 'trans' can also mean 'above', when it comes to the future potential for cultural developments in the world.

How did this change in understanding of the notion of culture occur? In this author's opinion, the old homogenizing and separatist concept of culture was overcome thanks to the outer bonding of cultures into networks. The new forms of intertwining come as a consequence of migratory processes, as well as global material and non-material communicational systems and economic interdependence. On the other hand, present cultures are distinguished by

hybridization: for any culture, all other cultures have become its potential inner contents. Today nothing is completely foreign, everything is accessible. Therefore, nothing is exclusively 'our own', either. The work on building one's identity increasingly becomes one of integrating components of various cultural origins. Recognizing of the degree of foreign within us represents the condition for acceptance of the foreign that comes from the outside.

The concept of transculturality does not imply and does not recommend homogenization of cultures and the arrival of the uniform world civilization, thus neglecting cultural diversity. On the contrary, this concept is related to creating a new type of diversity: that is the diversity of different cultures and ways of life, whilst all the cultures always have some common features, which enable them to communicate smoothly. Therefore there is a greater possibility for mutual similarities than it had been the case with older cultural identities. So, the new type of differentiation by its very structure gives advantage to coexistence over to conflict.

Welsch warns us that we shall reach nowhere unless we understand seriously the request for a particular identity. People obviously feel a duty to resist to being sucked into globalized uniformity. They want to differ from one another and to feel good in their particular identity. This wish is a legitimate one and we should define and promote forms to enable its harmless fulfillment (*ibid*).

It is my belief that the notion of transculturality - as defined by Welsch - is a strong argument which supports the thesis that cultural production of countries in transition is podložna to the same global trends as in the highly-developed countries: it is not just about the small, peripheral cultures of Europe wishing to identify themselves with the dominant European cultures, but about the mutual approaching which is a consequence of the global integration of economic markets and distribution of information. The other important point of transculturality lies in the fact that it offer a way to reestablish collaboration among countries which were born on the ashes of former Yugoslavia: once the differences between peoples who had been a part of former federation were acknowledged, one must search for the similarities, i.e. find the meeting points which could serve as bridges for the new, updated forms of integrations within this sub-region.

The renewal of collaboration of former partners as well as seeking for the new ones comes out as a necessary thing for the Eastern European countries, bearing in mind their small and undeveloped cultural markets on the one hand, and great ambitions in the sense of promoting

their artistic output on the other. One of the demands which the current situation places in front of the cultural crew is developing of internal and external market (consuming) i.e. **inducing of the cultural necessities and the need to consume**, which increasingly becomes global and simultaneous. In other words, economical parameters of success are imposed on cultural organisations and that imperative decides on desirable institutional formats (Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, 2005, 15-16).²⁶ The examples of several countries, above all the United States of America, but the United Kingdom as well, show us that the cultural production is the very domain of exceptional efficiency and high profits (hence it is increasingly being referred to by term ‘the creative industry’) (*ibid.*).²⁷ Therefore, the domain of culture is approached as any other area, both in the international law and in the international economic relations, and the demands for the high liberalization of the national markets as prescribed by World Trade Organization* are also imposed upon this domain, which had for a long time been defended by specific protective measures of every single country.²⁸

26 Speaking of classical music, it is enough just to observe ‘products’ such as Andrea Bocelli, vocal group Il Divo or anything else that is played on Classic FM: three and a half minutes’ hit – that’s all that an average listener needs to satisfy his ‘cultural need’. The problem is that such products don’t contribute to establishment of true classical music audience!

27 In some countries, cultural industries – as well as similar but broader ‘creative industries’ – have become very big businesses. Adorno and Horkheimer introduced the term ‘cultural industry’ (in singular) during the nineteenforties, but in a different meaning – it was used to criticize mass culture and standardization of cultural production. The term was first used in plural during Thatcherite government in Great Britain, when economic potential of arts and culture was observed. The term (in plural) was further developed by the French authors who wrote articles about cultural industries for the UNESCO. It is also worth noting that the term in plural can be used to signify the proliferation of cultural production in the second half of the 20th century, that too in order to distance from the negative meaning of the term in singular, as defined by Adorno and Horkheimer (cf: Cultural Transitions in Southeastern Europe, 2004: 59-61).

28 There are three main types of cultural policies and models of cultural action in the world today (cultural diffusionism, cultural functionalism and cultural mercantilism), and their differences create certain tensions in cultural life in general, both on the level of individual cultural policies and on the level of international cultural relationships.

The first model, called ‘cultural diffusionism’, originated from the tradition of modern national states of the nineteenth century, and it was reinterpreted in 20th century within the cultural policy conception of the sixties. Its basic meaning is to create conditions for cultural production and its diffusion and communicating, aiming to firm national cultural identity.

The second model – ‘cultural functionalism’ – was developed during the seventies and eighties of the 20th century thanks to activities of international cultural organisations and development of national cultural policies. Its meaning lies in the demand to create conditions for even more democratic cultural life, through increased participation of all groups that create the cultural mosaic

The same authors warn us that the issues of cultural democracy and the quality of cultural life are not being put in focus in societies plagued by crisis (and transitory societies, by no means, are the ones!). It is understood that the greatest efforts are being directed towards the preservation of the cultural system, which is commonly related to the big city centers and public institutions. Hence in these areas the breakthrough of the global cultural production is even easier, because of the great 'cultural blanks' both in the sense of the spatial distribution of organization, programs and projects, and within every single area of culture. The liberal concept of open market has got an especially destructive potential in turbulent areas (*ibid*).

These were the very reasons which made me decide to examine one aspect of Serbian cultural life which hasn't been given much attention so far, nor it's been attempted to measure its results and position in the current phase of transitional process. Of course, I am speaking about the festivals of classical music in Serbia, as an elitist form of cultural production, the number of which is relatively big and their resistance to all kinds of social and economic crises is really amazing. Although these are not festivals which deal with the artistic production in the narrower sense (except the International Review of Composers, whose purpose is a stimulation of the domestic compositional output), they represent an extraordinary display-area of all the transitory changes which I had spoken about in this chapter. Therefore they can be used as a kind of 'test bunnies' on which we shall examine the effects of the transitional process and test up the 'cure' for diseases that the contemporary Serbian society suffers from.

of a society in processes of artistic and cultural production and public activity, increasing at the same time internal organisational effectiveness and efficiency of the cultural life actors. This model also presupposes significant role of the state, especially through instruments of stimulation and intersectoral actions.

The third model – 'cultural mercantilism' – comes directly as a consequence of some societies' affinity towards high economic liberalisation of the art. This system is based on the way of thinking that the artistic product is the same as any other, and that its value should be measured by its success on the market (Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, 2005, 19-20).

FESTIVALS IN FOCUS

The artistic activity is connected to the spreading of social values and their forming. Within their works artists reflect their overview of reality, thus offering new visions and cognitive sets which refer to this reality. Moreover, since this artistic activity, in order to be consumed, must come into relation with the audience, these overviews of reality undergo the process of spreading and interpretation by recipients. One of the results may be that art as an avantgarde force can serve as a catalyst of social changes. Art could ease development of new values and modes of behaviour. It could also be a means of development a new social conscience which suits new reality. It could be a stimulative force which is needed by society in order to interpret the changes of environment and addapt to them.

Ichak Adizes (2002: 13)

The circumstances surrounding foundation of the festivals and the program orientation

The six Serbian festivals, which are the subject of this research, do have many similar characteristics at the first glance (classical music being one of the common denominators for sure), but they also differ in many aspects – be it in their lifetime, the period within the calendar year in which they take place, then the range of programs, the finances, the organizational structure, the ownership, the reasons for which they had been founded etc.

Bemus (Belgrade Music Festival) and the Festival of Yugoslav Art *Marble and Sounds* are among the oldest artistic events in Serbia – the first Bemus was opened on October 7, 1969, while *Marble and Sounds* had been established a year before, on July 4, 1968. Both events had been created in relation to the celebrations of the significant events from the former Yugoslavia's history: Bemus was designed as the introductory festivity preceding the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Belgrade from fascists (which took place on October 20th 1969). Therefore, the first and many of the following editions of Bemus took place between October 7 and October 19. On the other hand, the *Marble and Sounds* Festival was scheduled to start on the Day of Soldiers (July 4th) and to finish on September

19, the Day of liberation of Arandjelovac. As noticed by Dejan Despić (2000: 147), that was a period in the cultural history of Yugoslavia when there were many favourable circumstances for the attempts to make our cultural life try to catch up with the world. Therefore, several important festivals of different arts were founded in Belgrade – one for theatre (Bitef), film (Fest) and music (Bemus) a piece. Besides, these were the times of the so-called ‘festival fever’, when many towns of the former Yugoslavia witnessed birth of events, varying in contents, circumstances, resources and significance. When it comes to the Review in Arandjelovac, it was derived from another, even earlier artistic event: the Symposium of Sculpture *Beli venčac*, which had started in 1966 (Čolić-Biljanovski, 2002: 25 and further). Five years after the festival of performing arts, the third paralel event was created: *Svet keramike (The World of Pottery)*, in 1973.²⁹

In the broadly designed programme concept of the *Marble and Sounds* Festival, classical music was (from the very beginning) just one among the arts which were being presented in the course of the three festival months, during the summer. The program, which had been originally conceived by Dušan Mihailović and Branko Jovanović, foresaw that every weekend in period from July 4th to September 19th should be dedicated to performances of the best shows which had premiered during the previous season throughout Yugoslavia. It included theatre, music, ballet, visual arts, literature and film. The Serbian name of the festival – *Smotra Mermer i zvuci* defined the type of the event as a **review** because it gathered together the best of the art created in SFRY, and it excluded evaluation and competition (CF: Dragičević-Šešić, Stojković, 2003: 170). However, I refer to the *Marble and Sounds* as a **festival** because the word ‘smotra’ has a slightly different meaning than the English word review and because in this context I use the words festival and review as synonymes.

When compared to *Marble and Sounds*, Bemus and a somewhat younger festival Nomus (founded in 1975 in Novi Sad) were conceived as **general-type festivals of classical music**, as noticed by Dejan Despić (2000: 149), although there were some partial, occasional and

29 The author also reports that, during the seventh decade of the 20th century, in paralel with formation of the so-called cultural unions, cultural policy of the former Yugoslavia encouraged development of numerous cultural events in the country. It was believed that, though this kind of cultural activism, artistic works would become accessible to all citizens, continuing the way of thinking developed after 1945 – ‘culture for the people’ and ‘culture for the masses’. Of course, it was necessary to create new forms of cultural bodies outside of big cities. Also, cultural manifestations and institutions had to be modelled in accordance with possibilities which smaller towns offered for this kind of artistic presentation.

temporal attempts to create a single programme tone or a more precisely focused stylistic orientation. However, these attempts (at least when it comes to Bemus) always crashed into objective (in)-abilities to preserve the consistent concept, although they were encouraged by the audience. The usual problems were financial limitations and the impossibility to plan and book timely all the events which could and would suit to this goal. Despite occasional criticism directed towards the looseness of the concept of this Festival (for example, here is a typical opinion of Konstantin Babić who noticed that the festival represented a sort of a ‘drugstore’ which offered various goods, worked 24x7 and offered ‘all sorts of things – to satisfy every taste’, *ibid*: 151), the initial concept of Bemus, as well as Nomus, has been preserved until nowadays. It is interesting to quote one passage from the Report written by the Art Council of BEMUS for the year 1983, in which such a program orientation was ‘defended’:

*The question of the concept of BEMUS is posed on regular basis. Although, understandably, we are not against the attempts such as focussing on the music of baroque of the ‘classics’ of the 20th century, we do not reckon by any means that a festival must unconditionally have a firm concept based on stylistic, thematic or similar nature. Perhaps such festivals, with specific concepts, are a kind of ‘luxury’ for our environment, which is still quite poor – both in cultural and financial terms, and therefore forced to adapt to the available resources and circumstances (...) (*ibid*: 150)*

The claim which attracts our attention in the paragraph cited above is that festivals of the narrower program orientation represent a kind of ‘luxury’ in our environment – and no less than three festivals which I intend to analyze belong to that category. These are the International Review of Composers, Guitar Art Fest and Belgrade International Cello Fest (however this does not exhaust the list of events which exist in Serbia for quite some time!) Apart from the program focus, these three festivals are quite heterogeneous in organizational structure, the circumstances surrounding their foundation, the modes of financing, the audiences they attract and the social influence that they produce in Belgrade and further.

The International Review of Composers was founded in 1992, immediately after the ‘beginning of the end’ of SFRY, as a ‘replacement’ for the Musical Biennial in Zagreb and International Musical Review in Opatia (both in Croatia). Namely, with the separation of the former Yugoslav republics, the Serbian Association of Composers felt the need to establish a new international festival of contemporary music, which could serve to compare the recent Serbian compositional output with the new music that was simultaneously composed

throughout the world. Despite numerous unfavorable outer circumstances, the first two Reviews were held successfully, sharing the program among three cities: Belgrade, Novi Sad and Sremski Karlovci. Only from the third edition of the Review onwards it was decided that the festival should take place only in Belgrade.

When it comes to the program of the Review, from the very beginning it has comprised two clearly separated segments: **the competition and the review**. In the first part of the program, the compositions of Serbian and foreign authors written the past three years are performed. They are chosen by the the the selector (initially by the Art Council) out of the greater number of works that were sent to the competition. Musicians from Serbia perform the compositions, most of them gathering into the *ad hoc* single-use ensembles – therefore the performances have the character of the **festival productions**. The second part of the review is dedicated to performances of the foreign ensembles specializing in contemporary music, which perform the program chosen by them. After several years of presenting awards to the best new pieces performed on the Review, that practice was abandoned. The only prize that has remained is the *Stevan Mokranjac* prize, awarded to the best Serbian composition premiered in the previous concert season.

The Guitar Art Fest is specific because of the fact that so far it has been the only Serbian festival of classical music in ‘private ownership’ - for it has been created as a fruit of ambition and organizing abilities of a single man: the guitar player Boško Radojković. Guitar Art Fest has been conceived as a ‘self-supportive’ event, which counts on different sources of income (such as ticket sales, money provided by the sponsors, the Cultural Centre of Belgrade lends its offices free of charge etc.); however, it also has an educational dimension which comprises the competition of young guitarists and master classes. Bearing these in mind, one might say that this event exists in the boundary zone between the private and the civil sector, but its potential for gaining profit is attention-worthy.

Somewhat similar to the Guitar Art Fest is the Belgrade International Cello Fest, the youngest event, founded in 2003. Cello Fest represents an attempt to create a new model of a ‘cheap’ festival under the conditions of the predominantly budgeted financing. Similar to the case of the Guitar Art Fest, the concept of the festival dedicated to a single instrument permits focusing on programs with a smaller number of performers, in order to lower the costs. This festival also takes place in two parallel realms which are the concerts and master classes. However, the very concept of the courses marks the difference between this festival and,

seemingly similar Guitar Art Fest. If the festival has the aim to cover its own costs, the fees for the participation in the master classes (or in the competition) must be high, because they represent a significant source of income for the festival; however, this segment of the Cello Fest is conceived as a totally non-commercial one: the budgeted financing has enabled that only symbolic fees are charged (about €30 per person), which covers both the participation for the courses and a 'free' entrance to all the concerts within the festival.

After three years, in the course of which Cello Fest had been recording increasing success and gaining a rising number of admirers, this year (2006) it was canceled because of the exhaustion of Jugokonzert's resources (both financial and human) on many other projects. Therefore, the destiny of this festival (as well as in the cases of International Review of Composers and Review Marble and Sounds) is very uncertain, and requires rethinking of its organizational and financial structure.

This brief reminder of the circumstances surrounding their foundation and the program concept of the six festivals which are in the focus of this research, is followed by the overview of their current condition, based on the written replies to the questionnaire which I had sent to the artistic directors, general managers and executive secretaries of the festivals in question. The data has been collected from February to May 2006, therefore they are quite 'fresh' and they represent a point from which one should depart in examining the future of these events, their developmental perspectives as well as foreseeing their survival.

Festival title	BEMUS – Belgrade Music Festival www.bemus.co.yu	NOMUS (Novi Sad)	INTERNATIO NAL REVIEW OF COMPOSERS (Belgrade)	MARBLE AND SOUNDS FESTIVAL (Arandelovac)	BELGRADE INTERNATIO NAL CELLO FEST	GUITAR ART FEST (Belgrade) www.gaf.co.yu
Contact details						
Festival director (name, address, telephone, fax, email)	IVANA STEFANOVIĆ Artistic Director BILJANA ZDRAVKOVIĆ General Manager, Jugokonzert Terazije 41, Belgrade tel. 3241 303 fax 3240 478 bemus@jugokonzert.co.yu	MARIJA ADAMOV Artistic Director JEUNESSES MUSICALES OF NOVI SAD, tel./fax 021/452-344 mons@eunet.yu	SONJA MARINKOVIĆ General Manager Zdravka Jovanovića 59, 11147 Beograd, sdmarink@eunet.yu	SLOBODAN NEDELJKOVIĆ General Manager, Kralja Petra I No.34, 34300 Arandelovac, tel./fax 034/711-727, 713-015, 063/8298854; mermeri-zvuci@ptt.yu	BILJANA ZDRAVKOVIĆ General Manager, Jugokonzert Terazije 41, Beograd tel: 3239 917, 3239 916 fax: 3240 478 mail@jugokonzert.co.yu	BOŠKO RADOJKOVIĆ General Manager and Artistic Director, Bulevar kralja Aleksandra 530, Beograd, 064 140 75 83, t/f: 2769840, guitart@yubc.net
Since	Artistic director since January 2001, general manager since March 2002	2004	2005	1991	2003	2000
Person completing the questionnaire (if not the director) (name, address, telephone, fax, email)		MILAN RADULOVIĆ, Editor in Chief of the festival (also Executive Secretary of Jeunesses Musicales of Novi Sad) tel./fax 021/452-344 mons@eunet.yu			VESNA KABILJO, Editor in Chief of Jugokonzert and producer of the Belgrade International Cello Fest tel. 323 55 42, faks: 324 04 78 vesnakabiljo@jugokonzert.co.yu	
Working with the festival since		1985			2003	
Festival dates:						
Frequency (annual, biennial, etc.)	Annual (in October)	Annual (in April)	Annual (In November)	Annual (July, August, September)	Annual (in July)	Annual (in February)
First edition	1969	1975	1992	1968	2003	2000

Organizing body						
Name	JUGOKON-CERT Cultural Organization	JEUNESSES MUSICALES OF NOVI SAD	COMPOSERS' ASSOCIATION OF SERBIA	Selector and Festival Board	JUGOKON-CERT	Festival's director, PR and Board of the Association of Classical Guitarists)
Status (limited company, trust, foundation, association, etc.)	Cultural Organization, founded by the City Assembly of Belgrade	Association	Association of composers and musicologists of Serbia	Cultural Organization	Cultural Organization	NGO
Management structure	BEMUS	NOMUS	REVIEW OF COMPOSERS	MARBLE AND SOUNDS	CELLO FEST	GUITAR ART FEST
Does the festival have a permanent staff? If so, full time, part time?	No – each year (starting from 1971) the City Assembly of Belgrade hires Jugokonzert as the executive producer. The staff of JK is 15 employees (full time) and 3 external workers	No	No	The organization has three permanently employed workers, full time.	Festival is conceived and produced by Jugokonzert.	No
Number of staff employed during the festival itself	About 20	10 (contractual workers)	Executive Secretary of the Association, Chairman of the Association, Selector and Director of the Festival, Jugokonzert as co-producer	5	15	About 10 (contractual workers)
Number of volunteers	No volunteers	No volunteers	No volunteers	No volunteers	No volunteers	No volunteers
Composition of management body/board (representatives of public authority, arts council, private business etc.)	Selector (i.e. Artistic director) and Bemus' Council, appointed by the City Assembly of Belgrade. On behalf of Jugokonzert, as the executive		Executive Board of the Composers' Association of Serbia	Representatives of the public government (1), representative of the Organization (1), Ph. D.'s (3), art historians (2), musicologist (1), writer (1)		The Festival is managed by its Director, relying on suggestions of guitarists, representatives of the public government, embassies and

	producer of Bemus, the organization's General Manager governs the festival.					commercial sponsors.
Main artistic themes (open question)	<p>Bemus belongs to the type of festivals of broad range, which provides the possibility to include many musical genres and styles, on one hand, but at the same time this broad conception makes it slightly difficult to create a firm thematical profile. The program ranges from ancient music to new pieces, from classical music to the 20th century classics, from opera to jazz, from dance to workshops for children.</p> <p>The main artistic interest in this particular moment can be described as modernization, modernization, and modernization. This is achieved through festival productions, and especially through artistic investing in 'dead' musical forms such as opera. In last five years, Bemus has created several opera</p>	Chamber music festival	<p>Promotion of contemporary composers' creation (pieces composed within the last three years).</p> <p>World premieres of pieces by Serbian and foreign composers.</p>	There aren't any.	<p>Concerts, master classes, featuring leading performers and pedagogues in the field;</p> <p>Promotion of young talented musicians, discussing art of interpretation on the vgioloncello; searching beyond the well known repertoire, encouraging composers to write new pieces for the instrument.</p>	Program is based mostly on music for the classical guitar, but at least 20-30% of the program is devoted for promotion of accoustic, electric and other rare types of guitar music.

productions including world premieres and Belgrade premieres of Serbian operatic works. For the moment, Bemus is the only festival which commissions new pieces from Serbian composers and as such it has a very important role in stimulating artistic creation.

At the same time, the program of Bemus always features some unknown or rarely performed works, and unconventional artists. Bemus also presents programs of traditional folk music, which still exists in Serbian people, and by doing so keeps it alive.

However, the most prominent thematic thread, which is not so obvious but which has been present in Bemus' programs for the last couple of years, is an attempt to bring together music and stage, musical and dramatic elements. In this way, Bemus brings to life contemporary

	music, combining it with elements of dance, theatre, movement, scene, video...					
What proportion of performances are your own productions and co-productions?	The percent of own productions or co-productions is not big in mathematical terms. However, the co/productions in the last six years were mostly operatic and other musical-stage works which are more complex for realization. Examples (starting from 2001): productions – Narcissus and Echo (Chamber opera), Orpheus and Eurydice, Chamber Music Marathon (Takeno Ensemble and Balkan Chamber Academy); co-production Zora D. (Chamber opera).	About 30 %		Occasionally (about 10 %)	30 %	Between 10 and 20 %, depending on the yearly program
International element						
What proportion of the program involves artists from other countries?	In mathematical terms, approximately 50%. Apart from the figures, one can say that the international element represents a significant part of Bemus. It functions on several levels. First of all, on the	About 80 %	It ranges from 38 % up to 70 %	20 %	About 80 %	90 %

	<p>level of information (because our audience doesn't travel much). Then, on the level of connecting and creating mutual projects between artists from our country and from abroad. Thirdly, on the level of re-introducing artists and works who left our former country mostly during the previous period ('the artistic Diaspora'). And finally, on the level of presenting big international stars. The significance of the international element is highlighted by the fact that nowadays it also encompasses contacts with the region and separate ex-YU countries, which once were culturally connected.</p>					
<p>How do you select these artists and their work? On the basis of <i>(highlight one or more answers offered)</i></p>	<p>All of these options are used in the process of 'qualifying' an artist or his work. When working in the field of music, audio/video material can be taken into consideration, even though it isn't always the</p>	<p>Visist to other festivals and venues Artists proposals Producers proposals Suggestions of other festivals Videotapes or broadcasts from</p>	<p>Visist to other festivals and venues Artists proposals Producers proposals Suggestions of other festivals Videotapes or broadcasts from</p>	<p>Visist to other festivals and venues Artists proposals Producers proposals Suggestions of other festivals Videotapes or broadcasts from</p>	<p>Visist to other festivals and venues Artists proposals Producers proposals Suggestions of other festivals Videotapes or broadcasts</p>	<p>Visist to other festivals and venues Artists proposals Producers proposals Suggestions of other festivals Videotapes or broadcasts</p>

	best thing to do. The artists, and especially bigger ensembles and those coming from certain parts or regions of the world, sometimes don't send us relevant and recent enough audio material, so that calls for caution. Unless if estimated otherwise, audio material, especially good quality live recordings, can sometimes be used as a substitute for visits to other festivals and concert performances.	other festivals	other festivals	other festivals	from other festivals	from other festivals
Funding						
What is the total annual budget of the festival (latest edition?)	Smaller than the cheapest music festival in Europe whose prestige is a result of tradition, artistic reputation, number of international stars etc.	About 90.000, 00 € gross in 2006	1.600.000, 00 din.	1.000.000, 00 din.	70.000,00 €	About 100.000, 00 €
What are the main funding sources (%) (highlight one or several answers offered)	Public funding – 55 % Sponsorship - 20 %	Public funding	Public funding	Public funding	Public funding	Public funding (support from the Ministry of Culture, City Assembly of Belgrade, Community of Stari Grad and Ministry of Foreign Affairs) Sponsorship (embassies, foreign cultural centres and commercial sponsors)

	<p>Earned income 10 %</p> <p>Festival supporters' associations – numerous local and international non-governmental organizations</p> <p>Voluntary contributions - negligeable</p> <p>'in kind' support – services, rental of sound and light equipment, instruments...</p>	<p>Earned income</p> <p>Festivals supporters' associations</p> <p>Voluntary contributions</p> <p>'in kind' support</p>	<p>Earned income</p> <p>Festival supporters' associations</p> <p>Voluntary contributions</p> <p>'in kind' support</p>	<p>Earned income none, because of the free entrance</p> <p>Festivals supporters' associations</p> <p>Voluntary contributions</p> <p>'in kind' support</p>	<p>Earned income</p> <p>Festivals supporters' associations</p> <p>Voluntary contributions</p> <p>'in kind' support</p>	<p>Earned income</p> <p>Festivals supporters' associations</p> <p>Contribution of the volunteers</p> <p>'in kind' support – commercial sponsors</p>
What is the proportion of international funding in your budget?	About 15 %	5 – 8 % in 2006	Last year (2005) there weren't any finances from abroad	0 %	15 % - 20 %	30 % - 40 %
External environment						
What are the major challenges facing the festival at present? (Mark from 1 to 5)	<p>Public policy 2</p> <p>Funding 5</p> <p>Artistic quality 1</p> <p>Human resources 1</p> <p>Marketing and communications 3</p> <p>Audience 4</p>	<p>Public policy</p> <p>Funding</p> <p>Artistic quality</p> <p>Human resources</p> <p>Marketing and communications</p> <p>Audience</p>	<p>Public policy 2</p> <p>Funding 5</p> <p>Artistic quality 3</p> <p>Human resources 3</p> <p>Marketing and communications 2</p> <p>Audience 3</p>	<p>Public policy 2</p> <p>Funding 1</p> <p>Artistic quality 4</p> <p>Human resources 4</p> <p>Marketing and communications 3</p> <p>Audience 5</p>	<p>Public policy 1</p> <p>Funding 5</p> <p>Artistic quality 5</p> <p>Human resources 2</p> <p>Marketing and communications 4</p> <p>Audience 3</p>	<p>Public policy 5</p> <p>Funding 3</p> <p>Artistic quality 5</p> <p>Human resources 5</p> <p>Marketing and communications 2</p> <p>Audience 3</p>
				NB: in this column marks refer to the significance of challenges (1 – the biggest, 5 – the smallest)		

Audience strategies	BEMUS	NOMUS	REVIEW OF COMPOSERS	MARBLE AND SOUNDS	CELLO FEST	GUITAR ART FEST
Do you have any specific strategies for audience building or development?	<p>If so, which areas (highlight one or more answers offered)</p> <p>local communities</p> <p>Schools, especially specialist schools of music are permanently interesting from the audience development's point of view. But, on the other hand, potentially most interesting audience is young people, who are oriented towards other musical genres and who are not music professionals. Also, the audience of other artistic disciplines: theatre, ballet and dance, visual arts, and 'lateral' aspects of music.</p> <p>Other</p> <p>No</p>	<p>If yes, in which areas (highlight one or more answers offered)</p> <p>local communities</p> <p>Schools</p> <p>other</p> <p>no</p>	<p>If yes, in which areas (highlight one or more answers offered)</p> <p>local communities</p> <p>Schools</p> <p>other</p> <p>no</p>	<p>If yes, in which areas (highlight one or more answers offered)</p> <p>local communities</p> <p>Schools</p> <p>other</p> <p>no</p>	<p>If yes, in which areas (highlight one or more answers offered)</p> <p>local communities</p> <p>Schools</p> <p>other</p> <p>no</p>	<p>If yes, in which areas (highlight one or more answers offered)</p> <p>local communities</p> <p>Schools</p> <p>Other – global concert audience from Belgrade and wider – its development through constantly professional and original program</p> <p>no</p>
Which are the major changes that the festival has undergone in recent years? (highlight one or more answers offered)	<p>Staff – Jugokonzert's staff is responsible for Bemus. With new employees in Jugokonzert, Bemus also gets new associates.</p> <p>Funding – unfortunately, after a slight increase in 2001, the budget of the festival has since decreased when compared to expenses</p>	<p>Staff</p> <p>Funding</p>	<p>Staff</p> <p>Funding</p>	<p>Staff – reduced (1)</p> <p>Funding – constantly decreasing</p>	<p>Staff</p> <p>Funding</p>	<p>Staff</p> <p>Funding</p>

	<p>Programs – shift towards more novel and modern forms</p> <p>Audience – Thanks to modernization of its programs, Bemus has attracted new audiences ('Orpheus and Eurydice')</p> <p>Venues - Bemus has attempted to put to use all available venues in Belgrade. However, the city doesn't dispose of a concert hall that can't be criticized. (The City Meyer of Belgrade has been approached with an initiative to build a new, more adequate concert hall in 2006). Bemus also uses theatre buildings, notably of Yugoslave Drama Theatre and Atelje 212 for its programs.</p> <p>Other</p>	<p>Programs – the concept</p> <p>Audience</p> <p>Venues</p> <p>Other</p>	<p>Programs</p> <p>Audience</p> <p>Venues</p> <p>Other</p>	<p>Programs – depending on finances</p> <p>Audience – no</p> <p>Venues – no</p> <p>Other - no</p>	<p>Programs</p> <p>Audience</p> <p>Venues</p> <p>Other</p>	<p>Programs</p> <p>Audience</p> <p>Venues</p> <p>Other - marketing</p>
<p>What do you see as the major challenges facing your festival in the future? (open question)</p>	<p>Not wanting to sound pessimistic, I would say that in the near future a serious question - 'whether a festival such as Bemus shall survive or not' – will be raised. The time of transitional changes which are dramatically reflected on culture has not as yet reached its peak, or so it seems. In the light of that, the biggest issue will be of the sources of financing, nowadays still coming predominantly from the public sources (the City Council, the state). Will some new city government or minister's cabinet have enough sympathy to carry on financing a event designed for the 'elite' audience? Since the public scene is more and more prone to 'estradiation', the 'good taste' is getting increasingly 'unpopular'. That is the first question. The second question is of the festival's program direction.</p>		<p>Problem of financing. Public attitude towards the contemporary musical output and composers' attitude towards the festival.</p>	<p>Lack of financial resources for simple survival, not to mention improvement of conditions for long term planning of more demanding programs an own production.</p>	<p>Membership at the International Association of Cello Festivals</p>	<p>Constant (planned in advance) financing and marketing</p>

Bemus is an 'old' event, which has introduced changes since 2001, still avoiding revolutionary break-ups. Therefore, one profile of the festival has been preserved, while the other profile has moved forward. The idea behind this was to keep the 'old' audience, attached to the more classical forms and performers, but also to attract the other, 'younger' audience through incorporating fresh, innovative programs. Some representatives of the present Ministry of Culture and Belgrade City Council's Secretariate for Culture agree with this line of development and festival's 'quiet' transformation. Others don't agree (because of their personal tastes and preferences). Some are frightened by the modernization of Bemus and they are against it. In that sense, it will become visible where the border of continuity and discontinuity with what could be called 'traditional, inherited values' in the cultural policy will be placed. Either the profile of the festival 'something for everybody' will be kept or someone will decide to start 'from the scratch'. The worst decision would be to make this new 'start' as a restoration of conservative and provincialist spirit and taste.

Synthetic overview of Serbian classical music festivals and their present condition

A glance at the answers from the table shows that there are considerable differences among the festivals which are observed in this paper, and that these differences are reflected in practically all levels – except the frequentation, since all six events are organized annually. However, even when analyzing the dimension of time, one can observe significant variety in duration of the festivals and their position within the calendar year. Four out of six festivals take place during the peak of regular concert seasons (Guitar Art Fest and Nomus in spring and Bemus and the International Review of Composers in autumn), while Cello Fest and *Marble and Sounds* belong to the group of summer festivals. It is worth noting that the latter spreads over three summer months (from July till September), which is partly imposed by the ‘mixed’ character of the festival, which also presents visual and applied arts. But, at the same time, it is a consequence of the tradition leading way back to the first edition of the Review, as mentioned before (a festivity spreading between the Warrior’s Day and Liberation Day of Arandelovac). All other events have much shorter yearly editions, lasting from 4-5 days (which is a customary duration of the International Review of Composers) up to two weeks or slightly more (the duration of Bemus). However, greater variety can be observed in festivals’ organizational structure, programs, and significance of the international element, budget and audience. I shall try to point out to the most characteristic answers and identify the problems which cause difficulties in functioning and endanger survival of the festivals.

Speaking about the **organizational and managing structures**, the only festival that exists as an independent public cultural organization with its own permanent staff is the *Marble and Sounds*. In most other cases, the production of the festivals is in the hands of public cultural organizations and professional associations, which also have more or less intense yearlong concert activities. On the other hand, the Guitar Art Fest is registered as a non-governmental organization, which means that it belongs to the civil sector. It is also interesting to see that none of the festivals receives any help from the volunteers, and that fact can be explained in two ways: by incapability to find people of a suitable profile who would be interested and willing to work as volunteers in the festivals, or – more likely – by lack of interest of the festivals’ producers to even try to find this kind of help. Whatever the reason, I believe that an opportunity is wasted here, not only money-wise (saving on the fees for the temporary contractual workers), but, above all, in terms of the possibility to involve the community in the festival and to recognize the mutual interest.

Concerning the **artistic themes**, one should be concerned about the fact that the *Marble and Sounds* Festival, as an organization which employs staff on permanent bases, doesn't have a clearly defined artistic orientation in a way that the other festivals have. Even though it belongs to the group of 'retrospective' festivals, with a number of selectors who choose the program independently for different artistic fields, the attitude expressed towards the program is predominantly a consequence of the festival's low budget. Namely, the selection of artworks which are presented has not been based – for quite some time – on the idea of presenting the highest 'Yugoslavian' artistic achievements (which was the original concept of the event), but the program is created 'according to the finances', or in other words – anything goes! The main problem that this festival is facing is, therefore, its inability to keep its original concept in the present circumstances (and I'm not only thinking about the dissemination of Yugoslavia!). The festival lingers because of the producer's hesitation to adopt a more ambitious approach to programming and to try to raise necessary finances from various sources. It is symptomatic that none of the international foundations participates in its financing – and having in mind the tradition, awards and former prestige of this event, it might well be expected that fundraising *would* bring some result. Of course, the present condition can be justified by weakness of local public funds for culture, which is a consequence of the economic changes mentioned in the previous chapter – but a reserved attitude towards that fact certainly won't contribute to the more secure future of the festival. What can be seen as a positive change is the fact that this year, for the first time, Knjaz Miloš as the economically strongest and successfully privatized company of the Arandjelovac community, participated with no less than 50% of the total budget of the festival³⁰ (which represents the largest percentage of sponsorship on all Serbian festivals)! Unfortunately, the percentage doesn't mean much if we know that the festival's total budget for the performing arts is only 1.000.000, 00 dinars (approximately 12.000,00 €), which is too small to cover a more ambitious and longer program.

Another 'paradox' of artistic nature can be observed in the answer that the International Review of Composers, as this country's only festival of (artistic) contemporary music, doesn't have its own production! However, that's not entirely true, because it only means that there are no music-stage productions on the Review which would resemble Bemus' productions. But, the Review really acts as a producer of its own programs because every

³⁰ I have in mind only the performing arts segment of the festival.

year it mobilizes existing ensembles or, even more often, initiates formation of new ensembles for the premiere performances of compositions chosen by the festival's selector. Therefore, one can say that literally all pieces from the official selection represent some sort of festival's production – and that amounts to more than 50 % of the total yearly program of the Review! I dare to draw a conclusion that sometimes the festivals' producers themselves are not aware of the significance and *meaning* of their work – so how can they possibly expect that the broad public or stakeholders would learn of the festivals' achievements?

The questions of budget and sources of financing are probably the most painful topic for their producers (five out of six festival directors marked this problem as the most significant one). When speaking about the amounts of money that they have at disposal on yearly basis, it is obvious that these vary considerably, and in some cases they are disturbingly small (The International Review of Composers, *Marble and Sounds*). It is interesting that the Artistic Director and General Manager of Bemus were not willing to reveal the data concerning the total budget of the festival – and when asked about the reason for this hesitation, they said that they didn't want to undermine their hard work and achievements by stating the figures which were much more modest than in case of some other international festivals, equals of Bemus in artistic terms. It seems that, in Serbia, the yearly budget of 70.000, 00 € up to 100.000, 00 € is 'sufficient' for successful realization of the medium size festivals (Nomus, Guitar Art Fest, Cello Fest), while the largest portion of the money is gathered from public funds and sponsors. It is very strange to see that, as I already mentioned in case of *Marble and Sounds*, most of the festivals observed do not apply for funds with international foundations – and that includes even the foundations that have offices in Belgrade, such as Pro Helvetia, Balkan Cult or Fund for the Open Society. The possible reason for this condition is the fear that successful fundraising would lead to further reduction or even loss of subventions from public sources – and according to M. Dragičević-Šešić, this fear is not at all unrealistic (in Diggle, *op. cit.*: 254). Another reason is that festivals' producers still don't have access to relevant information about the possibilities for receiving financial support from abroad. In response to this second dimension of the problem, the Institute for Study of Cultural Development from Belgrade has published a brochure called *Alternativno finansiranje kulture. Adresar fondacija* (2004, 2nd edition, 2005), in order to introduce the goals and programs of support of various international foundations to the cultural workers in Serbia so that they could eventually try to obtain some finances in that way for their program enterprises.

Another problem related to the questions of financing lies in the fact that there is very little or no revenue generated by the festivals (for example, from the box office), and consequently, its presence in the festivals' budgets is negligible. This problem is linked to the issue of the **audience development**, or more precisely, the efforts that the producers invest in enlargement of the circle of festival's users. Namely, it is a sad fact that half of the events analyzed don't have a strategy for audience development, while the question of the festivals' relations with local communities is largely neglected (the only exception being the Guitar Art Fest because its producer understands the meaning of clear positioning in the local context). Perhaps it is no coincidence that only Guitar Art Fest, as an event 'born' in the private/civil sector, sees marketing as one of the most important challenges for the future! In the public sector, marketing is, simply put, a neglected activity and very often it is confused with public relations – and that segment is also not very well developed! Bemus is the only festival that uses services of professional marketing agencies in order to promote its programs and image, but the relevance and outcomes of the agencies' work are almost impossible to measure because the evaluation is not carried out.

Finally, I would like to point out to some, in my opinion, useful ideas and attitudes formulated by Ivana Stefanović, composer and Artistic Director/Selector of Bemus, in her replies to the questionnaire. The first positive trend is rethinking of Bemus' program dimension: it is a good example of an 'old' festival that has boldly stepped towards modernization in order to attract 'new' audiences, namely younger people or people interested in other art forms. Secondly, Bemus is the only classical music festival that preserves and presents traditional folk music every year, taking care about the multicultural profile of the population of Serbia. At the same time, by presenting worthy folk music practice, it points out to the fact that this music tradition is still very much alive in Serbia, but it is completely suppressed by the worthless quasi-folkloristic music which is predominant in all mass media. Finally, Bemus raises question of 'elite' character of the performing arts in the present circumstances in Serbia, since nowadays the term 'elite' describes a totally different social group – a group of new rich people (*'nouveau riche'*) that was born during the war years in former Yugoslavia, and it rose to power at the beginning of transition, privatization and other economic changes. This new 'elite' doesn't define itself with 'elite culture' (such as high culture, fine arts...), but with bad taste and kitch values, which have become a 'role model' for large Serbian masses.

Will the Ministry of Culture and other levels of government in Serbia continue to support the artistic events, which are not able to compete at the market with commercial arts due to their very nature, or the festivals will be 'left to their own devices' in ever changing social circumstances, so that only few strongest will (maybe) be able to survive?

Case Study: Belgrade International Cello Fest

Usually held in July, the festival of violoncello can wait as long as it wants – this year, it doesn't happen.

They say: the budget has been spent.

What happened? Jugokonzert, the producer of Cello Fest, celebrated this year its 60th birthday. To be honest, the celebration was respectful and rich, having in mind various concerts and well known artists who visited Belgrade thanks to our oldest concert agency. And so, the celebration went on and on, and the 'piggy-bank' remained empty.

Owing to poor budgetary planning and oblivion of the newly founded festival, the Cello Fest became the collateral damage of the celebration of Jugokonzert's jubilee. Not only that the foreign artists' participations were cancelled, but also our young cellists were deprived of master classes of well known names. If any comfort, we've learnt that an extraordinary program is planned the next year's Cello Fest. However, that is only the next year.

Even though only three years old, a festival such as this pretended to be a serious musical review, especially when having in mind its international character. Jugokonzert's decision to abort the Cello Fest this year not only endangers something that might have become a tradition, but also opens possibility for a hardly acceptable and undesired possibility to 'skip' a year whenever something goes wrong. Is this only the fate of Cello Fest or of some other cultural events as well – we shall see.

M. S, Politika, July 11 2006.

Of all the festivals observed in this paper, only in the case of the Belgrade International Cello Fest there's been a disruption in frequentation of the festival – namely, this year, 2006, the actual festival's edition was cancelled. For various reasons, this situation is not unknown even in more stable societies than contemporary Serbian – it is only enough to remember the

strike of contractual workers in France in summer 2003 that caused cancellation of all festivals, including the Avignon Festival! By comparison, the longer-living festivals in Serbia have managed to sail through the very difficult times, such as the big economic crisis and war events in the 1990s – and they are still fighting for their survival in the era of privatization and transformation towards the market-oriented economy. Concerning the Cello Fest, we are as yet uncertain whether the 'temporary measure' of its cancellation in 2006 will lead to its 'sunsetting', or a new solution will be found until the next July that will guarantee for its renewal and untroubled existence. The case study of the festival³¹ should put some light on reasons for this year's 'collateral damage' because the answers to the questionnaire (given not long before the festival's cancellation!) do not show that financial issues – or, more precisely, lack of them - were taken into consideration as a serious threat to the realization of the planned program! Did the producer fail to notice the dangers surrounding the festival and to work out strategies which would enable the festival to take place even under the conditions of withdrawal of the budget financing? Or, perhaps the true reason for temporary canceling of the festival lies somewhere else, that is in the very program structure, and according to that, does this event have the future at all, should the current programme concept be preserved?

Belgrade International Cello Fest, founded in 2003, is conceived as a meeting place of the leading soloists and teachers from the whole world with pupils and students, but also with a vast and various audiences. Just like the similar festivals dedicated to the art of playing on a single instrument (for example, cello fests also exist in the Great Britain, Germany and Japan), Cello Fest is supposed to enable the top-class professional and artistic communication with Belgrade auditoria, by means of its master classes and concerts. Similar to other festivals with narrowly-oriented programmes (such as the International Harp Festival and the Guitar Art Fest), the Cello Fest primarily aims at a limited group of audience, which consists of professional cello players and the music students, therefore master classes for young musicians make an important segment of the programme.³² In a way, the International Review of Composers is similar to these festivals, because of its firm program direction towards contemporary music, be it at its concerts, lectures, encounters or round tables. In all those cases, the same goal is targeted, which is **a direct encounter**

³¹ I used as a model an earlier study of the Cello Fest, written in 2004 as a final paper for the subject of Festivals Management. The present study was completed in August 2006.

³² The International Harp Festival and Guitar Art Fest also feature competitions for students of music.

of the acclaimed artists (the participants of the programmes, professors and jury members) with young and perspective musicians. Apart from their significance in the pedagogical sense (i.e. the addition to the regular classes), these festivals have a stimulative impact upon pupils and students and contribute to the enlargement of the audience as well as creating the positive image of the city and the country in question.

Cello Fest was launched as a festival with an attractive and good quality program, and at the same time, with a relatively low budget, even for Serbian circumstances. Therefore, half-joking and half-seriously, a maxim was created to summarize effectively the initial 'philosophy' behind the Cello Fest: 'Limited funds – enormous appetites!' Year by year, the appetites constantly increased, and in parallel with them the budget (or, better to say: the expenses) necessary for realization of the programmes.

Despite the similarities with other Belgrade based festivals, it is possible to notice some specific features in the production of Cello Fest. Above all, the period of the year in which it takes place – the beginning of July – defines it as a typical summer festival, outside of the 'peak' of the season. The reasons for such positioning of the festival are numerous: first of all, the founder and producer of the Cello Fest, the Belgrade Concert Agency Jugokonzert, did not want its newly-founded festival to collide with its regular programmes during the concert season or with Bemus. Furthermore, summer is usually a period of the less-frequent engagement for the renowned artists, which enables them to spend several days in Belgrade and give a master class and one (or several) concerts. Another favourable thing is the fact that in July, immediately after the end of the academic year, pupils and students of cello have fully prepared concert programmes, which they perform in the courses of the distinguished professors. Regarding the fact that, in the beginning of July, Jugokonzert does not organize other events,³³ the project of Cello Fest is allowed to engage the entire human and technical resources of the agency. Finally, the break in the concert seasons of all the organizers of musical life in Belgrade enables for the new festival to attract bigger audiences and attain greater publicity.

33 However, at the time of bringing the first Cello Fest to life, Jugokonzert also produced another big international event – Days of Naples and Reggio Campagna in Belgrade.

Belgrade International Cello Fest was conceived as a non-commercial event, which is, for the most part, financed by the Secretariat for Culture of the City Council of Belgrade. This is important, because this festival differs from, say, Guitar Art Fest precisely by its non-profit character. The pupils and students of cello are enabled to pay minimum fee (about 30 €) and attend the master classes of the most eminent cellists and professors, which could otherwise cost them hundreds of euros each. Also, the fee includes the free entrance to all the concerts within the festival, both for the students and their parents.

One should bear in mind that Cello Fest gives equal importance to concert programs and to master classes, which is not the case in most of the festivals from the same group. Perhaps that is the very reason why the City of Belgrade withdrew its support to this event – because the primary and the expected activity of Jugokonzert is a production of concerts, and not communication with younger audiences (which is considered to be a task for the Jeunesses Musicales of Belgrade).

Besides the support from the City Council, several other city cultural institutions participate in realization of this festival, either by providing infra-structural support or by lending (free of charge, or for minimum fee) concert halls in which the courses and concerts take place. Especially important for that matter is the City Museum of Belgrade, because the beautiful Konak Kneginje Ljubice is a venue where majority of concerts take place. Occasionally some other institutions participate in the realization, such as Guarnerius – Jovan Kolundzija's Centre for Fine Arts and the Cultural Centre of Belgrade, as well as the School of Music 'Mokranjac', with its new concert hall. The festival is offered financial support by sponsors as well – such as foreign cultural centres and certain private companies. The media sponsor of the Cello Fest has been the Serbian Broadcasting Company since the very beginning – and in turn Radio Belgrade has the exclusive right to record and broadcast selected concerts of the festival.

In regards to the 'double' nature of Cello Fest, the production of this festival takes place in several phases:

- the choice of artists and programs, arranging the terms and conditions;
- contacts with concert halls, reserving the venues for concerts and courses;

- making the budget and raising the financial resources;
- preparation, printing and distribution of posters, advertisements, web-site and other information about the program and the terms of applying for participation; other marketing activities;
- receiving the applications and enrolling until the given date, making the schedule for the master classes, informing the candidates about the time-table of the courses;
- arrival of artists, accommodating them, realization phase – concerts and master classes, artists' departures, diplomas for the participants of the courses
- summing up the results and the evaluation.

The activities listed above take place throughout the year (or, to be more precise, from one Cello Fest to another). Certain phases in the process of realization of Cello Fest deserve special analytical attention, because they are specific for that event.

The selection of artists and programs, arrangements of dates and conditions.

Cello Fest is the only festival where Jugokonzert is both the producer and the selector of program.³⁴ The decisive role regarding the choice of artists and works, as well as the subjects of the courses, is played by Mrs. Vesna Kabiljio, the executive producer of the festival, in collaboration with her colleagues from the agency. In the first and the second year of its existence, Cello Fest also had the Art Council, which consisted of renowned artists and professors from Serbia – the cellists Sandra Belić and Relja Četković, as well as the conductor Petar Ivanović. Since the third Cello Fest, the Art Council has been canceled, because of the insufficient engagement in the preparation of program. However, Sandra Belić, as a leading professor of cello in Serbia, did preserve some sort of informal advisory role.

The producer of Cello Fest also makes decisions about master classes, together with the professors in charge, taking care of the fact that the courses should be suitable to students of various age and degree of education (from the primary music school pupils to the postgraduate students). Also, the courses aim at dealing with the

³⁴ In case of other events such as Bemus, International Review of Composers and International Harp Festival, Jugokonzert acts as an executive producer, but it has no or very little influence in the choice of programs.

different aspects of the cello repertoire.³⁵ Thus, the students are enabled to choose the courses according to their current needs and performing potentials, and that in turn enables the rational use of the limited time which is set for them to work with the distinguished teachers.

When it comes to the choice of concert programmes, a relatively modest budget of the festival sets considerable limitations. Namely, the inclusion of the symphony orchestra to accompany the soloists is very expensive: in the festival's first year neither of the concerts had the symphony orchestra, and in the second and the third year there was only one symphonic concert per year (both times it was the Symphony Orchestra of the Serbian Broadcasting Corporation). Speaking in practical terms, this means that it is possible to perform only a minor part of the vast repertoire of the cello concertos and concert pieces. This limitation has caused the program to focus on the concerts with a much cheaper chamber orchestra, then, on the soloists' recitals and the concerts of chamber music.

In year 2005 a supplementary activity was organized within the Cello Fest, an exhibition of the string instruments entitled *The History of Violin Making in Bulgaria and the Tradition of the Kaloferov Family*, which was set during the entire festival in the Gallery of the Kolarac Hall.

The festival dedicated to a single instrument gives an opportunity to perform the local premieres of the numerous works which are not a part of the standard concert repertoire. These are mostly works by contemporary composers, which have been created in the past few decades.³⁶

Contacting the concert halls and making reservations of venues for concerts and courses. Jugokonzert as a producer of the Cello Fest does not have its concert hall, and its founder – The City of Belgrade – fully covers the costs of rental of the Kolarac

35 Each year the range of themes differs a little – some new courses are constantly added.

36 Since the publishing rights of the compositions 'younger' than 50 years are owned by the foreign publishing houses, one of the producer's duties is to rent (or sometimes, very rarely, purchase) the score and performance material (parts) of the pieces from the publishers. The list of all pieces composed by Serbian composers, which appear on the program of the Cello Fest, is sent to SOKOJ (Union of Associations of Composers of Serbia) and the producer pays for the performance rights.

Hall for 20 concerts evenly distributed throughout the calendar year. For all other events in the Belgrade venues Jugokonzert has to pay a full price (which varies depending on the size and the quality of the hall), or search for coproducers. It sounds almost surreal (but it is, unfortunately, true) that Belgrade does not have a real concert hall which could guarantee a high-quality experience both by its acoustic characteristics and capacity, and which could also enable the expensive projects (such as concerts of the great ensembles or the most prominent soloists) to be commercially successful. The Kolarac Hall remains Belgrade's best concert venue in acoustic terms, but its full capacity of 890 seats is often insufficient to receive all the interested listeners, which should in turn provide the organizer of the concert with an income which could cover the expenses. Although the Cello Fest is, as stated, the non-profit event, the experience has shown that one should not give away the possible profit in advance, because the producers are faced almost daily with the unanticipated expenses, which cannot be foreseen even by the most detailed pre-account of the expenses. On the other hand, the great venues of the Centre Sava and the Syndicate Hall do not fulfill the acoustic demands of the classical music concerts, and are used only as a 'last resort'. Therefore Jugokonzert is forced to organize large and expensive concerts in the Kolarac Hall, and also to search for cheaper (and yet satisfying) solutions for the concerts of less-famous artists as well as the master classes – i.e. the events from which little or no income is expected. For that reason, the very beautiful and acoustic Atrium of the National Museum was dismissed in the first instance, because its rental price is quite high for the limited budget of the festival. A very successful substitute for the Atrium was found in a, previously rather unused, historic venue called *Konak Kneginje Ljubice*, thanks to the extreme benevolence of its owner, the Head of the Belgrade City Museum. A substantial part of the activities within the Cello Fest has taken part since 2004 in the newly adapted venue of the Music School Mokranjac, which in turn has helped promote this new concert hall. Also, other chamber venues are used, such as the Festive Hall of the Belgrade City Municipality and the recently adapted and a very useful Hall of the Belgrade Philharmonics.³⁷

37 A difficult problem related to the concerts within the second Cello Fest was finding adequate venues for rehearsals. For, it wasn't always possible to rehearse in the same venues where concerts took place – and this represented a difficulty especially for the two concerts with orchestras and seven soloists, where it was necessary to make several separate and ensemble rehearsals. The only solution was found in three cheap, but not very comfortable spaces – the SOKOJ Hall, Music Centre

Planning the budget and collecting the finances. Regarding the fact that Jugokonzert, as the founder of the Cello Fest, is an organization under the patronate of the City of Belgrade, it is quite natural that the City Sekretarijat for Culture provides the largest part of financing of the festival. Besides, Jugokonzert does enjoy considerable respect with foreign cultural centres in Belgrade, therefore some of them have agreed to participate in the expences of the Cello Fest programmes. From its very beginning the festival has enjoyed support from French Cultural Centre and AAFA (French Association for Artistic Activities); they have been joined by Goethe Institute and Italian Cultural Institute since the Second Cello Fest. Since 2005 one of Jugokonzert's partners has been the Swedish concert agency Rikskonserter; the collaboration between Jugokonzert and Rikskonserter is a part of the three-year programme entitled *Musical Links* (2005-2007).

As weird as it may sound, so far this festival has not received any support from the Ministry of Culture of Serbia – despite the high-quality programme and an undisputable significance of the Cello Fest for the education of the audiences.

In our country it is very difficult to find sponsors for cultural programs. The laws regarding sponsorship and donations are not stimulative for both private and communal enterprizes, which do not have true interest in investing in culture. The situation is even more difficult for the relatively new cultural event such as Cello Fest, which is yet to establish a name, a ‘brand’, which would attract potential sponsors. However, the example of the Guitar Art Fest – where the decisive role in financing the event is played by sponsors – demonstrates that it is not impossible to gain financial or any other ‘in kind’ help. In the case of Cello Fest, as well as many other cultural events which rely mostly upon the public funds, the basic mistake was that no strategy for attracting potential sponsors had been conceived. As soon as the City of Belgrade became incapable of providing enough money to cover the largest part of the projected expences, the annual edition of the festival had to be canceled.

Hall of the Kolarac Foundation and Music Gallery, also of the Kolarac Foundation. To describe the circumstances, it is enough to say that some of these small venues are not airconditioned, which represents a big problem concerning the summer heat in July! Once again it became obvious that the city of Belgrade really lacks infrastructure which would comprise, beside the concert venues, adequately furnished spaces for rehearsals and other activities which form part of the more complex cultural events – and the classical music festivals belong, by a rule, in that category.

Preparation, printing and distribution of posters, advertisements, web-sites and other information about the programme and the conditions for application.

Marketing activities. According to the rules of the contemporary marketing, Cello Fest has a ‘total design’ which is applied to all the printed propagande material.³⁸ It comprises the bilingual catalogue (with biographies and programmes in Serbian and English), ID cards for the participants and the Jugokonzert crew, then the posters, newspaper ads, as well as the accompanying material such as diplomas for the participants of the master classes and special editions. The last topic is of particular significance, since it presents an innovation when compared to similar festivals: that is, a new non-commercial edition of manuals and studies which deal with the interpretative problems of playing cello. In that respect, the first Cello Fest witnessed exclusive publication of a study by Czech cellist Stanislav Apolin, one of the doyens of the musical pedagogy, entitled *Cello Suites of Johann Sebastian Bach: a Small Study on Interpretation*. This book was distributed free of charge to the participants of the courses, to libraries of the music academies and schools of music in Serbia, and it represented a significant contribution to the modest literature on interpretation available in Serbian language.

The other interesting idea connected to the printed materials for the Cello Fest is a distribution of two different posters – one of them containing programmes of all courses, and the other with programmes of concerts. For, it is necessary to announce the master classes much earlier, in the course of the academic year – practically immediately after the participation of all the invited professors is confirmed. In that way, the pupils and students, together with their teachers, have enough time to apply for the desired courses. Besides the posters, which are distributed to all music schools and academies in Serbia, as well as some institutions in the region, the program of the concerts can also be seen at the Internet presentation of Jugokonzert (www.jugokonzert.co.yu).

The general programme of the festival is announced much later, immediately before the beginning of the festival, so that the organizer can react to the eventual changes of

38 The visual identity of the Cello Fest is created by a young designer from Belgrade, Ana Adamović.

programmes, which is not a rare case when talking about the classical music concerts. The program is also announced at the web presentation of Jugokonzert.

When it comes to the newspaper ads, during the first three years of Cello Fest it was a custom to publish the general advertisement (that is the announcement of all concerts) several times just before the beginning of the festival, in a number of leading daily newspapers, and later (in the course of the festival) to publish daily smaller, individual ads for each day's events.

The marketing activities concerning the Cello Fest also comprise the guest appearances of its editors and producers in the television and radio shows, as well as a radio jingle and the TV clip for the entire event, which are broadcast on the programmes of the Serbian Broadcasting Corporation and other media sponsors of the festival. Some of the artists also participate in the specialized television shows, or give interviews for the Belgrade newspapers and magazines, etc.

Admission of applications and enrollment of participants do predvidenog datuma, preparing the schedule of master classes, informing the candidates of the time-table. The application to the master classes is done by means of a form which can be downloaded from the Jugokonzert's web site and returned via e-mail, fax or regular post, which is especially favourable for students who live outside Belgrade or abroad. Every pupil/student is supposed to mark in the application which courses he or she would like to take, and which are his or her priorities. The applications are received until two weeks before the start of the festival, in order to enable the Jugokonzert's editors to make a time-table for the participants, bearing in mind the estimated number of classes given by each professor as well as the candidates' wishes. The fee is paid directly to the bank account of Jugokonzert. The young Serbian cellists who had previously performed in concerts within the earlier editions of Cello Fest are eligible to partake in the courses free of charge.

Besides the participants from Belgrade and other Serbian towns, as well as the countries nearby (Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia...), some of the participants of the courses come from the farther parts of Europe (such as the Great Britain, Austria etc.)

All candidates who arrive from other parts of Serbia or abroad cover the travel costs as well as the costs of their stay in Belgrade themselves, with an exception of those participants whose finances were covered by their music schools.

Arrival and accommodation of the artists, realization phase – concerts and master classes, presentation of diplomas, departures. Alongside the other, earlier mentioned events which consist of both concerts and pedagogical activities, Cello Fest has a dense daily schedule, with master classes taking place in mornings and afternoons, and concerts in the evenings. The intense everyday activities which take place in several venues in the city, require the full engagement of the entire Jugokonzert crew, but also hiring some spoljnih saradnika – tzv. ‘hostesa’ - for welcoming and ispraćaj of the foreign artists, kao i za dežurstva na majstorskim kursevima.

Regarding the fact that Jugokonzert does not own a car, local transfers are usually handled by taxi. In order to simplify and speed up these transfers, most artists are lodged in the hotels in the very centre of Belgrade (the hotels Palace, Casina, Majestic, Moscow...), because they are near Jugokonzert's offices and the concert halls where Cello Fest events take place. Exceptionally, some ‘starts’ could be accomodated at the Hotel Intercontinental (5*), in Novi Beograd, which is convenient only for concerts that take place in Sava Centar – but, so far, there weren’t any concerts within Cello Fest in that venue.

Summing up the results and evaluation. In the course of the festival and immediately after it, the documentation of the realized programmes is being created, which means gathering the press clipping, making the photo albums, then the post-production of the Radio Belgrade recordings and transferring them to compact discs etc.

The evaluation of a non-profit festival such as Cello Fest can not be done on basis of the profit, because it is not its aim. Of course, the report about the ticket sales for the concerts in Kolarac Hall is one of the signifiers of the audiences' interest in the

festival – however, these concerts make a smaller part of events within the Cello Fest. Professional critics' opinions, published in daily newspapers and periodicals, as well as broadcasted in electronic media, represent important means of evaluation concerning the quality of concerts. However, what is the most important for the producer are the comments and opinions of the participants, ranging from students, their teachers and parents, to prominent artists and pedagogues who hold master classes and perform in front of the Belgrade audience. According to this criterion, it is possible to say that there's been a progressive increase in interest in the festival, which is reflected in larger number of concerts and master classes, as well as two times bigger number of students attending the classes and concerts. Producers were especially delighted to see that many of the first year's participants (including some of the artists) developed affinity for this festival and regularly re-visited Belgrade in the following years.³⁹

Of course, everything would have been quite different had the festival been conceived in a more commercial manner. Should the producer decide to pursue next edition(s) of Cello Fest in that direction, maybe that could ensure the survival of the festival, concerning the present circumstances (namely, reduced funds from the City of Belgrade for the production costs). On the other hand, what could happen is that festival's present audience „turns its back' on it, unable or unwilling to pay more for the concerts and master classes. Another possible scenario could be to focus only on one aspect of the festival – its concerts, to make Cello Fest 'easier' to handle (organizationally and financially), while Jugokonzert's mission would nevertheless be fulfilled.

39 Three international cellists (Marc Coppey – France, Stefan Popov – Great Britain and Stanislav Apolin – Czech Republic) took part in all three editions of Cello Fest, and they were also booked for the year 2006.

MANAGEMENT OF THE FESTIVALS IN A TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY – OVERCOMING DIFFICULTIES, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITIES

Ever since the nineteen-eighties, knowledges and techniques of the artistic management have been considered as a necessary condition for development and realization of more demanding programs, establishment of individual artists' and producers' careers, but also for survival or cultural and artistic organizations.

Milena Dragičević-Šešić and Sanjin Dragojević (2005:7).

Wars in ex-Yugoslavia in the last decade of the 20th century, and then transitional changes in Serbia, endangered public artistic organizations in many ways. First of all, impoverishment of the society and reduced buying abilities, as a consequence of deterioration of big public companies (particularly industrial ones), implied that large portions of Serbian society would have to focus on managing to satisfy their primary needs instead of 'high', cultural needs. Also, the years of crisis brought flourishing of 'cheap' mass culture and lowered artistic taste of Serbian citizens: therefore, it is now necessary to invest extra effort in order to re-awake interest for 'elite' culture and its artistic products. Further on, high rate of unemployment, especially among young people, represents one of the consequences of the privatization, as an inherent and necessary component of the postsocialist transition. And so on.

As observed by M. Dragičević-Šešić and S. Dragojević, densifying of global cultural relations and abrupt changes in the environment and dominant cultural trends, put new demands before cultural organizations in our country, for which they were not prepared. These demands were pointed at bigger efficiency, greater economic results, but also bigger effectiveness in accomplishing social, or more often, social-political goals, such as inclusion of certain social groups, promotion of multiculturalism, development of cultural programs even on the territories where it wasn't possible to have local cultural institutions (activities of decentralization) and similar (2005: 51).

Nevertheless, these new social circumstances also offer some new possibilities, that must be envisaged and made use of in the best possible way. Non the field of culture, they are

numerous and specific. Transformation of the public companies and their adoption of the market-based logic offers new organizational models that can be adjusted to the needs of cultural organizations so that they would become more efficient and effective, and that is also true for the classical music festivals. Strengthening of the private sector and arrival of numerous international companies (such as banks, real estates companies, etc.) to the Serbian market can be seen as a positive factor, because the number of potential sponsors for the arts in Serbia grows steadily. Some of them have already supported different artistic programs and it is the future task of our cultural administrators to develop partnerships between cultural and private sector which would be mutually satisfying.

As I mentioned in the second chapter, internacionalization and integration in European project is one of the basic elements of the postsocialistic transition. It is a challenge that Serbian artistic organizations and events seemingly effortlessly fulfill through their memberships in various international networks (IETM, EFA-AEF, IAMIC, to name just a few), and that gives them a considerable advantage over some other local companies. Networking opens possibilities for coproductions with international partners, which lowers the costs and raises respect and recognition in the international context.

Having in mind that the postsocialistic transition is all about the shift towards the market economy, Serbian artistic festivals must face yet another challenge, and that is **the sale** (of the tickets). The key to a good sale is a good marketing, and both these functions are neglected in the production of the majority of Serbian classical music festivals (it is enough to remember the answers from the questionnaire: only the General Manager of the Guitar Art Fest, the only 'private' festival in the group, saw marketing as an important challenge for the future!) Here, three problems can be identified: firstly, Serbian citizens' purchasing powers are low, secondly, our compatriots are not really prepared to pay for the artistic goods (even when they can afford it!) which is a consequence of a widely spread opinion that they should be free of charge (the *Marble and Sounds* Festival represents an obvious example), and thirdly, high cultural needs 'disappeared' from a considerable part of the Serbian population, while kitch cultural values took over their place. The first problem is the most serious one and it cannot be resolved within the cultural sector, while the other two can be gradually neutralised through adequate marketing campaigns, cooperation with schools and other educational bodies, rebranding and repositioning of the festivals and organizations and utilisation of the sales promotion techniques (later I will speak more into detail).

In order to get a clear picture about the present position of Serbian festivals and to identify

the best possible strategies to overcome acute problems and boost future developments, managers of the events must do their **institutional positioning, as well as autoevaluation and organizational diagnostics**, independently or with the help of experts in the field. Milena Dragičević-Šešić and Sanjin Dragojević give a detailed overview of techniques of internal and external analyses appropriate for artistic organizations (*ibid*: 61 and further). According to these authors, autoevaluation and organizational diagnostics represent the first step in the analytical approach,⁴⁰ and their aim is to increase the managerial efficiency and functioning of any organization (artistic as well). It is worth noting that in Serbia the awareness of the need to (self)evaluate artistic organizations' achievements in the public sector is virtually non existing, and it is assumed that these organizations work well as long as they maintain to „keep their heads above the surface of the water“, or in other words, as long as there is an interest to finance them – even to a smallest extent – from the public budget (compare with *ibid*: 197).

Ichak Adizes is one of the authors who have given a significant contribution to the field of the organizational diagnostics and development of the artistic and business companies. Namely, his method of diagnostics identifies 10 phases in the life cycle of any company (whatever the type of business might be), from its creation („birth“) to its „death“, but not every company has to undergo all ten phases. On the contrary – the goal is to reach and maintain the „top form“ (the phase no. 5), and that is the optimal stage in the development of a company in which the company is integrated on the inside and on the outside (*Težnja ka top formi*: 19). Practically, it means that it is necessary to pay attention to both internal and external analyses of the organization, the latter referring to the organization's positioning in the local and wider context. Elsewhere, Adizes says that most companies focus only on the opportunities from the outside, while neglecting internal relations and problems; therefore, an organization which is experiencing a crisis (take one of the Serbian festivals for example!) needs an internal „medical treatment“ in order to enable creation of more fruitful relations with its surrounding (2001: 126).⁴¹ For the purpose of achieving **internal integrity of a**

40 These authors identify the following analytical methods and their expected reports (*ibid*, 62):

Method	Analytical 'report'
○ Individual and team autoanalysis	Formule of managerial abilities
○ Genealogical diagnostic of the organization	Chronologic map
○ Analysis of the organizational structure and flows	Organigram
○ Analysis of the decision making process and delegation of responsibilities	Matrix of decision making
○ Analysis of the informational flows in the organization	Diagram of the information flow

⁴¹In that sense Adizes speaks about the **internal and external marketing** as the factors of success of

company, Adizes has developed a method of individual and team self-analysis based on **the identification of leadership roles, or the formula of managerial capacities**. Simply put, **nobody is a perfect manager** since the decision making process is too complicated for any individual. Nobody can be excellent in all four leadership roles all the time, and these roles are:

P – Producing results or performing services, makes an organization short-term effective;

A – Administering, tendency towards being systematic, makes an organization short-term efficient;

E – Entrepreneurship, deciding about what we do today in light of what we expect of tomorrow, makes an organization long-term effective;

I – Integrating, ability to adjust, makes an organization long-term efficient (*ibid*: 118, 113-114).

According to Adizes, successful management doesn't require perfect individuals but a **complementary team** (*ibid*). If we apply this philosophy to the festivals presented in this paper, we can see that in most cases they rely on some kind of a „double leadership“, since there is a difference between artistic directors and administrative directors or general managers (in case of the Review *Marble and Sounds*, there is a team of selectors instead of one artistic director, while the Guitar Art Festival is managed and programmed by only one person, its founder). However, it gives an oversimplified picture since the efficiency of management largely depends on the **existence of a common interest of all groups of employees** – managers, workers and experts. In order to coordinate work of all these groups, it is necessary to establish a win-win climate which reflects the unity of interest(s). It can be achieved only thanks to a common vision and mutual trust, as well as the understanding that the employees in an organization depend on each other in order to survive and to succeed in

an organization.

The external marketing represents what we usually define as „marketing“: the choice and research of a market, segmentation and definition of target markets, development of marketing strategies, pricing philosophy, promotion, choice of media, etc.

The internal marketing, on the other hand, represents the sum of efforts, or the managerial energy invested, in order to achieve the most desirable things for the organization. The internal marketing is a function of the employees' mutual respect and trust. When people in a company don't respect nor trust each other, they waste enormous amounts of energy in an unproductive manner, and thus the objectives of the company are achieved with great difficulty. In such case, the internal marketing absorbs the largest portion of the managerial energy and only the remaining small part is available for the external marketing, or in other words, for dealing with the community which is the company's main responsibility and *raison d'être*.

the long-term. Adizes concludes that people working in an organization must be trained and able to keep their company in the „top form“, the stage in which the organization makes the best use of its resources and opportunities in the surrounding (*ibid*: 123-125).

When speaking about the **external integrating**, it is necessary to do the **positioning of (artistic) organizations**, which is, in fact, the process of **determining the company's own position on the field map and on the map of the activity in the local community at the moment of the analysis**. The purpose of this is to check the sustainability of the position in longer terms. In this type of analysis it is not only that the competition has to be identified, but also the relations of cooperation, complementarity and partnership (M. Dragičević-Šešić and S. Dragojević, 2005: 87).

The field map takes into consideration all three sectors (public, private and civil), as well as individuals, educational system, media that cover the field, etc., while the **the map of the activity in the local community** determines, above all, all relevant institutions, organizations and individuals that may not necessarily belong to the same narrower artistic field as the artistic organization observed, but they have or may have impact on the development of the community and the organization itself (*ibid*). It is obvious that the mapping of the context in which an artistic organization lives and acts is not at all a simple task and that it must be approached attentively and thoroughly. For instance, the field map of any of the six festivals observed here would have to encompass all other similar events in Serbia, then organizations that promote the classical music and which belong to the public sector (Belgrade Philharmonics, Music Production of the Serbian Radio-Television...), the private sector (Opera Madlenianum...) and the civil sector (Chinch, Art Link etc.), then, the entire system of music education (primary and secondary schools of music, music academies and faculties, musical education in primary and secondary schools of general education, etc.), media specializing in this field of art (such as the Third Program of the Radio Belgrade, some special programs on the first and second programs of the national Radio and Television, other electronic and printed media...), venues in which the concerts take place and their channels of distribution (box offices)... and so on. On the other hand, the map of the organization's

activity in the local community would feature all stakeholders, meaning people, groups, or organizations who may affect or be affected by or perceive themselves to be affected by a decision or by the development and implementation of a strategy or a project or an activity (*Festivals: Challenges of Growth, Distinction, Support Base and Internationalization*: 44). Thus, the stakeholder analysis is a good tool to consider the position and the role of a festival in a community and in the wider operative contexts and then to identify the objectives and the strategies and actions aimed at managing them (*ibid*).

One of the significant problems observed in the artistic companies is the lack of internal communication concerning the organizational issues (Adizes, 2002: 40). In the majority of cases, artistic organizations have a small number of employees and the flow of information should not be considered a problem. However, it is often seen in practice that each employee knows only a limited amount of data about the organization's businesses or about the activities of other parts of the organization. The majority of such organizations don't have regular meetings of the artistic and administrative staff which are necessary for coordination of activities such as ticket sale, marketing campaigns and similar. Therefore, an analysis of the organizational structure and information flows should be carried out (Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, 2005: 61, 68-69) in order to determine where and why the communication halts occur and to force its separate sectors to intensify the communication and coordination of the organization's activities.

The problem of poor communication may also occur among organizations that share the field of work (for instance, two classical music festivals). Fortunately, in Serbia there is traditionally a good cooperation between the festivals researched in this study – for instance, there is a decades long tradition of coordinating the programs of Bemus and Nomus (even though one of them takes place in April and the other in October), and more recently, also the programs of Bemus and Guitar Art Fest, Cello Fest or Belef (Beogradski letnji festival – Belgrade Summer Festival). Jugokonzert, as an executive producer of a number of festivals, has expanded this positive practice by initiating regular monthly meetings of the representatives of the public organizations from Belgrade working in the field of the classical music, which is Jugokonzert's main „branch“ of activity (these other organizations are Belgrade Philharmonic, Sava Center, Music Center of the Kolarac Hall, and RTS⁴² Music Production). The meetings are dedicated to discussions about a variety of topics, such as the

concerts of Belgrade Philharmonics and the ensembles of the RTS Music Production within the festivals produced by Jugokonzert, the layout of the organizations' concert seasons, cooperation with the managers of different venues in Belgrade, coproductions of expensive and demanding concert programs, media plans and marketing campaigns for the concert seasons or particular projects, etc.

Another useful method of the organizational analysis and institutional positionings is the SWOT⁴³ analysis which enables us to explore an organization from the inside (its inner strengths and weaknesses) and from the outside (the opportunities and threats in the organization's surroundings). This type of analysis can be used as a tool to grasp and compare numerous factors that (may) influence the functioning of an organization.

EXAMPLE: BEMUS' SWOT ANALYSIS

<p>STRENGTHS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - long tradition, respected by the partner organizations and patrons in the country and abroad - original program, featuring a number of festival's own productions and co-productions, commissions of new pieces, concerts of the most distinguished soloists and ensembles from all over the world - experienced and competent Jugokonzert team performing the role of the executive producer of the festival - a good choice of artistic directors and members of the Artistic Council of Bemus (experts in the field of classical music) - technical and informatic resources of Jugokonzert 	<p>OPPORTUNITIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - membership at the European Festivals Association (EFA-AEF) through which Bemus is well connected to similar festivals in Europe and beyond - good cooperation with local partners (venues, other festivals and producers, media, organizations that provide various services – hotels, restaurants, transport companies, travel agencies, printing companies...) - established contacts with international publishing houses, artistic agencies, promoters and production houses - it is possible to plan the budget on time, to sign the contracts with artists and their agents beforehand - sponsors are interested in this festival because Bemus offers better visibility than events within the regular concert season
<p>WEAKNESSES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Staffing problems: Bemus doesn't have its own staff, but it relies upon the human resources of Jugokonzert. As a 	<p>THREATS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - reduced subventions from the City of Belgrade and Ministry of Culture

⁴² RTS = Serbian Radio-Television.

⁴³ SWOT = Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats.

<p>consequence, sometimes employees are not motivated enough due to the fatigue caused by working on other Jugokonzerts programs year long (concert season, other festivals...); insufficient number of employees at Jugokonzert,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no volunteers, some professions are not represented in the staff (especially when we speak about marketing – therefore specialized agencies must be hired to handle marketing campaigns; nobody is hired to take care about the sales - festival doesn't generate its own income, because Jugokonzert is the user of the resources - city infrastructure for concerts is insufficient and inadequate - Bemus doesn't have its box office, and there is no control of the external box offices where the tickets are sold - it is not possible to buy tickets for Bemus on line 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - other users of public funds - costs of the festival are too big for the public funds, and there isn't a good strategy of diversification of resources - Fundraising potential is not really explored and exploited (international foundations and similar); the same stands for sponsorships - people's purchasing power is weak, so the box office income is not big - considerable risks are involved in the production of big and expensive projects (operas, ballets, symphony orchestras...) - inadequate and insufficient work of the marketing agencies which are hired by the City Council to work for Bemus - force majeure (sickness of the artists...), cancellations for various reasons - too many concerts during the regular concert season diminishes interest for the festival programs (especially in cases when they don't differ much from the regular concert offer)
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In order to make a good positioning, the festivals' managers must analyse the internal and external factors which are specific for the particular festivals (for instance, the advantages arising from the surrounding, novel programs or new artistic themes, famous artists...), as well as the characteristics which satisfy the needs of the festivals' target groups the best possible way (the needs could be, say, fun, relaxation, socializing, spiritual enrichment, recognition, prestige, etc.). Also, each festival manager must think about the ways how the festival's identity and position in the community should be promoted to its target audiences.

Ichak Adizes has developed a unique method of **organizational therapy** which consists of an attempt to identify the life phase of an organization and then its "treatment" until the return to the „top-form“ (*Težnja ka top formi: 7 i dalje*). Adizes thinks that any organization might be observed as a living organism, going through different stages in its life – growing, maturing and getting old. It is important to know that the “age” of a company has got nothing to do with the actual period of its existence, nor with its size. In order to reach the top form, an organization must undergo the years of growth, and it must also experience some of the years of maturing. Adizes' initial idea says that the **life cycle of a company can be controlled**. A

company need not "die", provided that the problems typical for each life phase are identified on time and solved successfully.

Adizes describes 10 phases in a life-cycle of an organization:

	Normal condition	<i>Pathologic condition</i>
PHASES OF GROWTH	1. Courting	→ <i>Flirt</i>
	2. Nursery	→ <i>Death of a new born baby</i>
	3. Go-go	→ <i>The founder's trap</i>
PHASES OF MATURING	4. Adolescence	→ <i>Premature ageing</i> divorce → <i>Unsatisfied entrepreneur</i>
	5. TOP FORM	
PHASES OF AGEING	6. Stability	
	7. Aristocracy	
	8. Early byrocracy	
	9. Byrocracy	
	10. Death	

The top form of an organization represents the period in its life-cycle when it is both selfcontrolled and flexible. Before the top form, an organization is flexible but uncontrolled, while in the phases of ageing the organization is controlled but no longer flexible.

According to the answers to the questionnaire and the case study of the Cello Fest, the six selected festivals are momentarily in the following life phases, as described by Adizes.

CELLO FEST – the **death of a new born baby (the pathologic outcome of a nursery period)**. A young organization dies because its founder lost his dedication, or because the risk was so big that the organization lost its solvency for good (and that is exactly the reason why the fourth Cello Fest was cancelled). The company in a nursery stage is more vulnerable than a more mature company and it cannot survive without adequate financing.

GUITAR ART FEST – the **go go phase**. This is a phase of a fast growth. The founder sees his company flourish and that creates a false sense of security. Chances are perceived everywhere and too many chances may cause troubles. The founder makes all decisions, the responsibilities are not delegated.

BEMUS, NOMUS – the phase of **stability**. The organization is still strong, but it lacks

youthful fire, typical for the earlier phases. It starts to reveal the first signs of ageing. Its members greet new ideas, but they miss the excitement characteristic for the new ideas during the phases of growth. There is a faint interest in marketing and research and development. The employees praise the accomplishments from the past, but they find it difficult to accumulate energy for the future.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF COMPOSERS, THE MARBLE AND SOUNDS FESTIVAL – the **early bureaucracy**. Adizes describes this phase of ageing (or deteriorating) as a period of the “witch hunt” within the company, in order to discover who did what wrong, without trying to discover what actually went wrong and how the damage could be repaired. The reduction of costs is preferred to the efforts to increase incomes. The company does what is safe and useful in the short-term rather than doing what’s insecure and important in the long run. Some companies reduce the costs so significantly that they suffer from a “corporate anorexia” (just to give an example: the 12th Review of Composers had a subtitle “zip.” as a description of an extremely short and poor edition of the festival; since then, it has become a practice not to perform the pieces composed for the unusual instrumental ensembles because the creation of such *ad hoc* ensembles is very expensive, etc.).

Another interesting method of the organizational diagnostics and self-analysis is the SMART analysis, which is used as a tool to define the organization’s objectives and goals. The title is an abbreviation designed of the initials of the following terms:

- Specific – it should be determined exactly how, where and when the goals/objectives should be fulfilled
- Measurable – the process of reaching the goals/objectives should be measurable
- Achievable – the goals/objectives should be ambitious, but at the same time realistic
- Relevant (and Realistic) – they should focus on the organization’s priorities
- Time bound – it should be determined when the goals/objectives should be reached (*Organizational Management T-Kit*, 2000).

After using the methods of diagnostic (described here or others) and after the analytical re-positioning, the next step that the festivals’ managers should undertake is thinking about the possibilities of **organizational development of the festivals**. Two widely used methods of organizational development are:

1. capacity building, and

2. strategic planning (Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, 2005: 29 and further).

The method of organizational development in the cultural and artistic fields is used as a **response of the cultural management to recent changes in the surroundings and to the new cultural policy demands**. The very definition of the organizational development shows clearly that this method is of utmost importance for overcoming the problems and exploiting the possibilities, both of which are the consequences of the transition in Serbia. The meaning and main goal of the method can be described as **learning and developing capacity for strategic thinking within an organization**, which allows it to become more actively involved in designing and reaching the goals of the new cultural policy, while accomplishing a good level of self-sustainability (cf. *ibid*: 51-52, 31).⁴⁴

The capacity building refers to the inherent ability of an organization to change itself according to its mission and vision, developmental goals and priorities, and to apply these changes at the right moment – especially in turbulent conditions – to fulfill the demands of self-sustainability and needs of the relevant surrounding (*ibid*: 56-57). The importance of

⁴⁴ Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević identify a variety of other goals of the organizational development:

- * capacity building of cultural organizations and key individuals so that they are able to design, determine and resolve the problems in their surroundings, their organizations and the cultural system in general;
- * introducing strategic planning to help the organizations to become self-sustainable by re-positioning in their local/regional community and providing the conditions for the permanent and sustainable organizational development;
- * creating a horizontal connection between the cultural policy actors from all sectors;
- * increasing ambition and competitiveness within the cultural sector, developing the entrepreneurial spirit, and creating conditions for wider recognition of the social value of the culture;
- * capacity building of the cultural organizations within their own artistic and cultural field of activity, raising the level of excellency in all aspects of the organization;
- * formalizing and codifying the knowledges and skills within the organization in order to achieve a higher level of self-sustainability and to enable the diffusion of the knowledges and skills in the local environment;
- * developing awareness of the importance of acting in the cultural market, defining special programs and services and expanding the group of users;
- * expanding local platforms and starting local initiatives so that the other relevant artistic and cultural organizations could become involved in the aforementioned processes;
- * encouraging the understanding of the cultural diversity and insisting on creation and realization of intercultural projects;
- * active work on defining the national/regional/local cultural policies, as well as creation of such forms of action that include other cultural actors in the process on continual basis (*ibid*: 31-32).

this method can be understood if we have in mind that the best and the fastest results of the transition are achieved through a strong focus on the human resources development in all sectors, and especially in the public sector (*ibid*: 53). Concerning the fact that the majority of the classical music festivals in Serbia still belong to the public sector, it is necessary to introduce the practice of permanent education of the employees, and especially the leaders, so that they could be able to critically review themselves and their teams and to identify the dangers and chances in the transitional environment. For the moment, the artistic organizations and festivals in Serbia, and especially the older ones, show a tendency to stick to the same procedures that were successful at the time when they were founded, but which are unsuccessful or even dangerous to use in the present circumstances (for instance, depending on only one source of financing /from the public budget/, keeping the same program structure and similar). The reasons for this are often found in the fact that the staff members are not qualified to perform the organizational diagnostics, institutional positioning and strategic planning. In order to prescribe a cure, a doctor *must* be able to identify a source of illness – and this metaphore testifies to the importance of the capacity building.

Strategic planning

The practice of long term planning (for the period of five years, for instance) was abandoned in Serbia in the beginning of the 1990-ies as a consequence of the hyperinflation and crisis on all levels of the society. But even now, when the circumstances are right to re-introduce the strategic planning as an integral part of the future development of Serbian artistic organizations, it is not happening yet. It is true that the future of Serbia is still unclear and impossible to predict, but the fact is neglected that the purpose of the strategic planning is *precisely* to set the development of an organization in such a way that the organization can quickly adapt to the changes of the society in order to survive. A much more serious problem lies in the fact that, as I mentioned before, the practice of the autodiagnosics and selfpositioning literally doesn't exist in Serbian artistic organizations. The reason for this situation in Serbia, as observed by Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, is that the field of culture belongs to the broader concepts of tradition and identity, and artistic organizations are understood as a guarantee of their preservation; thus, the contents and direction of their work are not subject to questioning (2005: 94).

There is another reason why the strategic planning is seen as largely meaningless in the countries where the cultural policy doesn't prescribe the necessity of strategic or any other type of planning (the same can be said for the capacity building as well!) The question is posed: who is the user of the strategic plan and when it will be used? In fact, the most difficult task is to develop the strategic thinking *within* an organization, since the organization is its primary user (*ibid*: 96).

There are many arguments in favor of the long-term strategic planning even in turbulent surroundings, such as:

- its contribution to the stability and safety of an organization;
- the organization is better prepared to react quickly to the unexpected challenges from the surrounding;
- greater flexibility and readiness for changes in the course of action (creation of the systemic preconditions for the *ad hoc* changes);
- better position for negotiations;
- the company is increasingly credible and recognizable in its community;
- the quality of the program is higher (*ibid*).

For the public cultural institutions the strategic plan is especially important because it is literally the only instrument that imposes on them the questioning of their usual programs and practices, and requires from them to look towards the future and search for some new, inovative strategies.

The strategic plan must encompass all levels of an organization and its activities in the clearly defined context: in other words, the organization and its partners, the networks it participates in, broader social programs and policies, funders and supporters, etc. (*ibid*: 118).

The strategic plan is usually designed as a series of tables, each showing one aspect of the organization's activity in the given period. The period may be short-term (for instance, one year), middle-term (up to three years) or long-term (5 years or more). The plan may be realized in different ways, but the only important thing is that it is comprehensive. Here, I "borrowed" some of the tables developed by M. Dragičević-Šešić and S. Dragojević (*ibid*) and I created the drafts of strategic plans for the six festivals explored in this paper. I was especially interested in those that refer to the development of the strategies for the classical

music festivals, *capacity building*, financial planning, public relations and marketing because I believe that planning of these activities holds the key to the recovery of the artistic organizations (festivals in this case) and helps understand the ways how these events may use new social circumstances for their own prosperity and growth. The last two activities in the strategic plan – the strategic evaluation of the program and evaluation of the achieved organizational development (*ibid*, tables no. 7 & 8) are carried out after the end of the planned period (even though it is possible to predict some sort of a "check point" after a shorter period of time, in order to make some corrections, if necessary).

Table 1 – Selection of appropriate strategies

After having analyzed in the previous chapter the problems that each of the classical music festival in Serbia faces today (and we've seen that these problems are quite diverse!), the first step in the strategic thinking of the future of the festivals is the choice of the appropriate strategies of the programming and organizational development, in concordance with the needs of each event. Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević (*ibid*: 103-104) identified no less than twenty three possible strategies to be applied by the artistic organizations working in a society which is characterized by frequent and abrupt changes – and such are transitional societies:

TABLE 1

a) Programming and organizational competitive strategies:
1. diversification of programs;
2. diversification of resources;
3. increasing the volume of production and services – the organization’s growth (increased number of personnel);
4. commercialization of programs and the spread of services;
5. audience development and market expansion;
6. program-focused orientation/shrinking of the organization (declining number of personnel).
b) Quality achievement strategies:
7. support for quality development – achievement of excellence;
8. strategy of harmonization with professional standards of operation;
9. securing (exclusive) licence rights;
10. education and transfer of knowledge.
c) Strategies of linkage:
11. orientation towards partnership/co-productions;
12. networking;
13. internationalization;
14. decentralization of activities;
15. inter-sectorial linkage.
d) Strategies to engage the public:
16. positioning in the public domain and working towards public visibility;
17. lobbying and support-gathering strategies;
18. public commitment strategies and changes in the public space.
e) Strategies to secure sustainability:
19. strategy of a minimal self-sustainability;
20. merging strategy;
21. strategy of privatization;
22. migration strategy.
f) Sunsetting (exit strategy):
23. strategy of dissolution, with the preservation of institutional achievements and collective memory.

According to the answers given by the managers of the festivals, it seems to me that some of them already use several of the strategies given above. For instance, Nomus has opted for the strategy no. 6 – the focusing of the program, putting the emphasis on the chamber music concerts which, except for the traditional concert of the Vojvodina symphony orchestra at the opening of the festival, make the largest portion of the yearly program. However, this kind of focusing doesn't do the damage to the quality or diversity of the program, since the program of Nomus features the chamber ensembles of different sizes and composition (ranging from duos and trios up to chamber orchestras or bigger nonstandard ensembles), performing the classical music of all styles and epochs (early, baroque, classical, romantic, contemporary). In such a clearly defined conception, occasional concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic, opera performances and similar only add to the quality of the program, but the festival could easily be done without them – and that is precisely what differs Nomus from somewhat similar Bemus, the annual edition of which almost could not exist without at least several concerts of big international orchestras or performances of opera and ballet troupes.

The same strategy of the focusing of the program is applied in the case of the *Marble and Sounds* Festival, but in this case the choice of the strategy is not desired, but it is caused by the extremely limited budget of the festival and by the progressive diminishing of the public subventions (from the Community of Arandjelovac and Ministry of Culture). Therefore, I believe that it is fair to say that the Review also uses the strategy of minimal self-sustainability, which cannot represent a long term solution, but only a transitional phase which leads either to the recovery or to the definitive sunset of the organization. The International Review of Composers is also one of the festivals on the verge of extinction, largely because of the lack of the cultural policy that would recognize the importance of promotion of the contemporary music in Serbia and prescribe larger support from the public sources to the review that *indeed* cannot count with a much greater audience because of its specific nature. However, it must be said that the Review is faced with another serious problem and that is the deterioration of the quality of the program due to the reduced composers' output in Serbia. This is a consequence of the "brain drain" in this artistic field in the past decade, but also of the fact that many Serbian composers do other things to provide a living (they work as music teachers or they write applied music for theatre, TV and film). Being someone who has followed the programs of the Review of Composers with great interest in the past decade, I've tried to identify some of the reasons why this festival has lost its initial attractiveness and prestige in the eyes of its target audience (including the

composers themselves). First of all, it was probably a mistake to abandon the practice of awarding the best new pieces (since this initial competitive character of the festival was very important for the composers!) Further on, the founder of this event, the Composers' Association of Serbia, hasn't shown much interest to promote this festival more actively during the calendar year, but also during the Review itself (PR and marketing activities are completely neglected, and so is the opportunity to use the Association's membership in international networks for the international promotion of the festival). Finally, it has again become possible to visit the Zagreb Biennial of Contemporary Music, a much older and more respectful festival in Croatia, and that is also one of the reasons why the Review has lost its significance for Serbian composers and audiences. Does it mean that the Review will have to opt for the strategy of sunseting? Or, maybe, some other strategies will be found to support its sustainability? I sincerely believe that this event does have a future, but only in case that some of the quality-oriented strategies and strategies of networking and public action are put to use immediately. Another solution might be moving of the Review to some other town, especially because this event initially took place in three different towns and not just one (in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Sremski Karlovci). An argument in favour of this idea is that this festival could develop some sort of a "cultural-touristic" dimension in the same way as the Zagreb Biennial. In any case, it is necessary to devote a great deal of attention to the design of the appropriate strategies to recover and rejuvenate this festival which, in its present form, doesn't look appealing to anybody.

On the other hand, the Guitar Art Fest based its growth and development on the successful use of the strategy of the diversification of the resources (which is clearly shown in the financial structure of the festival), and also the audience development and enlargement of the market (innovative and clever marketing approach, expanding activities outside Belgrade, close collaboration with other educational institutions...). This festival, founded six years ago as a result of a private entrepreneurship and energy, is now facing new challenges – above all, the need to get institutional consolidation through obtaining its own office space (for the moment the festival uses the space of the Cultural Centre of Belgrade), contracting its employees on a longer term basis (strategy no. 3) and similar. I dare to draw a conclusion that the Guitar Art Fest has found a right measure of its program and that its positioning in the Belgrade and Serbian context has been carried out successfully, so this festival definitely doesn't belong to the endangered breed – even though it doesn't operate in the more secure context of the public sector.

Speaking of the Belgrade International Cello Fest, the event that was forced to use the most "painful" strategy this year (cancellation while preserving institutional accomplishments and collective memory) – it is not easy to predict what will happen with this festival in the future. For its founder, Jugokonzert agency from Belgrade, there is no doubt that the Cello Fest should continue next year, but so far no strategy has been developed that could turn that desire into reality. It seems that one of the strategic options could be the commercialization of the programs and broadening of the services: the participation at the master classes could be charged much more, and that would reduce the negative saldo of incomes and expenditures. Of course, there is a fair danger that the lecturers could ask for bigger fees for their work, and this possibility requires careful planning of the budget and taking everything into account (the SWOT analysis could be of great value in this case!) Also, the producer of the festival should be very careful when determining a new, commercial price of the master courses. As observed by Keith Diggle (1998:67), the price is reasonably high when the audience pays it and the producer estimates that it is on the verge of acceptability, while the price is too high when the audiences refuse to pay it. Therefore, the use of the abovementioned strategy requires caution and awareness of the risks that must be carefully calculated. Perhaps it would help to conduct a survey among the music students who have so far been the main users of the Cello Fest's educative program, in order to see what are their possibilities in that respect.

Of course, this strategy must be followed by adequate positioning of the festival in the context of the concert life in Belgrade, as well as within Jugokonzert's activities throughout the season. The producer must develop its activities in two directions: towards the audience development, in order to increase the income from the box offices, and towards the focusing of the program and rightsizing. One of the main reasons for this year's cancellation of the Cello Fest is that Jugokonzert's financial but also human resources were drained out due to a very intense first half-season. Therefore, one of the solutions could be to reduce the number of concerts at the Cello Fest and maintain quality, while more attention could be given to the promotion of young talented musicians and in such way the educative aspect of the festival would gain ever more importance. An excellent example in that respect represents the festival event called *La semaine internationale du piano (The International Piano Week)*, produced by Jugokonzert in May 2006 in co-operation with the Foundation SOS TALENTS from Paris, which featured a dozen of young promising musicians from Serbia and abroad (together with already prominent artists) and provoked an enormous interest of the Belgrade audience.

Another possible program strategy for the Cello Fest could be the decentralization of activity (no. 14), namely spreading the festival's impact onto the wider territory of Serbia through concerts of the well known and uprising violoncellists – for instance, concerts could be organized in Čuprija, a town in the middle of Serbia which possesses a unique boarding school for the most talented students of string instruments. Finally, the strategy of diversification of the resources (no. 2) is almost necessary in order to prevent the 2006 scenario. Fundraising should play a more important role in the financing of this festival, and the Cello Fest could be particularly interesting to the international foundations because of its social significance and message (education, inclusive policy, international co-operation, creating a good image of the city and the republic, and similar).

When speaking about the Serbian festivals-dinosaurs – Bemus and the *Marble and Sounds* Festival – their main common problem (apart from the numerous differences) lies in the fact that their original significance is simply lost today. Namely, should we agree that "who celebrates and what is celebrated" (D. Klaić, in Fenton, Neal, 2005: 149) is the key question related to the present condition of European festivals (and it may well be!), we must remember that these two events were initiated in order to celebrate certain important dates in the history of the former Yugoslavia – more specifically, the days of liberation from the fascists' occupation of the cities. Today, this original purpose is erased from the collective memory of the citizens, and therefore one shouldn't be surprised with the reduced interest of the public (political) authorities for these festivals! Therefore, I may draw the conclusion that, in case of these two festivals, the appropriate strategies would be the strategies of public action – (re-)positioning in the local communities, being recognized and visible, lobbying and obtaining support, as well as the strategy of public action and change engagement of the public space. In case of the *Marble and Sounds* Festival, the positioning and lobbying should be carried out with an emphasis put on the touristic potential of Aranđelovac – it should be branded as some sort of "Serbian Avignon or Salzburg"! Of course, the key to the success of this strategy is in its recognition by the local authorities of the community of Aranđelovac and also in a serious and devoted work on the promotion of the new image of the town and its surrounding. Should the Festival be supported and repositioned in such a way, the benefits for the region could be considerable, especially if we bear in mind that the cultural life of Serbia suffers a lot from the "Belgradization" of the country, which is the colloquial name for the hyperproduction of arts in Belgrade at expense of the rest of Serbia (Novi Sad is probably the only exception, and only partly). Therefore, it is easy to see that the main task for the

Ministry of Culture of Serbia should be **the cultural decentralization** as one of the top priorities and objectives of the future Serbian cultural policy. At the same time, the festivals such as Nomus, Nimus in Niš, *Days of Mokranjac* in Negotin etc. should find ways to lobby at the Ministry of Culture on their own behalf, and in the best interest of the artistic life outside the capital of Serbia.

Starting from this year, a new opportunity has occurred for the *Marble and Sounds Festival*, and that is the sponsorship received from the company *Knjaz Miloš*, a water factory from Arandjelovac which was successfully privatized. No less than 50% of this year's budget of the Review is provided through this sponsorship! We may assume that the diversification of the resources could give a strong impulse to the recovery of this event, together with the stronger positioning in the local community. Finally, the intersectoral connecting is another strategy that could be used in this particular case, because of the mixed nature of the event.

In case of Bemus, which, at a glance, doesn't seem to belong to the category of the "endangered festivals" (and especially when its budget is compared to the budgets of all other festivals analyzed here!), it is necessary to do the re-positioning and re-branding of the festival so as to show clearly its new meaning and significance in the context of Serbian culture. The enlargement of the audience and market must be a top priority, for the present dimensions of the festival seem to be absurdly enormous concerning the number of people that enjoy its programs. Bemus could also make use of some of the binding strategies (orientation towards partnerships and co-productions, networking, internationalization, intersectoral connections...) that could facilitate the production of its highly ambitious programs. The examples of such programs on Bemus 2006 are given in the following table, together with my analysis of appropriate strategies (some of which are already being used), their goals and expected results:

Programs and activities	Main actors	Form and description of strategy	Key element of the strategy	Expected results
BEMUS 2006.	Jugokonzert (executive production),			
Activity 1 (Program 1) Maurice Bejart Ballet, Lausanne	New Moment (visual identity), Bitez (co-producer), Sava Centar (co-producer)	Diversification of the resources: financial, human and technical Intersectoral binding Audience development and enlargement of the market	Many resources of financing the program: subventions (Secretariat for culture of the Belgrade City Council), sponsorships (the Société Générale Bank, JAT, Hotel Belgrade Intercontinental), fundraising: Centre Culturel Français, Embassy of Switzerland Using of the human and technical resources of the partner organizations (Bitez Theatre, Sava Centar), facilitated access to their audiences	More security in planning and realizing an expensive and demanding program; the budget of the city is less exploited; the circle of stakeholders is expanded; more public visibility; various segments of the audience are attracted
Activity 2 (Program 2) NEW ART NET International Conference for Young Managers in the Performing Arts	Bitez Theatre, NGO Art Link, University of Arts in Belgrade, Institute for Studies of Cultural Development, Sava Centar, Other actors: European festivals association (EFA-AEF), IETM	Internationalization and networking: Attracting potential partners from abroad, creating a platform for future co-operation Intersektorsko povezivanje:	Inviting to Belgrade international experts in the field and their introduction to the programs of Bitez, Bemus and other partner institutions, as well as to the organizational capacities of the producers Strengthening the existing and creating new connections and partnerships among the artistic organizations in Belgrade working in various fields of art (artistic music, contemporary theatre, intercultural dialog), and in different sectors (public, civil)	Strengthening own position in the international networks, concrete proposals for co-operation among the artistic organizations from Belgrade and their international partners Common activity contributes to: 1. the increased visibility of each individual partner, 2. lobbying at the public cultural policy organs and 3. audience development

Table 2 – Human resource development plan and the education policy of the organization

A festival cannot survive without a team which is responsible for it, and which includes permanent staff, contractual workers and volunteers. The motivation of the team represents the main source of the festival's energy, and it must also be well organized in order to carry out the planned program in all its details.

Earlier in the paper I mentioned the significance of the capacity building for the organizational development. The following example shows an analysis of the present human resources of a certain festival, together with my recommendations for the additional learning and professional perfectionnement. The table refers to the mid or long term strategic period (no less than three years):

BEMUS	Name	Profile	Knowledge and skills	Eduactional needs	Motivation plan and educational plan	Planned costs (Salaries&fees) - Additional education
Employees (N. B. employed at Jugokonzert)	Biljana Zdravković	General Manager	Educated abroad, uses computer, two foreign languages	Specialization in the fields of cultural management and cultural policy	Training seminars in leadership and seminars, organized by the City Council, Ministry of Culture or some international bodies	2000 €for seminars and conerences
	Vesna Kabiljo	Editor in Chief	Musicologist, uses computer, two foreign languages	Permanent education in musicology and arts theory	Subscription to the international music magazines, participation at seminars and conferences	500 €for the literature, 2000 €for seminars and conferences.
	Jelena Janković	Editor & Producer	Musicologist, very skilled in computer software, two foreign languages	M. A. in cultural management	Master studies at the University of Arts in Belgrade; conferences and ateliers abroad	750 €for the studies, 1500 € for ateliers and conferences
	Milica Kadić	Editor & Producer	Musicologist, uses computer, 3 foreign languages	M. A. in musicology or arts theory	Master studies at the Faculty of Music, seminars and conferences	750 €for the studies, 1500 € for seminars and conferences
	Željka Lakićević	Bemus Executive Secretary	High school of languages, uses computer, two foreign languages	Specialization in the fields of cultural management and cultural policy	Courses at the Centre for the professional development and consulting at the University of Arts	100 €per course, several times a year

	Mirjana Panić	Chief producer	Business school, uses computer	Specialization in the field of cultural management, courses of foreign languages	Courses at the Centre for the professional development and consulting at the University of Arts, courses of English language	100 €per course, several times a year, 500 €for the language courses
	Dejan Bojović	Graphic designer and web administrator	Expert knowledge of the computer software and hardware	Permanent education in computer technology, courses of foreign languages	Subscription to the international magazines and literature, course of English language	500 €for the literature, 500 € for the language course
	Jelena Lakićević	PR	Faculty of Drama, uses computer, one foreign language	Courses of foreign languages, courses of business communication	Courses at the Centre for the professional development and consulting at the University of Arts, courses of German language	100 €per course several times a year, 500 €for the language course
	Vesna Nikolić	Chief accountant	Faculty of Economy	Permanent education in economy, improvement in computer software	Subscription to the magazines in the field, courses of computers	300 €for the literature, 1000 €for the courses of computers
	Jelena Pavlović	Accountant	Faculty of Economy	Permanent education in economy, improvement in computer software	Subscription to the magazines in the field, courses of computers	300 €for the literature, 1000 €for the courses of computers
	Marijana Cvetković	Administrative secretary	High school of economy, uses computer	English language	Courses of English language	500 €for the language course
<i>New needs</i>		MARKETING DIRECTOR, DRIVER				
Permanent and occasional contractual workers	Ivana Stefanović	Artistic Director of Bemus				
	Dragan Pavlović	Producer				
	Cristina Goto	Project manager				
	Fatjon Dragoshi	Project manager and producer				
	Neda Bebler	Musicologist, program editor				
	Marko Đukanović	Producer				
	Dragoljub Tošević	Driver				

Board of directors = Bemus Artistic Council ⁴⁵	Sandra Belić Aleksandra Anja Đorđević Ljubiša Jovanović Ana Kotevska Dejan Sinadinović, Ksenija Stevanović Bojan Sudić, Aleksandar Vujić	Violoncellists, professor at the FMU Composer, music associate at the Radio Studio B Flutist, professor and vice dean at the FMU Musicologist, director of the Music Information Center of SOKOJ Pianist, professor and vice dean of the FMU Musicologist, editor at the Radio Belgrade 3 rd Program Conductor, professor at the FMU and chief conductor of the Symphony Orchestra and Choir of the Serbian Radio-Television Composer, conductor and pianist, professor at the FMU				
<i>Desired</i>	Members of the business sector (banks, successful companies, etc) who would help raise the funds for the festival!					
Volunteers Friends and colleagues (support)		/				

⁴⁵ For the moment, Bemus Artistic Council has got only an advisory role concerning the program, and it doesn't participate in organizing the festival in any way.

I'd like to point out to the desired new Bemus Artistic Council, which should be completely transformed in the future. I believe that it's very important to recognize the potential value of the "board of directors" may have for the festivals and other artistic organizations. The role of the board in the Western European countries and the USA should be the model, for in these countries the board is the highest organizational body that governs an organization (Adizes, ?, 47). In Serbia, the only role and function of the boards is to confirm the decisions of the administrative or artistic directors of organizations (in terms of program or finances). It is not enough to have the board members who only invest their names in it, but they should assist the artistic organizations in some more practical ways.

According to Adizes (and based on his experience in the United States), the main responsibility of the board of an artistic organization is to provide the funds for its functioning (*ibid*). In Serbia, that role is given for the moment to the administrative (or sometimes artistic) director of the company. Further duties of the board would presuppose its attempts to include the wider community into the organization's goals, as well as application of the marketing strategies (*ibid*: 49). Of course, should the board of directors really become the highest governing body, it would mean that its authority would surpass the authority of the artistic and administrative director. Therefore, this relationship should be clearly defined, and ideally the board could intervene only in case that the survival of the artistic organization is endangered. Also, Adizes thinks that the board should also use its authority in preparation of the short term and long term strategic plan (*ibid*: 51), and it should insist on improvement of the communication among different employees of the company (*ibid*, 52) (my own experience tells me that the information flow in the artistic organizations, even the small ones, is often unsatisfactory).

Adizes suggests that the board of directors should consist of the representatives of the following professions: educational institutions (in order to improve the educational public relations); lawyers; bankers specializing in investments; leading experts in marketing and advertising; psychologists; professors of literature, music, drama or dance; and finally, representatives of the mass media (*ibid*: 53-54). People coming from the world of commercial business, especially from the companies that might become big sponsors are also going to be needed should the artistic organization want to get the financial assistance of the community. However, the financial moment shouldn't be the only "ticket" to enter the board. Mutual benefits from the combined action of arts and business sector might be based on

sharing the board members. Also, the professionals from the business sector may instruct the artistic managers how to run their companies more effectively and more efficiently thanks to their membership in the boards of artistic organizations. In fact, for Adizes it is not even impossible to have an artist appointed a member of the board of directors of a business corporation, because he can give them an additional insight into the needs of the community (*ibid*: 61-62). New board members should be appointed by an independent board that would work constantly on finding the best candidates for the membership. They should be selected because of what they could do for the organization, and not because of what they already did in the past. The administrative director of the artistic organization should be a member of this board and have an influence on the selection, because he would be expected to work closely with the board of directors for the organization's benefit (*ibid*: 54-55).

It would also be useful to form several other smaller boards that would deal with some specific aspects such as fundraising, programing, public relations and marketing, relations with universities, choice of volunteers, financial planning, executive board etc.

Of course, this is nothing new in our context, since at the time of the socialist selfgoverning this logic of thinking was predominant. An excellent example of that is the *Marble and Sounds Festival* that was governed until 1992 by the Social Council of the Review,⁴⁶ founded by the Community of Arandelovac on February 26, 1968. The Council's duties were to organize the Review of Yugoslav Arts, to choose the Jury (i. e. the Artistic Councils of the Review), to make arrangements with the artists participating in the program, and to take care of all activities needed for the functioning of the festival. Therefore, the Social Council was obliged to prepare the plan and program of activities, to choose the operative bodies and executive organs, to calculate costs and revenues, to take care about the general concept of the program, to make the rule book of the festival, etc. This rule book determined rules and procedures of work of the Social Council of the Review which consisted of the representatives of the industrial and social-political organizations, cultural and public workers. Members of the Artistic Councils and the Artistic Director of the Review were also among the members of the Social Council. The responsibility of the Social Council was also to choose the Artistic Councils, one for each event of the Review (Symposium of Sculpture *Beli*

⁴⁶ The Statute of the Social Council of the Review was written in 1971 and it precized the tasks of Social Council, modes of work, as well as the structure of its members. It confirmed the Social Council of the Reiew and the Artistic Councils as the governing bodies of the Review (Čolić-Biljanovski, 2002: 34).

Venčac, Marble and Sounds Festival and *World of pottery*). The Artistic Councils of the Review consisted of distinguished Yugoslav artists, arts critics and professionals from different artistic fields, who followed arts production throughout the year and suggested the most successful works and authors for the program of the Review. Also, during the three festive months, each member of the Social Council was obliged to spend a certain number of days as a delegate member of the Review, following its unfolding. Members of the Social Council were not paid for their work (except for the per diems and travel expenses) and that also testifies about the enthusiasm of the time which prevailed over the commercial interests in the cultural field (*ibid*: 32-34).⁴⁷

As we can see, the Social Council of the Review was very similar to the conception and tasks of the board of directors, as identified by Adizes. In the meanwhile, many things changed, but it is useful to remember the good practices from the past and make an attempt to modify them according to the present needs and put them back to use.

Table 3 – Material resources planning

Earlier I mentioned that one of the key strategies for the survival of Serbian classical music festivals in the transitional circumstances should be the diversification of resources. Across Europe (not only in the postsocialist countries – see *Festivals: Challenges of Growth...*: 49) there is a tendency to reduce the public funds for culture; thus, the artistic organizations and festivals are forced to try to find new, alternative sources of financing⁴⁸ and their development, to focus on marketing and bigger box office income, to foster partner relations in order to reduce individual costs of the program, to co-operate with the tourist sector etc. An example that follows shows how it would be possible to plan these resources (capital letters refer to the existing resources, and italic letters to those needed):

⁴⁷ The status of the *Marble and Sounds Festival* was changed in 1992 when it became an independent institution, according to the Law on public services and following the decision of the Community of Aranđelovac as its founder. As an institution it performs activities precized in the Statute. It is financed from the budget of the Community, its own income and other incomes. The governing bodies of the institution are the general manager, Board of Directors and Supervisory Board; all of them are appointed by the Community for the period of four years (*ibid*: 37).

⁴⁸ The publication *Alternativno finansiranje kulture. Adresar fondacija* (2004), edited by the Center for Studies of Cultural Development (Zavod za proučavanje kulturnog razvitka), gives addresses of 44 international foundations, some of which also have offices in Serbia, that may fund different project in the field of arts and culture, according to their programs and priorities.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF COMPOSERS	Existing and required material resources						
	Information	Technical facilities	Spatial	Financial			
Programs and activities	COMPUTERS WITH APPROPRIATE SOFTWARE, INTERNET CONNECTION	<p>EXISTING:</p> <p>AUDIO EQUIPMENT, COPY MACHINE, TV AND VCR, PIANO IN THE HALL</p> <p><i>Required:</i></p> <p><i>video beam and other equipment for the multi-media programs</i></p>	OFFICES AND SMALL CONCERT HALL OF THE COMPOSERS' ASSOCIATION OF SERBIA,	<p>Public (both present and needed):</p> <p>The Ministry of Culture of Serbia</p> <p>Secretariat for culture of the City Assembly of Belgrade</p> <p>SOKOJ* – open competition for projects</p> <p>* SOKOJ = Union of Organizacions of Composers (of Yugoslavia)</p>	<p>Donors</p> <p><i>International foundatons, Embassies and cultural centres in Belgrade</i></p> <p>Sponsors</p> <p>MITROS MUSIC (AUDIO EQUIPMENT)</p> <p><i>Strategic sponsors such as Jat Airways, bus companies, hotels (travel and accomodation for foreign artists</i></p> <p><i>Companies that would give prizes to the best local composers and performers</i></p>	<p>Own income</p> <p>MEMBERSHIP DUES TO THE COMPOSERS' ASSOCIATION OF SERBIA</p> <p><i>The concerts within the festival should not be for free, but the tickets should be charged; before that, the festival should be re-branded, and an original and elaborate marketing campain should be devised (it is necessary to plan a budget for marketing activities!)</i></p>	<p>Partners' investments</p> <p>JUGOKONCERT. CO-PRODUCER OF THE REVIEW, PARTICIPATES WITH ITS OWN REVENUES</p> <p>FACULTY OF MUSIC – CONFERENCE ROOM, PRACTICE ROOMS FOR REHEARSALS OF THE ENSEMBLES</p> <p>CULTURAL CENTER OF BELGRADE - VENUES</p>
Regular functioning (salaries and material costs)				<p>MINISTRY OF CULTURE – SALARIES, MATERIAL EXPENSES OF THE ASSOCIATION</p> <p><i>Should the Association restart its publishing activiity on the regular basis (it could publish the new pieces of its members), and the funds could be provided through the open competitions of the Ministy of Culture and Secretariat for Culture of the City of Belgrade</i></p>		<p>MEMBERSHIP DUES TO THE COMPOSERS' ASSOCIATION OF SERBIA</p> <p><i>Restart the publishing activity</i></p>	

The question of sponsoring is one of the most recently asked questions nowadays among the cultural managers. The companies from the private sector should be recognized as key stakeholders for the festivals, and their participation can take many forms. Sponsorship is to be understood as a bilateral agreement for the mutual benefit (*ibid*): for private companies, it is a part of their marketing strategy, while for the festivals the benefit could be in money or in kind. Festivals' managers must search for such companies whose objectives could be connected with the festivals' activities. A good example of this is the participation of the Knjaz Miloš Company in the financing of the *Marble and Sounds Festival* – their move could be explained as the company new owner's strategy to strengthen his connections to the local community. In similar ways other potential sponsors could be approached in the cities where the festivals take place. A simple logic says that, for instance, many services could benefit from the festivals (restaurants, hotels, shops...) – in fact, some Serbian festivals already receive in kind support from various commercial sponsors (the Guitar Art Fest is the best example). It is much more difficult to get sponsorships in money, but it is not entirely impossible – for instance, foreign banks that have recently entered the Serbian market could be approached as possible sponsors. Through investing in artistic events, these banks could establish a good reputation and approach certain groups of citizens, and that could justify their investment.

Besides private companies, international foundations also gain importance as a resource for financing of arts in Serbia. Several important foundations have the offices in Serbia as well, such as Pro Helvetia, Open Society Fund etc. It is, however, important to understand that they cannot replace the public funds, and not only because they don't have enough money to support more ambitious initiatives – but also because they need to fulfill their own objectives and priorities that could be determined territorially, or focused on certain social groups (minorities, for instance) etc.

Table 4 – Development of public relations and the organization’s identity, and

Table 5 – Marketing concept and strategy

While planning the public relations and marketing activities, one must always think about those for whom these activities are intended – the audience, or the community in which the cultural program takes place. It is useful to divide this audience in two groups, as Keith Diggle (1998) suggests: into **available and unavailable audience**. He defines the first group as a part of the entire population which has a **positive attitude** towards the art at hand, and it can also be divided into two smaller units: the actual audience and potential audience. On the other hand, the second, bigger group (the unavailable audience) gathers together the members of the community who have a **negative attitude** towards a certain art, and the reasons for that attitude may vary. Artistic organizations should develop very different methods when approaching these two categories of the audience: for the available audience we use propaganda activities, while the educational public relations should be used when addressing the unavailable audience (*ibid*).

The propaganda is a term used to describe a combination of the public relations, which create a positive attitude in the minds of the available audience, and advertizing, which transmits a particular message and its goal is to focus general impressions into a precise, clear, concrete and, most of all, convincing picture about the artistic product. The propaganda must stress that an experience which suits the taste of the available audience, is now within its reach; the propaganda must also warn them that they should immediately take steps to make this experience a part of their lives, or else it may not be available anymore; it must also explain how this experience can become plausible – i. e., what’s the price of the tickets and how and when they can be bought. The goal of the propaganda is to create a desire to buy a ticket at the largest possible number of the people belonging to the available audience (*ibid*: 40-41).

The most common means of persuasion is the **advertizing** (*ibid*: 31). But, the advertizing suffers from some inherent weaknesses, even when it is targeted to the people who respond more positively than the rest, because the media of advertizing may only transmit very brief messages.

The short message on the poster, TV or radio is expected to start the process of convincing

and to keep it in motion by reminding people of what is being offered. However, in order to really portrait the product, it takes more than that: a more detailed information is required in form of a leaflet or some other propaganda material which can be very efficient, provided that it gets into the hands of someone who has a positive attitude towards what we are trying to persuade him to buy – for instance, a ticket for the classical music event. Such an advertizing campaign will have the biggest impact on those who are the most interested and the most familiar with the form of art and the type of shows that we are trying to sell them, but for the largest part of the available audience it takes even more effort. We must also give them more general information (which cannot be put in advertisements) in order to arouse their interest in our programs, in the form of articles, columns or interviews, in one word everything that can be qualified as a means of *public relations*. The goal of this activity is to create a good climate for advertizing, addressing to the present and potential audience. Public relations can rarely do the entire job of persuasion on their own, but they represent a powerful means because they can direct attention of the existing audience to a certain topic and create an impression that it is something that the audience *must* experience; at the same time, they are tempting the potential audience to become the actual audience.

The concept and target groups of public relations are determined according to the organization's mission and vision and its organizational culture (Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, 2005: 142). Keith Diggle divides the public relations activities in two categories:

- 1) institutional public relations
- 2) public relations devoted to a work of art (Digl, 1998: 170 and further).

Institutional public relations are intended to create a good image of the organization in its surrounding. Presenting the artistic organization at its best, they give a chance to the propaganda activities to make the biggest possible effect (*ibid*: 170). However, the institutional public relations must not be directed only towards the people who have already been in contact with the artistic organization and its production: the means of communication which are being used must also reach wider group of potential users (*ibid*: 178). The key to success in this field of work is establishing a good business relationship with journalists who are most of all interested to find good and interesting stories for their daily newspapers, periodicals, TV and radio programs. The power of media must by no means be underestimated, and they must be treated as strategic partners who can help the artistic

organization to transmit a clear message about its social mission. It is a fact that the number of people belonging to the category of the potential audience is a lot bigger than the number of the actual concert halls visitors; it is also a fact that the impression created by an artistic organization in the community contributes largely to the fulfillment of its goals.

The public relations devoted to an artistic work take the form of a campaign, which means that they have a beginning and an end, unlike the institutional public relations which are carried out permanently (*ibid*: 194). The better image of an organization in the society, the lesser investment in the campaigns for the individual artistic works will be required – and vice versa. It is all about establishing a relationship of trust between an artistic organization and its available audience.

And when speaking about the unavailable audience, the essence of the activity that Diggle calls the 'institutional public relations' lies in the hard work to change the negative attitude towards the art that an organization presents. This group of citizens can not be reached with the same propaganda activities which bring success with the available audience – it is necessary to find ways to give them a *taste of the art* outside the venues where the performances usually take place (*ibid*: 225). The electronic mass media (TV and radio) can play a fundamental role in this because they can have a huge influence on the *attitudes* of the citizens.

It is almost unnecessary to say that an attempt to reach the unavailable audience for the classical music in Serbia may sound like a utopia, especially if we have in mind that even the relations with the available audience are rudimentary. The reason for this is quite simple: Serbian artistic organizations don't have a big enough budget for extensive promotional campaigns. Nevertheless, I agree with K. Diggle that the conscious exclusion of any part of the audience or not trying to include all groups of the audience is contrary to the policy and ethics of artistic organizations. Therefore, these activities must be presented clearly to the stakeholders such as the Ministry of Culture and other bodies of public government for their assistance is necessary when trying to reach the broader population. Let's remember the excellent campaign of the Ministry of Culture "It's nicer with culture" which represents a good example of the sensibilisation campaign designed to address the unavailable audience.

According to Diggle, the unavailable audience consists of two clearly distinct groups. The first group is the one which can be accessed directly because it is the school youth, and the

teachers can help us because their goals match our own – and here the organization can have a considerable influence. The other group consists of all other people who are not the available audience. Artistic organizations must establish direct relations with schools through educational programs, or in some other way. To give an example, the Belgrade International Cello Fest and Guitar Art Fest have a clear policy of communication with the school youth, while in the case of Bemus this dimension is developed in the series of concerts of young musicians called *Gradus ad Parnassum* and in the music workshops for children and children with special needs. Of course, only big artistic organizations can delegate people from their own staff to exclusively co-operate with teachers, to maintain contacts and work together on the programs that would introduce young people to art in a way that will make it appealing to them and not repulsive.⁴⁹ Also, it is not easy to be involved in this type of activity knowing that the public subventions are constantly reducing and that dictation of the market measures results with box office success. However, a chance must not be missed to create an impact where possible – and the benefits can be considerable in terms of both social and financial gain.

In the following table I give a proposal for the yearly institutional public relations of the Marble and Sounds Festival:

⁴⁹ An excellent example of that is the Opéra de Lyon, the institution where I had an internship from October till December 2004. This organization has got a special department with three employees whose task is to communicate with the school youth, to develop numerous activities appropriate for the different age groups, ranging from the visits to the building of the Opera until the special projects in which children take place, together with the students of the Maîtrise (the school of music working within the Opera) and the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Music in Lyon. Detailed information is in the Internship Report.

General PR Concept	Target groups	Instruments	Budget	Collaborators and agents	Expected results
<p>Desired image – Review as an institution that grows from its own community and embodies its best characteristics</p>	<p>Primary target groups (the most relevant segments and groups of the public):</p> <p>Journalists, publicists and critics on the local level, but also promotion in Belgrade – external collaborators;</p> <p>Politicians and public opinion leaders – the Community of Arandelovac, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia;</p> <p>Special target groups (in terms of specific strategies and programs):</p> <p>Local community – ‘me too’ approach (Review is a part of the community where it exists)</p>	<p>Expression of the identity</p> <p>The name of the organization, separate programs and projects:</p> <p>The adjective ‘Yugoslavian’ was eliminated from the title of the festival – does it mean that its identity is now ‘Serbian’ or international? According to the decision about the identity the visual component should be redesigned</p> <p>A slogan must be invented (it is recommendable to use services of specialized agencies, experts in branding)</p> <p>Logo, <i>lettering</i>, memorandum, visit cards, invitations, envelops...</p> <p>Callendars...</p> <p>Brochures, programs, cathalogues, posters, leaflets...</p> <p>Web site should be constructed</p>	<p>Step 1: hiring experts to come up with a new visual identity and slogan, according to the new business philosophy and Review’s identity – budget for designers</p> <p>Step 2: hiring PR experts to handle the promotional campaign smotru – promotion of its new image – institutional public relations – budget for the PR activities</p> <p>Step 3: hiring experts to handle the PR campaign for the particular festival program – budget for the campaign</p>	<p>Professional marketing agencies, with their designers and PR experts</p> <p>Professional media (magazines, radio and TV programs...)</p> <p>Mass media representatives – individual journalists and editors</p>	<p>Public recognition, especially in the local community, but also beyond (Serbia, Belgrade)</p> <p>Respect in the field</p> <p>Media coverage and visibility</p> <p>Creating a climate of interest in order to attract new audiences, as a result of the activities in the field of marketing and sales enhancement</p>

The purpose of the arts marketing is to bring the appropriate number of people from the widest possible social circles, defined on the basis of their social position, income and age, in contact with artists and by doing so, to achieve the best possible financial result (Digl, 1998: 18).

According to Adizes, the primary goal of marketing is the increase of own incomes of the organization (through box office or selling other products offered by the artistic organization). Of course, becoming more popular, more visible in the media, introducing the audience to the wide spectrum of the organization's activities are also important, but not the *most important* aspects of marketing, since these activities belong to the domain of public relations (Adizes, 2002: 145). It is important to note this difference, since in Serbia marketing is more often described as working on the image, promotion or popularization that will bring us the audience to the concerts, but the audience won't necessarily pay for the tickets (Dragičević-Šešić in Digl, 1998: 249-250). The same author rightfully says that neither of the extremes (Serbian and Anglo-american) is good – neither our validation of marketing according to the number of texts in the press and number of media editors sitting in concerts, nor the other one where the only measure of success is the income earned from the program (*ibid*: 249-250).

The marketing concept of an organization relies upon the general concept of the visual identity and organizational culture, but in some cases it can create a distance from them, addressing specific target groups (Adizes, 2002: 145).

The fundamental questions of marketing are the following:

- Who is our audience?
- What is its purchasing power?
- What are its cultural habits and lifestyles?
- What are its values orientations?

Unlike the business marketing, the arts marketing must not use these knowledges in order to influence the content and essence of its products, or change the organizational culture and program policy of the organization. Arts marketing must try to develop **new forms and methods of operation and new services** to make the present program more communicative and thus attract new audiences (Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, 2005: 45-6). In other words, the product must remain the same – the high quality art work – and the techniques of

marketing are used in order to present to the audience the value of the artistic experience that is being offered. Therefore, I agree with K. Diggle that the arts marketing must be seen primarily as the **marketing of experiences** (Digl, 1998: 10). If we remember Wagner's⁵⁰ definition of festivals – 'exceptional events, on exceptional places, at exceptional times' – then we can really say that they represent an almost perfect cultural 'product', very convenient for testing and different marketing techniques.

Planning of the advertising dynamics and budget for marketing are two important factors of its success, and in the field of culture they are often neglected. In the artistic world, marketing is commonly treated not as an investment, but as a necessary spending, and that shows the essentially uninterested attitude towards expanding the audience – and that also means that arts managers don't understand the real purpose of marketing: to increase income by attracting more people to performances! At the same time, it shows that the audience is often not taken into consideration as a relevant perimeter when estimating the success of work of an artistic organization.

When creating the advertising plan, it is necessary to make a precise *medija plan* and determine key moments in the campaign and to carefully choose the media which will address certain target groups (*ibid*: 148) – for instance, daily newspapers or periodicals, electronic media (including the internet!), distribution of the brochure, posters and billboards etc. One of the most important marketing goals is to increase the level of exchange between organization or festival and its audience (*Festivals: Challenges of Growth...*, 41). The process of 'creating' the audience is not only about increasing the number of visitors, but it is also necessary to turn the potential and occasional visitors into permanent audience, and also about arousing interest within the group of people who were never interested in that particular art form. Festivals' marketing directors must direct their activities towards enlarging their database of users and involving people from all social groups into the exchange with the festivals. These events, due to their 'exceptional' character, become an excellent place for participation in the 'collective rituals' and creation of the 'feeling of belonging' to the 'social tribe'.

Another Diggle's observation seems very important to me, and that is his perception of marketing as a function of an entire organization (Digl, 1998: 13). Marketing of an

⁵⁰ Richard Wagner (1813-1882), German romantic composer, founded in 1876 the Bayreuth Festival, the first modern European festival event.

organization can not fall in the hands of only one person or a group of people unless if they have a considerable influence on running of the entire artistic organization – otherwise, as Diggle puts it, that person could easily become a 'lamb to the slaughter'. The marketing director of an artistic organization must possess a right to decide and to influence other decision makers in the organization (*ibid*, 14). The sales should also be in his hands, and this aspect is often underestimated in artistic organizations. As a concept and an activity, the sale is absolutely fundamental to the arts marketing, just as it is in the world of commercial business. The idea is simple: all people belonging to the group of potential audience (in other words, people who have a positive attitude towards the art that we are representing) should be converted into **actual audience**, or in other words, they should be convinced to purchase the tickets for concerts and performances. To that purpose, as I said before, we use the **means of persuasion** – advertisements and other marketing messages. The existing potential audience should be used to the maximum (since we will not be able to reach the unavailable audience with these messages!), and the biggest possible number of them should be faced with the art work, allowing the artistic organization to earn some profit.

Diggle also thinks that it is also very important to **remove the shopping obstacles** in order to persuade people to purchase tickets for concerts and performances. These obstacles may vary – for instance, there is the time and distance required to get to the box office, but the price of the ticket may also represent an obstacle. In the first case, the author suggests that the festivals should receive reservations by phone or by post, which is something that Serbian classical music festivals don't use (while, for instance, it is a common practice for years now at the EXIT festival in Novi Sad and it gives excellent results – reservations arrive also from abroad!) Another possibility is to try to use the opportunity to sell more tickets to those who come to the box office. In Serbia, this place where the purchase happens is rather neglected, and this is even more true for the classical music festivals since their producers don't possess their own venues and box offices. Therefore, festivals' producers must devote more time to this factor and try to experiment a little bit with selling procedures, and they must also try to exercise some sort of control over the box office staff – for instance, they can delegate their own members (or volunteers) to go 'on the spot' and introduce the available audience with the variety of festivals' events at their disposal.

Another important obstacle to the purchase of tickets for the artistic programs is the price of the tickets – and indeed, in Serbia this represents a considerable problem. The price of the

ticket should express the value of the artistic event that is being offered; if the price is too big, not so many people will decide to buy the tickets, and if the price is too low, it can do the damage to the value of the concert or performance – ‘if it’s so cheap, then it’s probably not worth much’ (this is also an important argument against the practice of presenting artistic programs for free – the *Marble and Sounds Festival* is an obvious example). The problem of the price is often resolved by determining several different prices. Diggle considers this practice contraproductive (*op. cit.*: 23, 77-78), because he says that several prices create confusion in the minds of the potential buyers (‘are we being offered one event, or several events’) and the purchase is delayed. However, in Serbia it is commonplace to have different prices only in bigger concert venues (Kolarac Hall and Sava Centar in Belgrade), since in these venues one can really feel the difference in the quality of sound or comfort depending on where he sits in the hall. It is undoubtedly true what Diggle says – that it is naive to try to determine different prices according to the purchasing power of the audience – and here it is even more obvious in our country where the average purchasing power of the citizens is very low. From the organization’s point of view, every price of the tickets is too low (considering the production costs of its concerts or performances) – while for the visitor the price is usually high, because the average visitor almost never comes alone to the concert, and there are further costs such as costs of transport (bus, taxi, private car), parking space and other inevitable costs of going out (Dragičević-Šešić in Digl, 1998: 253). According to Diggle, in marketing of artistic events (or any other products) we should always try to achieve the best possible financial result, so the goal should be to sell as many tickets at the biggest possible price (*ibid.*, 67). Since there are also categories of audience with smaller income, or those who are unwilling to spend big amounts of money for satisfying their cultural needs, artistic organizations should create special offers which give an **additional value** for the same price, and at the same time they don’t do damage to the value of the artistic product. This type of marketing approach is called the **promotional sale** (*ibid.*: 90-91), and it can be described as ‘offering more for the same price’. The promotional sale is essentially used to direct the audience to the forms of sale which are determined in our marketing plan (*ibid.*: 103). For instance, we use it if we want to persuade people who have decided to buy tickets for one show to buy tickets for another show, or to buy more expensive tickets, or to buy more tickets for the same show (for example, every third ticket is cheaper, every fourth ticket is even cheaper, and similar).

Diggle identifies another form of the promotional sale: gifts and special offers (*ibid.*: 112).

The gifts which are used to that purpose should be in harmony with the primary product, they should have a value of their own, they should be at our disposal when needed – and they should fit into the marketing budget of the organization. The first obvious choice of the gift is the primary product (i. e. tickets), because the best promotional sale is to offer the bigger quantity of the product that we sell (*ibid*: 115). This type of gift-offer can be shaped in many ways, and we can easily find models in the commercial marketing – for instance, an artistic organization could make some sort of a 'bonus card', similar to those used in some commercial services (restaurants, taxi, beauty salons etc.): for each purchased ticket, the visitor would get a stamp or sticker on his bonus card, and when he would finish the card he would get a free ticket for the show of his choice! Another possibility is that the buyers of the tickets participate in a 'game of chance' where the prize is again the ticket for the next concert or performance, and so on and so forth.

Some organizations have developed a big business out of selling the merchandise which is directly linked to them and their artistic production (for instance, CDs or DVDs). The products which are for sale have a value (expressed in their price!) and they can represent excellent gifts for the promotional sale, provided that their costs fit into the marketing budget of the organization. Unfortunately, such gifts are not suitable for the classical music festivals in Serbia, since they don't have their own merchandise (there are also legal obstacles for this).

Diggle devotes a lot of space in his book to another marketing method called the **dynamic promotion of subscription**, which could be described as 'packing' of different concerts and performances into a single offer. In this 'package', tickets are cheaper than those purchased individually, and that should provoke the audience to buy the tickets for several different shows at the same time. It is easy to see the benefits of this marketing model for the festivals, since their programs already represent some sort of 'program package'. The whole idea is simple: the most attractive shows in the package attract the audience to the shows which are less attractive. Bemus festival uses this marketing tool with success, and the package may encompass the entire festival program, or a selection of concerts and performances.⁵¹

⁵¹ Here is an example from the last year's Bemus, devised by the author of this thesis: since the visual concept of the festival showed a picture of a male and a female profile, with earrings shaped as the Violin (G) key (on the female ear) and Bass (F) key (on the male ear), we created two packages of tickets which were sold as the 'Violin key package' (featuring the concert of the eminent violin player Julian Rachilin as a 'bate') and the 'Bass key package' (starring the violoncellist Steven Isserlis).

The dynamic promotion of subscription will not be successful without an aggressive propaganda campaign. Even then, selling packages of tickets is not going to be easy, since there are two important problems: first, the buyer is required to spend a lot more money at once, and he is also expected to spend a lot more time to visit all these programs. Therefore, this marketing technique has got a limited outreach and it will attract only the most devoted arts lovers, while all other potential clients must be attracted with other, beforementioned marketing techniques and promotional activities.

At the end of the marketing story, we must not forget that a successful artistic organization or festival must cherish the relations with the audience, and especially with those people who purchase tickets (occasionally or regularly) – in commercial marketing they are known as the 'A customers': the organization must create a database of its customers (telephones, addresses, emails) and inform them regularly about the programs and special offers, and even create something extra exclusively for them.

Of course, all this looks easy on the paper. In practice, however, most artistic organizations and festivals in Serbia only apply very rudimentary marketing techniques – and there are several reasons for that. Above all, it is the lack of knowledge and ideas in the field; then, there is a belief (very wrong, according to Adizes [2002: 44]) that the more aggressive promotion will do damage to the artistic products; finally, as observed by M. Dragičević-Šešić, there is a fear of loss of subventions from the public budgets (in Digl, 1998: 253). One of the consequences of the postsocialist transition is the rhetoric of market and consumption. As a result, artistic organizations are more and more faced with a need to survive on the market which is still almost unexisting in the field of arts in Serbia (which is no surprise having in mind that many citizens of our country are struggling to provide for their very basic needs). Even though the cities and states will still be expected to share the responsibility for the development of arts and culture as a whole, in transitional societies the artistic organizations will have to give their maximum – as for the quality of their production, as for the marketing and promotion of their programs, careful fundraising, animation and education – in order to enlarge the market and become more selfdependent (*ibid*, 254).

The following table shows the possible short term marketing plan of the *Marble and Sounds Festival*:

General marketing concept	Product or service	Target groups	Marketing instruments	Expected results	Budget and dynamics of realization
<p>MARKETING CAMPAIGN OF THE YEARLY EDITION OF THE REVIEW (for three summer months) – launching of the campaign one month before the opening of the festival – process of persuasion</p>	<p>Program of the Review – new program concept, with high quality artistic events</p>	<p>Broader artistic audience</p>	<p>Billboard</p> <p>Web site – on line ticket sale</p> <p>TV and radio promotion (local media, as well as national media)</p> <p>Monthly advertisements in periodicals, daily ads for particular programs</p>	<p>Increased interest of the broader audience for the Review’s program, raising income from the ticket sale, close interdependence of the festival and local community</p>	<p>Billboards, radio jingle and TV spot, advertisements in the local daily papers and periodicals, creation and hosting of a web site.</p> <p>Sales budget: box office control, people in charge of the telephone and post reservations (receipt, processing); gifts and special offers for the sales enhancement</p>

Table 6 – The budget plan

When speaking about the future strategic planning of the budget of the classical music festivals in Serbia, it is necessary to plan the revenues from the most varied resources – public subventions (from the state and from the city authorities), support from the sponsors and donors, income from the box office (see table no. 3). On the other hand, the planned expenditures should predict, apart from the regular budgets for salaries, material costs and similar, special budgets for the public relations, marketing and sale (tables no. 4 and 5), as well as the budget for the permanent professional education of the festival staff (table no. 2). Such a budgetary plan forces the artistic organization to be dynamic, to work actively on its development and try to achieve selfsustainability through investing in marketing and creating income from the box office, through enlargement of the audience and the list of stakeholders, through learning and achieving quality in all aspects of work.

After the completion of the planned strategic period, it is necessary to perform evaluation of the achieved results and design further development – the next cycle of strategic planning. Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević (2005: 189-190) use the term *adaptive quality management* to point out to the fact that an artistic organization must not 'rest on one's laurels' once it has achieved quality, but it must regularly evaluate its achievements and plan future development. The cycles of strategic planning must not be approached with routine, but it is necessary to achieve a qualitative step forward with each new cycle, according to the key perimeters of development defined beforehand. In such way, the artistic organization creates conditions for maintaining its 'top form' while at the same time it fulfills its social mission and *raison d'être*.

CONCLUSION: FESTIVALS AS AN INVESTMENT FOR THE FUTURE OF THE SERBIAN SOCIETY

Le sort d'un art dépend d'abord de la richesse du milieu qui le nourrit.

Emmanuel Wallon (in: Robert Lacombe, 2004: 19-20).

Cultural policy and social policy

One of the characteristic features of the turn of the millenia is the fact that all across the Europe the **culture has become an important factor of the social life** (Lacombe, *ibid*: 35). The cultural practices don't represent a privilege of an elite group anymore, but they have become accessible to the broad audience thanks to the development of the educational systems, tourism and media. The notion of *cultural policy*,⁵² or rather **public intervention in the field of culture**, is today best understood in terms of necessity to **provide equal access to art and culture to all social groups**, including the deprived ones. Consequently, the **democratization of the cultural institutions**, and particularly in the field of the performing arts, must become the first and the most important element in defining a national cultural policy.

When speaking about the democratization of the field of classical music in Serbia, it is worth noting that, in minds of people, this art form is still linked almost exclusively to the elite cultural model,⁵³ and thus it is 'consumed' by a relatively small number of people. However, the very notion of 'elite' is rather problematic in Serbia, and that makes the whole situation ever more difficult. Namely, all countries in transition have undergone the impoverishment and stratification of the society, with the emergence of new financial elites. The impoverished social groups (retired and unemployed people or workers with very low incomes, teachers...)

⁵² Among many definitions of the notion of cultural policy, the following one seems particularly useful to me: the cultural policy represents an estimation and determination of the public authorities (federal, republic, regional and local) **to intervene in a democratic way into certain fields and activities** in order to fulfill their strategic goals. This public intervention may assume different shapes, direct and indirect, legislative and financial, and the relevant fields of intervention may encompass education and training, art (and all types of creative processes), protection of the cultural heritage, cultural industries, marketing and distribution, audience development, institutions of culture, free lance artists, networks of users, buildings and equipment. The public government bodies should define their intervention through clearly set goals, rather than link it to particular organizations or activities (Report of the Expert Team of the Council of Europe on cultural policy in Serbia, 2003, here quoted from: B. Ramić, 2005: 22).

⁵³ There are three dominant cultural models: elite, mass and traditional (Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević, 2004: 53).

have withdrawn from the public scene, they are no longer visible or active in the social life, because they are struggling to survive or they even feel ashamed because of their degraded social position and helplessness. On the other hand, the *nouveau riches* gain social influence by purchasing media houses, using them to promote their own lifestyle and values and showing off with their economic power (Dragičević-Šešić, Dragojević, 2004: 46). This new social elite is not, at the same time, the intellectual elite, and thus it has very little interest in high art forms.

Dragičević-Šešić and Dragojević rightfully observe that in transitional societies there is an increase of the social distance, and they suggest that carefully devised actions of **intercultural mediation**⁵⁴ can reduce the distance by providing the society with such artistic programs that bring together different social groups and integrate the community. At the same time, these actions should raise critical conscience and give right to the neglected groups to express their attitude, become more visible and more involved in the processes of social communication (*ibid*). The main tools of the intercultural mediation are the following:

- 1) informatic and media resources
- 2) establishment of projects
- 3) direct exchange of experiences (seminars, workshops, debates...)
- 4) artistic interventions
- 5) use of the city locations and suburbs
- 6) organization of events and festivities (*ibid*).

Having this in mind, would it be possible to say that the festivals of classical music could represent a good form of intercultural mediation? I will argue that indeed they can serve as mediators between different social groups and help integrate the community, because of the fact that it is much easier to promote them in the media than entire concert seasons, but we must not forget that in Serbian society the classical music occupies a very particular place. I believe that the root of the problem lies in the rigid system of elementary and secondary schools of music in Serbia, which adds to the already existing problem of socio-cultural differentiation. The classical music schooling in Serbia is extremely specialized – these

⁵⁴ These authors identify several important forms of intercultural and sociocultural mediation:

- 1) mediation directed towards wide groups of population
- 2) mediation directed towards establishing a dialogue and cultural exchange
- 3) mediation directed towards breaking interethnic and ideological prejudices and exclusions
- 4) mediation among different social models
- 5) therapeutic forms of mediation
- 6) mediation directed towards groups with special needs
- 7) mediation directed towards groups with minority and special identities

schools don't serve as cultural mediators, bringing the classical music closer to people and vice versa, but they educate future professional musicians, who remain entrapped within their narrow professional field. The only logical resolution of this problem lies in the close collaboration between the artistic organizations and festivals and the schools of music – in other words, in the institutional public relations (as described in the previous chapter). The managers of artistic organizations in the field of classical music should approach music teachers working in elementary and secondary schools of general education, as well as teachers working in schools of music, and together they should develop special projects which would gather a large number of children and youth around classical music programs (choir singing, dance, small music-stage productions...)⁵⁵ Such form of mediation can also circumstantially influence the parents of the children involved in these projects, and thus reduce the cultural gap evident in the society.

Another possible way to achieve intercultural mediation with the classical music festivals (and here I have in mind the mediation between different social models) is to incorporate various 'off' programs in the festivals, which would go outside the usual concert venues (for instance, galleries or open air locations could be used). In 2002, Bemus had a very well received accompanying program called 'Music on the Screen' in the Belgrade Cultural Centre, with films about classical music concerts or music-stage productions. Also, this festival edition featured an exhibition in the Pedagogic Museum entitled 'Hyper textual Extensions of Music', but unfortunately this good idea was not well promoted and it failed to attract wider audience.

Workshops also represent an excellent form of cultural mediation, and some festivals in Serbia have already recognized this opportunity to involve various social groups in their programs. Bemus serves yet again as an excellent example: starting from the year 2003, Ivana Stefanović, its Artistic Director, has decided to include various workshops for children and youth. In 2003 and 2004, the workshops for children of elementary schools were organized in co-operation with the NGO Susret from Belgrade, in the Art Pavilion Cvijeta Zuzoric, beautifully located at the Kalemegdan Fortress. In 2005 the members of the Compagnie Georges Momboye from Paris gave a dance workshop for the children with Down syndrome, and this year there were two workshops, one of which for the children with special needs, organized in co-operation with the Mudra Theatre from Belgrade.

8) mediation directed towards groups which are spatially marginalized or isolated (*ibid*: 48-62).

⁵⁵ Again, we should remember the fruitful practice of the Opéra de Lyon, described in the previous chapter.

There are numerous examples of how classical music festivals in Serbia can – and already do - contribute to raising awareness about different neglected cultural groups and specific identities (minorities, people with different capacities, stigmatized groups etc.) The problem is that people outside the festival audience are not really aware of this important segment of their socio-cultural activism, because it is not well promoted in the media. Indeed, the basic problem of the classical music festivals in Serbia is the lack of visibility, because of the rudimentary marketing campaigns, and that is something that their managers should really think about if they want to secure a better future for them.

Transition-influenced cultural policy

Looking back at the dynamic of the process of the postsocialist transition in Serbia, it is easy to see that it didn't follow the pattern of other countries of the former Eastern Block, and not even of other ex-Yugoslavian countries. Vesna Đukić-Dojčinović identifies three phases of the transitional process, typical for most post socialist countries:

1. rethinking of the countries own national heritage (which was sealed off in 'bunkers' of museums, archives and libraries during the rule of the communist regime) and beginning the process of reaffirming the national identity
2. phase of European integration, characterized by two basic processes: decentralization and privatization
3. final phase, where the country's institutions are democratized, and it presupposes a well balanced relation of the national cultural policy towards the national and elite cultural values as well as towards new creativity and contemporary arts (Vesna Đukić-Dojčinović, 2000: 373-374).

As I agumented in the second chapter of this thesis, it is obvious that at some point Serbian post socialist transition started to lose touch with the speed of transformations in other countries, and the reason lied in the simple fact that Serbia was denied the right to enter the second phase (of European integration), due to the economic sanctions imposed to it. But there was more to it: not only that Serbian economy was entrapped by the external factors, but the Ministry of Culture imposed an 'internal embargo' (*ibid*: 373): it was sending clear signals that Serbian culture should turn its back to the world and close itself whin its own culture and tradition. The problem inherent in this idea of selfisolation consisted in the fact that any national identity can not be recognized or confirmed in isolation. On the contrary, a national culture is developped and affirmed through contacts with other cultures (*Ibid*; it is

also useful to remember Welsch's observation that all cultures today are hybrids of various cultural traces). I believe that here we can see the origins of the problem which still influences our cultural policy (or should I say in the lack of our cultural policy): Serbia has not as yet reinvented its cultural identity, it has not prescribed the cultural values and priorities⁵⁶ and thus it doesn't have a clear strategy of its short term or long term cultural development. It is obvious that in such circumstances all artistic production and promotion in our country suffers from disorientation, and classical music festivals are not an exception. Who should decide about the program policy of the festivals – is it the Ministry of Culture, city authorities, or the artists themselves? Who should define their program focus – and should it be oriented towards promotion of European or national artistic achievements? Indeed, the festivals should represent a segment of the national cultural policy – but what should we do in this particular case when the cultural policy doesn't exist?

The Ministry of Culture is not the only one to blame for the present situation – the newly elected city governments (after democratic changes in 2000) in most cases haven't possessed a sufficient knowledge to create the city cultural policy, to define strategic goals and prepare action plans that would secure their realization. Even now, the cultural policy is commonly understood as a mere distribution of the public budget for culture, which is never sufficient, and this distribution is carried out with routine and without creativity (Vesna Đukić-Dojčinović, 2000: 375). The same author argues that the local governments, or, better said, city governments, should be the bearers of the cultural policy that would be in concordance with the general strategic goals of the city. In terms of such civic policy, local cultural organizations should develop their own entrepreneurial spirit and capacities for innovation, whilst the business sector of the city should take advantage of the cultural potential of the local environment (*ibid*: 376).

⁵⁶ The majority of European countries based their cultural policies on four key principles: 1) preservation of the cultural identity, 2) support to the cultural diversity, 3) support to and development of creativity and 4) stimulating participation in cultural life (In from the Margins, Council of Europe, 1996). In the report of the Serbian Ministry of Culture, after one year of transition (in 2001), the following basic priorities of the cultural policy were defined: 1) destatization, 2) democratization, 3) decentralization, 4) cultural pluralism, 5) alternative sources of financing, 6) legislative harmonization with the EU, 7) regional and international co-operation. However, in reality these priorities were not in concordance with the priorities that the Ministry really carried out, so they were more an expression of the Ministry's reformist spirit. It is also possible to deduct from this that the Government didn't have a clearly defined program orientation in the field of culture, and that the culture was not among the priorities in the first year of transition (N. Macura, 2006: 24. See also: V. Đukić-Dojčinović, 2003: 48 and further).

The main challenge of transition in the field of culture is to create the new social-political context. The development of private business must be supported to the maximum, giving ground to emergence of a new, modern business elite. The main goal is to establish a class of successful private entrepreneurs who would live of their work and who would become in the future one of the key social 'pillars' of democracy (B. Ramić, 2005: 23).

According to the same author, all institutions of culture will have to undergo transformation, and the main strategy of transformation will be shift towards the **project model** of work,⁵⁷ not because it represents a 'trend', but because this shift is dictated by the laws of the market (*ibid*: 30). Today it is commonplace to speak about the dichotomy of institutions and projects across the Europe (Lacombe, 2004: 74). In practice, in many European countries the state still subventions directly a number of big cultural institutions, such as opera houses, national theatres, symphony or radio symphony orchestras), and Serbia is no exception. There are many reasons for this, and it is not enough to say that the cultural institutions are inert and act according to routines, or that their managers are not equipped with necessary skills to transform their theatres, concert agencies, festivals or opera houses into modern, project based and flexible organizations. I believe that there are some reasons inherent in the very definition of the performing arts that will never allow them to achieve considerable success in the open market – and that is even more true for the classical music, as one of the most hermetic art forms in the contemporary society. Here, I will quote some of the observations of Ichak Adizes (2002) which explain why it is so difficult for the artistic organizations to advance in the market.

In order to attract the audience and purchasing power, the 'high' art today is forced to compete more and more with the commercial business companies, which have flooded the society with the mass entertainment of very poor quality. Should the high art adjust to the commercial market oriented society, it would lose ability to perform its vital social role – to act against the popular and, very often, low taste, to give a critical insight into the society's achievements and to share with the audience new perspectives and perceptions of reality (Adizes, 2002: 64). Whether or not commercialization of the art will be prevented, it will depend upon the amount and type of help that artistic organizations receive, but also on their

⁵⁷ The Opéra de Lyon represents an interesting example of how it is possible to create a 'mixed model', somewhere in between of the classical institutional model and project model: starting from the year 2003, the opera productions are conceived as true 'projects', while in the productions of the ballet troupe the institutional model is still partly reflected. (For more detailed description, see the Internship Report which is a part of this thesis.)

abilities to give their maximum of efficiency and effectiveness.

Adizes points out to the fact that art responds to all disruptions of the existing conditions in politics, economy, tax laws, government support, education and development of the community. The post socialist transition, that we are experiencing in Serbia today, is based on expectation that any institution, no matter what is the nature of its business, will justify its existence through fast commercial profitability. It seems that it is more difficult to determine the market price of art than of any other product. For the moment, the largest portion of the art work's price comes from the fact that only certain segments of the society participate in this public good (*ibid*: 66), and that is why the abovementioned democratization of cultural life must become a priority in any envisaged future of Serbia.

The difficulties that the artistic organizations are faced with in their contact with the market can be observed if they are compared with the commercial art forms (for example, let's compare one of the festivals analyzed in this thesis with Serbian 'turbo-folk' music). The starting point for the commercial music production is to discover **what the audience wants**, to interpret the general (low) taste and to deliver the 'artistic creation' according to these findings. The commercial art uses the existing levels of needs, while the 'high' art *enriches* the needs, adding new levels to these already existing.

Adizes analyzes main factor which make it difficult for the artistic organizations to advance in the open market. These factors can be divided in two categories: teleological and technological differences (*ibid*: 23).

The differences in objectives and goals of the high and commercial art are called **teleological differences**. A non profitable artistic organization is oriented primarily towards the **product**, while the profitable artistic organization is oriented towards the market. The purpose of the artistic organization or festival is to enable the artists to create and to transfer their creation to the entire society according to their artistic conscience, to expose the artists and their messages to the broadest possible audience rather than to create artists and messages required by the broadest possible audience.

Artists' professional standards dictate innovations which are undertaken by the artistic organizations and which represent social or artistic values. An artistic institution which tries to fulfill its mission and to innovate regardless of the economic principles, must invest an enormous effort in finding, expanding and preserving the audience. The research of the

classical music festivals in this thesis has shown that some of them are really trying to innovate their programs, and at the same time to preserve the existing and attract new audience (Bemus, Čelo fest, Guitar Art Fest). In order to expand its market without spoiling the product, an artistic organization must invest time and money in marketing activities – targeted to the available audience – and in educational public relations – so that it could in the long run recruit new clients from the unavailable audience.

The ultimate problem originates from the tendency of artistic institutions to take risks in new spheres rather than to repeat the successes from the past.⁵⁸

All these factors indicate that the goals and principles of an artistic organization are not suitable for the competitive market. In that respect, artistic organizations are similar to the research organizations or educational institutions.

The differences deriving from the **ways of production** are **technological differences**. This type of differences between the high and commercial art are the consequence of certain characteristics of the structure of expenditures distinctive of one or another area and the nature of their products.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Unlike artistic organizations, a business organization will not change a successful trend. The whole theory of minimizing risks and maximizing profit is based on exploitation of existing trends, and once the components of success have been identified, the business organization will repeat that same activity until the favorable opportunity is fully used (*ibid*).

⁵⁹ Adizes identifies the following factors of technological nature which put an artistic organization in an unfavorable position on the market:

a) Baumol's disease: the source of this problem lies in the **work-intensive nature of artistic production**. The main factor of the artistic production is a human being and he can not be replaced by a machine; since the cost of human work grows constantly every year, the production costs progressively grow.

b) Limited audience: the artistic audience is limited not only by the selective orientation of some organizations, but in case of the performing arts, by the live character of the product which is linked to the real time. The size of the venue where the artistic product is usually determined; in that case, the increased demand can not be satisfied without the increased cost caused by the change of the location or additional performances.

c) Unpredictability: the main factor of artistic production is a human being and therefore it is less predictable than the business organizations which possess the machine based technology. The artistic production in the performing arts encompasses five primary factors:

1. creator,
2. interpreter,
3. performer,
4. audience, and
5. physical location.

Variation in any of these factors will influence the artistic expression (*ibid*: 28). Because of this

The combination of teleological and technological factors puts an artistic organization in a difficult position if it must rely on the success on the market to survive. The organization will be forced to adjust its artistic orientation to better fit the demands of the market, but even then the problems related to the technology of artistic production remain unsolved. Therefore, I agree with Adizes' opinion that artistic organizations should be *partly* removed from the market and protected in the same way as educational and artistic institutions. He speaks about the **partial help** because he thinks that art should not be completely protected from the response of the audience (*ibid*: 32), but instead the social policy for arts should be adopted that would provide permanent assistance to stimulating invention without separating artists from the society. For example, the practice of subventioning tickets could be adopted, in form of a sum awarded to the organization for every ticket sold, and that should motivate the organization to give its maximum to attract the audience (*ibid*: 33). Such a system would enable the artistic organization to predict its income and to plan its productions accordingly, to work on expanding the audience without compromising its creative activity and social goals.

Apart from this 'objective' problems concerning the transformation of the cultural organizations in Serbia, it is also true that some organizations suffer from the lack of leadership, of ideas, of entrepreneurial spirit (and indeed, some of the answers in the questionnaire do reveal that!) There is yet another problem evident in Serbia, and that is the fact that the cultural life is still strongly centralized – the majority of artistic events take place in Belgrade, and the only other cultural center, but much smaller, is Novi Sad. Other bigger

unpredictability, it is very difficult for an artistic organization to estimate the risks it undertakes.

d) Devotion to concepts: few business organizations would market the product without first developing its concept. Usually, they would produce a prototype, and should it prove to be successful, they would start with the mass production of it. But in art the [marketing] decisions must be made at the very beginning of the process of creating a product (concert or performance). The largest portion of budget has already been spent before the 'prototype' (premiere or general rehearsal) has been created.

e) Harmonization of offer and demand. In the field of commercial business it is often possible to manage the stocks to reduce the risks. However, it is impossible to use this means in the performing arts because of the live (real time) character of the product. Each time when the art work is being performed, the creation is simultaneously produced and consumed; the product can not lie 'on the shell' waiting for a better moment to be sold.

f) Limited production. Many business organizations can use the mass production as another means of risk reduction. The mass production is possible in case of cultural industries (publishing of books or CDs, for instance), but it is virtually impossible in case of performing and visual arts (*ibid*: 29-30).

Serbian towns, like Nish and Kragujevac, even though they are also university centres, literally don't exist on the cultural map of Serbia – and what's left to say about smaller towns! It is no surprise that there is a huge migration of artists and cultural workers to Belgrade (and Novi Sad), and nobody is encouraged to move to smaller, regional centres and to invest time and energy in an attempt to revive local cultural and artistic scenes. In fact, there aren't any job offers for cultural workers outside the abovementioned cities, and that is another reason why experts have no choice but to stay in either Belgrade or Novi Sad. It is easy to conclude that the decentralization of culture must become a top priority when designing the future cultural policy of Serbia. It is only enough to remember the positive experiences from the past, when ambitious artistic events such as the *Marble and Sounds Festival* were successfully developed in the province, as a result of then decentralized cultural policy model.⁶⁰

However, it would represent an oversimplification to simply choose one of the existing models and apply it in Serbia, with no respect to the tradition and present condition. To begin with, it is more useful, according to Lacombe, to problematize some of the dichotomies, concepts and ideas which are usually taken for granted: for instance, the notions and relations of creation-production-diffusion, institutional or project logic, cultural or artistic policy, decentralization or deconcentration, permanent or temporary employment, and similar. There are, in fact, two basic questions that must be posed. First of all, the question of **diffusion of arts**, which is directly linked to issues such as: the conditions of access to art works, democratization of culture, but also of efficiency in the field of culture and pertinence of a cultural 'public service'. The second important idea that should be questioned is the notion of '**artistic excellency**' (Lacombe, 2004: 33), and it must be compared with other experiences, assumptions and results.

⁶⁰ There are three basic forms of public intervention in the field of culture, spread across the Europe;

1. Federal or extremely decentralized model – the competences are given to the local collectivities or federal states. Examples: Belgium, Spain, Austria, Germany (the competence of 'länder');
2. In some countries, the competencies for the culture are delegated to the quasi autonomous councils. Examples: the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands;
3. Centralized cultural model, with a prominent role of the Ministry of Culture. Examples: Luxemburg, Portugal, Greece, Italy, as well as the majority of the (South) Eastern European, post socialist countries (Lacombe, 2004: 40-41).

The role of the classical music festivals in Serbia, today: co-operation on local and international level

Bernard Faivre-d'Arcier identifies at least four good reasons why a festival should be organized in any city:

1. Festivals offer a good chance to the democratization of culture, since they facilitate access to art to the citizens who, for various reasons, don't visit theatres or concert reasons throughout the year (the reasons could be lack of information, costs of tickets, feeling that they don't belong there and similar). This is especially true for the festivals in open air: art can take advantage of the nice weather, vacations, feeling relaxed... In Belgrade, Belef offers a very good example of this type of summer event.
2. Festivals might reinforce the local identity – of a community, of a neighbourhood, of a professional milieu...
3. Festivals offer possibilities for economic gain, and different city services and sectors can generate a considerable profit (hotels, restaurants, parkings, travel agencies). It is true that in Serbia this stands mostly for popular or traditional music festivals in the open air, such as EXIT or Guča, which are not restricted by the infrastructural constraints like the classical music festivals.
4. Festivals contribute to creation of a positive image of the city/community, they add to its visibility and recognizability (B. Faivre-d'Arcier, Comment donner une avenir aux festivals).

The same author speaks about yet another important reason why the festivals are needed today, which could easily be forgotten even though it is maybe even more important than the others: namely, the value of the festivals to the field of arts and culture. In Serbia particularly, this last reason may well represent the best argument in the defence of the festivals, since classical music in our country doesn't generate profit, nor does it contribute to the political prestige. Therefore, festivals' support to the local artistic production should be one of their primary goals, and it should be seen as their major contribution and reason why they should be preserved. Our emerging cultural policy will have to define the tasks for the festivals' producers concerning the promotion of national artistic production – otherwise, we will be faced again with the paradoxical situation that the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra, as one of the few national orchestras, doesn't play a single piece of any Serbian composer in its 2006/2007 concert season! In other words, as long as there is no clear policy in that respect, it will be up to the artistic organizations in Serbia to decide whether they want to promote local production or not.

Everywhere in the world, promotion of local identities and cultural diversity represents an important side effect of the globalization. The connection between the local and international dimension in the distribution of art is achieved in various ways, but the most important factor is the **participation of the local community in art** rather than the idea of promotion of the cultural identity. Festivals can respond ideally to this challenge, especially if they manage to reach certain categories of the society such as young people, defavorized groups (minorities, people with different capacities and similar). Members of the community should be invited to adopt a more active approach to the festivals – instead of observing them as a mere entertainment or a place of consumption, they should recognize the opportunities that the festivals offer, and here I have in mind the owners of small or medium private companies and services who can promote their own businesses through partnerships with artistic events and organizations.

Citizens and people who visit the cities where festivals take place often search for more than an artistic performance: they desire an 'experience of collectivity' in a creative and inspiring milieu. Thanks to their ability to connect the artistic and social dimensions, festivals may become a means of urban revitalization and rethinking of the city spaces, of cultural animation and regeneration. In that respect, the best way to enrich the festivals with the 'aura' of exclusivity, to promote them as something beyond the regular cultural offer, is to allow them to 'conquer' some less conventional spaces – especially in cases of exclusive festival productions. An excellent example of this kind is the production of Gluck's opera *Orpheus and Eurydice* on Bemus 2005, which 'revised' and 'resemantized' the space of the Museum '25 May'⁶¹ and attracted enormous interest of various audiences (it is sufficient to say that the number of visitors grew constantly from the first to the last performance!)

⁶¹ Museum '25 May' is best known as the museum of the history of ex-Yugoslavia (SFRY), and one of the buildings in the museum complex is the Memorial house of Tito, a life-long president of the SFRY!



ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE, 37th Bemus, Museum '25 May' (photo V. Savatić)

Some authors speak about the phenomenon of the '**festivalization of arts**', which means that the (performing) arts today are largely influenced by the mondialization of the transfer of goods, including the art works. As a consequence, artistic organizations feature programs which are more and more 'pluricultural' (Lacombe, 2004: 77; I would also call these programs 'transcultural'). The internationalization of the cultural production and diffusion is a result of the progress in the field of communication technologies, development of tourism and creation of the world market. In that respect, festivals can be understood as a 'privileged observatory' of the policy and economy of the performing arts (*ibid*: 78). However, the international dimension of the festivals usually results from the needs and aspirations of the cultural entrepreneurs, and later it receives the support from the public authorities. And while the cultural administrators decide to develop the international dimension of the festivals encouraged by their artistic reasons, the public authorities offer their assistance in order to support their own political agendas and interests, using the festivals to increase the prestige, to generate larger income from the touristic sector and to achieve greater political influence through cultural 'ambassadorship'. The membership in the international networks provides opportunities for the festivals because it enables their managers to establish contacts with potential partners, to exchange information about the actual trends in their field of art, and to improve visibility and create a positive image. Bemus festival has been a member of the European Festivals Association (EFA-AEF) since 2002, the network which gathers the most prestigious festivals of performing arts (in Salzburg, Avignon, Bayreuth, Edinburgh), and Bitef, as the most important theatre festival in Belgrade and Serbia, is well marked on the artistic map of Europe and is an respectful member of the IETM network. Unfortunately, other Serbian festivals don't have a possibility of such an international promotion and co-operation. There is a need to create in Serbia an association of festivals, an 'umbrella' institution, which would engage in their promotion and there is a good chance that such a body will soon come to life (its foundation has already been initiated).

D. Klaić observes that festivals today act more and more as **(co-)producers**, and not only as a place where the already existing art works are being reproduced. Festival productions and co-productions may contribute to the international co-operation because they may bring together artist (or artistic organizations) from different environments. For festivals, the new productions represent a way of affirming their own value and purpose through creation of new artistic capital (*Festivals: Challenges of Growth...*: 32). International co-productions are also important because they also presuppose some sort of international co-financing and sharing

the costs and risks among the partners responsible for their realization. Bemus, as a festival of reference in Serbia, has managed in the past couple of years to realize several ambitious projects, and the special place belongs to the chamber opera *Zora D.* by Serbian composer Isidora Žebeljan, which was a co-production of the Dutch Chamber Opera from Amsterdam, Wiener Kammeroper and Bemus, and in 2007 it will also be produced at the Music Biennial in Zagreb (Croatia). Another interesting and successful example of Bemus' co-productions is the Chamber Music Marathon, which was realized in partnership with the Guildhall School of Music and Drama from London and it gathered together chamber ensembles from the UK and Serbia.

At local level, the festivals may search for partner organizations from different (artistic or non artistic) areas, for the mutual benefit. The Bitef and Bemus festivals offer a good example of this, since this year they have co-produced no less than three large and current productions which stand at the boundary of theatre and music: *The Last Paysage* by Jozsef Nagy, *Dance for Life* by Maurice Béjart and *the im-permanence* by Meredith Monk. Another mutual initiative of Bitef and Bemus this year, which has attracted several more cultural and educational organizations (NGO ArtLink from Belgrade, University of Arts in Belgrade, Sava Center) is the International Conference for Young Managers in the Performing Arts 'New Art Net', which represents the accompanying programs of these festivals. Such co-operations are important because they create an 'additional value' in the minds of the artists and the audience, but also of the stakeholders (especially the public and private financiers). It is reasonable to expect that in such way they can create a greater impact on the local (and hopefully international) community than the festivals and artistic organizations can do when they act independently.

When speaking about the local co-operation, the partnership with the media houses represents an immense challenge for the festivals. Ideally, it should last throughout the year, in the shape of the institutional public relations, and not only immediately before or during the festivals' going on. The media houses must be understood among the key stakeholders because they introduce the festivals' identities, programs and values to the audience. Concerning the fact that Serbian festivals are in most cases produced by the cultural institutions and professional associations which engage in other activities throughout the year, they are faced with an important task; to try to find the adequate place for the festivals in their regular promotional activities, especially in their institutional public relations. The identity of an artistic organization or event is built through constant promotional activities, and these activities can

'set the stage' for the festival's edition much better than any campaign – no matter how ambitious! – which is launched shortly before the opening night.

Finally, I dare say that I am optimistic about the future survival of the classical music festivals in Serbia. The time has come to work actively on the capacity building in the organizations that engage in the production of the festivals (fortunately, nowadays we have the literature, courses and other educational programs in cultural management at our disposal), in order to achieve skills necessary to adapt to the transitional changes. Also, it is the high time to recognize the enormous potential for the development of the local communities, of the local and international co-operation. Eventually, we must not forget that **people** – artists, producers, and audience – are the main force of the festivals, and that the essence of the value created by artistic events lies in the advancement of the social conscience and improvement of the quality of life. Today, the citizens of Serbia desperately need both.

POST SCRIPTUM

*The smallest organization works well if it thinks
about entertaining the audience world wide,
about using any technology and deriving resources from
any segment of the population in order to fulfill its mission.*
Ichak Adizes (2002: 75)

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CV JELENA JANKOVIĆ

Jelena Janković (1975) graduated from the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology in 1999, with Ph. D. Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman (graduation paper: *Pierre Boulez's Le marteau sans Maître – some aspects of the compositional technique*). During the studies Jelena Janković won a scholarship granted by the Fund for development of the scientific and artistic youth of the Republic of Serbia. She also received the Award given by the Embassy of Norway in Belgrade to 1000 best Serbian students. She enrolled postgraduate studies of musicology at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade with Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, and then pursued Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies of Cultural Management and Cultural Policies in the Balkans at the University of Arts in Belgrade and Université Lumière Lyon 2.

While still a student, Jelena Janković was one of editors of the International Review of Composers Bulletin and took part in several international symposiums and conferences in Belgrade, and also in Slovenia (Youth Colloquium of the Slovene Society for Esthetics, Ljubljana 2000).

She has published articles and translations in several Serbian magazines (*Pro Musica, Music Marketing, Pro Femina, TkH, New Sound, Muzički talas, Treći program*). Her field of research is contemporary music and music theory. She regularly participates in international symposiums organized by the Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, and is invited to give lectures at the Faculty of Music, Union of Composers of Serbia etc. Also, she was a scenarist for the educational serial on the Serbian National Television called *Platos of Sound* in 2004.

In autumn 2004 she obtained the scholarship of the French Government which enabled her to spend three months on an internship at the Opéra de Lyon (France), Department of Artistic Production (under guidance of Ms. Laurence Spée, Production Director).

In summer 2005 she attended the two-week International Summer Course in Cultural Management at the International Centre for Culture and Management in Salzburg.

Since 2002 she is full-time employed at Jugokonzert, Belgrade Concert Management, as a

Program Editor, working on numerous festivals (notably Bemus festival) and JUGOKONCERT regular concert season. She regularly contributes texts for Bemus festival programs and web site, and also for contemporary music concerts throughout the year.

In 2006 she participated in EFA's European Atelier for Young Festival Managers in Görlitz, Germany, as a representative of the Bemus festival.

She is also active as a pianist and keyboard player.

Language skills: English (fluent), French (DELF 2).

APPENDIX – The press reviews about the cancelled Cello Fest 2006