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CELEBRATE CULTURAL DIVERSITY! BUY A TICKET! READING THE DISCOURSES OF WORLD MUSIC FESTIVALS IN CROATIA

In the past ten years world music festivals have become increasingly important facets of Croatian music scene. Although we could observe them as aspects of social and cultural life in which the "guileless", "pleasant" and "direct" encounter with other cultures takes place through music, to look at them exclusively from that viewpoint would mean to ignore a whole series of discursive strategies, interpretive moves and representational constructs that make world music festivals events rich in social, cultural, but also profoundly political meanings. This article's aim is to explore these "non-musical" aspects of world music festivals in Croatia. By analysing the representational discourses of five world music festivals (concerts, series of concerts) – *Ethno Music Concerts of the International Folklore Festival*, *Ethnoambient Salona*, *Istra Ethno Jazz*, *Zagreb World Music Festival NEBO* and *Multikultura* – the author tries to present and interpret diverse approaches to (re)presentation, festivalisation and "translation" of world music in Croatia, as well as trace the path between the "global" model and "local" imprints / reprints of festivalisation of world music in Croatia.

Keywords: world music, festivals, representational discourses, Croatia

This is the very peak of world music and a multicultural cycle that has not yet been held in these regions. We shall be presenting the immeasurable wealth of great cultural traditions in one cycle in which the quality of each concert will point to their common origin. (From the programme of Croatia Osiguranje World Music Cycle series of concerts)¹

In the introduction to his newspaper review of a concert given in Zagreb by Cesaria Evora, the music critic Zlatko Gall wrote:

¹ <http://www.tportal.hr/worldmusic/fset.html>

"If one were to judge by the success of the some significant world music performers and the huge interest of the domestic – and particularly Zagreb – audience for Vlatko Stefanovski and his Balkan collaborations, *Whirling Dervishes*, Ibrahim Ferrer and Omara, or Cesaria Evora, who have filled both the large sports hall and on several occasions sold out the *Lisinski* [the biggest Zagreb concert hall, MP], Croatia would have to be added to the list of countries that are exceptionally inclined to multiculturalism. At least to the multiculturalism which arrives today under the label of world music" (Gall 2005).

If we could really assess multiculturalism by the number of tickets sold for world music concerts, we could conclude without a doubt that Croatia has "become" an exceptionally multicultural milieu over the last few years. However, even a somewhat more attentive reading of the Gall's quote reveals some of the contradictions of discourses on multiculturalism. In other words, Gall's wording does not speak of the possibility of Croatia being perceived as a multicultural country, but rather as "a country inclined to multiculturalism". In public and popular discourses, in which multiculturalism has become one of the frequently (mis)used terms, it is not always a simple matter to differentiate whether that term connotes the fact of the existence of several diverse cultures or a certain level of openness and tolerance in a particular environment or community towards "cultures" that they do not perceive as their own. Are we speaking of Croatia as an environment that is itself multicultural, an environment that is yet to become multicultural, or even, for its part, as an environment which is simply "exceptionally inclined" to multiculturalism?

Discourse about multiculturalism in Croatia, at least when it is linked with the phenomenon of world music, is usually oriented to affirming tolerance towards the Other (him/herself or his/her culture and/or music) and tries to dispute the existing xenophobia with the intention, at least declaratively, of eliminating it and/or drawing attention to stereotypical concepts and discrimination. Since perpetuation of the idea of the "usability" of music and/or, more precisely, world music, in "transforming" Croatia into a tolerant, non-xenophobic and open society over the last ten years or so has been considerably contributed to by festivals of world music, I have decided to give them central focus in this article.²

² Festivals are one of the aspects of world music with which I dealt in my master's thesis (Piškor 2005). This article is a partly expanded text of the chapter from that thesis entitled "Ulaznica u doživljaj 'kulturne različitosti': World music na pozornici" (ibid.:107-129). This thesis was written as part of the scientific research project "Glazba, ples i zajednica: Središnje i rubne prakse" of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb. This would seem to be a good opportunity for me to express my thanks to Naila Ceribašić and my mentor, Svanibor Pettan, for their attentive reading, advice and comments on the entire thesis (and, thus, also the chapter that has resulted in this article), as well as to other colleagues from the Institute for the discussions that contributed to its completion.

After a long and unsuccessful search for a clear and usable definition of world music, the decision of the participants at the London meetings where the concept of world music was "created" in 1987, simply to define it as "practically any music that isn't, at present, catered for by its own category" ([S.n.] 1987e),³ seems more comprehensible to me. For their part, ethnomusicologists and scholars from related disciplines approach world music from divergent starting-points, but it seems that they all agree that the term does not have a uniform and clear definition, and that world music cannot be regarded as a separate genre (cf. Guilbault 1997a, Guilbault 1997b:31, Connell and Gibson 2004:350). Despite that, it is constructed as if it were a genre – it has separate shelves in music shops, it is covered by specialised magazines and television and radio programmes, and is produced by specialised recording companies, festivals and fairs. The fact that world music today is "institutionalized within the music and media industries" (Goodwin and Gore, in Guilbault 1997a) additionally complicates the possibility of its definition. It has no clear stylistic guidelines, rather it accumulates within itself the music that is diverse in terms of genre and style.

Reading the ethnomusicological deconstruction of the concept of world music offers certain characteristics of the musics that have found themselves under that label. They include "those embodying a hybrid character that embraces attentiveness to musical, social or political change occurring elsewhere (...) they are industrialised; they fuse capital, technical and musical elements from diverse origins; and they are frequently accompanied by an ethnographic and educational discourse" (Guilbault 1997b:31). Feld called what binds them together and classifies them in a common category "senses of commodified otherness, blurred boundaries between exotic and familiar, the local and global in transnational popular culture" (Feld, in Mitchell 1996:54). Thus, world music becomes "a marketing term describing the products of musical cross-fertilization between north – the U.S. and Western Europe, and south – primarily Africa and the Caribbean Basin, which began appearing on the popular music landscape in the early 1980s" (Pacini Hernandez 1993:48).

Since it is impossible to define it as a musical genre, ethnomusicologists describe world music as an ubiquitous phrase that today is a "dominant signifier of a triumphant industrialization of global sonic representation" (Feld 2000:146); "a marketing category for a collection of diverse genres from much of the developing world" (Connell and Gibson 2004:350); "a generalized marketing tag referring to popular music

³ Minutes of all the meetings and both official press releases are given in the sources S.n. 1987a, 1987b, 1987c, 1987d, 1987e.

originating in countries outside the normal Western (and predominantly Anglo-American) trade routes of popular music" (Mitchell 1996:53); "a branding exercise" (Connell and Gibson 2004:344); "a mesmerizing formula for a new business venture, a kind of shorthand figure for a new – albeit fragmented – global economic reality with alluring commercial prospects" (Erlmann 1996:474) or as "a sonic corollary to expanding tastes in the West for ethnic food" (Averill, in Connell and Gibson 2004:352).

The festivalisation of world music – between the "global" model and the "local" imprints/reprints

At the beginning of April 2002 an interview was published in the *Vijenac* magazine with "a music critic, radio programme editor, DJ and one of the first promoters of ethno music⁴ in Croatia", Ilko Čulić (Lokotar 2002). In the closing part of the interview, when asked if the Zagreb *International Folklore Festival (Međunarodna smotra folklor)*, as it is today, has any connection with ethno music, Čulić replied:

Since the very outset, the International Folklore Festival has been a senseless manifestation that did not even fit into the *cultural policy* of the HDZ [the leading Croatian political party during the 1990s, MP]. With such a large *budget*, one could organise a respectable ethno or world music festival, but, first of all, *the city authority* would have to admit that that would be a better *investment* than the International Folklore Festival. *Druga godba* [a Slovenian world music festival, MP] has been sponsored for years by the Ljubljana city budget, along with jazz and art music festivals. That is why Ljubljana today has three impressive summer festivals, while Zagreb has a Folklore Festival that manages only to create short-term chaos in the traffic around the main city square (Čulić, in Lokotar 2002; emphasis MP).

In her reaction to Čulić's comments, which appeared in the following issue of *Vijenac*, the artistic director of the *International Folklore Festival*, Zorica Vitez writes:

The International Folklore Festival does have *a connection with ethno music*, moreover it has contributed to the presentation of ethno music in Croatia, and to the creation of sensitivity for that type of contemporary popular music creativity, which is inspired by or, for its part, rests on diverse local traditions. (...) The International Folklore Festival has no objections whatsoever to the founding of an ethno or *world music*

⁴ In Croatian sources the term ethno music (or only ethno) is sometimes used synonymously with the term world music. In other cases these two terms are used to describe different musics and musicians. In the chapter "World music, world beat, etno glazba... – Pokušaj raščlanjivanja terminološke konfuzije" of my thesis (Piškor 2005:8-19) I discuss this terminological question in detail.

festival in Zagreb. Indeed, the Festival itself is inaugurating one within the framework of its programmes. In the projections of the Festival's associates, such a festival would aim to be reflexive, open to dialogue and sensitive to the contradictions and asymmetrical power relations enrooted in global cultural interaction, just as, for that matter, the core Festival programmes are marked by a meaningful selection of themes, seeking out new representational models, openness towards diverse performers and diverse approaches in presenting local heritage (Vitez 2002; emphasis as in the original).

Although Čulić missed the opportunity to respond to this reaction and to support his opinions in a well-argued manner, which meant that the polemics that would certainly have been beneficial in reading various interpretations and approaches to world music in Croatia did not come about, even such brief excerpts raise a number of questions, which I shall endeavour to interpret in this article. Do world music festivals dovetail into the cultural policy of Croatia, and if so, to what extent? Have they become (or do they remain) a profitable investment? Do they meet the policies of city authorities? Can they really be understood as a substitute for the existing forms of the "public practice of popular, folklore, traditional music" (Ceribašić 2003:255), like, for example, the *International Folklore Festival*?

Baumann concluded that international festivals have a constantly growing role in the encounters between world cultures. They are becoming "pioneers in propagating the peaceful idea of developing new, creative forms of behavior that lead to mutual respect between different cultures and to breaking down culturally determined prejudices" (Baumann 2001:9-10). We could observe the festivals and world music concerts in Croatia as aspects of social and cultural life in which the "guileless", "pleasant" and "direct" encounter with other cultures takes place through music, often interpreted – as for example in the programme of the *Ethnoambient Salona* festival's programme – as "one of the perfect media for cultural exchange" (<http://www.ethnoambient.net/2002>). However, to look at them exclusively from that viewpoint would mean to ignore a whole series of discursive strategies, interpretive moves and representational constructs that make world music festivals events filled with social, cultural, and also profoundly political meanings.

The WOMAD (World of Music, Arts, and Dance) is even today a model of sorts for numerous contemporary, and thus also Croatian, world music festivals. That festival was held for the first time in 1982 at Shepton Mallet and its central aim was "to bring together and to celebrate many forms of music, arts and dance drawn from countries and cultures all over the world" which would allow "many different audiences to gain an insight into cultures other than their own through the enjoyment of music", that "universal language [that] draws people together and proves, as well as anything, the stupidity of racism" (<http://womad.org>). The WOMAD festivals are usually held over a weekend, conceived as events in which every member of the

family can find something interesting, while, in addition to the central concert performances that are held simultaneously on several stages, they offer diverse interactive workshops, special programmes intended for children, and music and dance sessions in which guest artists take part (ibid.). The way in which John Hutnyk described the 1994 WOMAD festival held in Reading seems to me to be an interesting interpretation that approaches the festival as a postmodern *bricolage* of sorts.

Womad festival in Reading offers the commercialisation of everything, where stalls set up in a circle around the perimeter of the festival site sell multicultural fast foods (rapid ethnicities of the gullet), political persuasions – from aid for Indian wells to petitions for Tibet (no organised left parties), campaigns to defend the cassowary from poachers to John Pilger speaking tours about Indonesian aggression in East Timor – and Womad merchandise (the Womad CD, the Womad book, magazine, t-shirt, cap), as well as sundry other merchandisers – often hardly distinguishable from the stalls and displays for various political causes – selling everything from oriental rugs to brass coffee-pots, jewellery, candles, incense, anarcho and techno small-label recordings, and even a weird drumming puppet rhino "drumming up" support to save soon-to-be-extinct species (Hutnyk 2000:22-23).

The fact that the visitors pass along by tents selling products and food and the stands of various political campaigns, as if by displays in shopping centres, additionally emphasizes the commercial aspect of the WOMAD and intensifies the paradox of reducing music (and/or more specifically, world music) as a "universal language that draws people together", to an increasingly lucrative investment that brings profits to some, and a pleasant feeling of "political correctness" and an opportunity, as Hutnyk calls it, to do some – "lifestyle shopping" (ibid.:25) to others.

The founding of the WOMEX in 1994 really transformed world music into a specific type of exhibit in a shopping centre. From the first time it was held in Berlin in 1994 to the 10th festival held in Essen⁵ in 2004, the World Music EXpo became profiled as "the world's premier networking point exclusively dedicated to world, roots, folk, ethnic, traditional, local and diaspora music of all kinds" (<http://www.womex.com/special/realwomex/frames/wom.html>). The WOMEX in Essen (in 2004) brought together "over 2000 delegates/1250 companies from 90 countries including more than 250 journalists; more than 300 exhibitors in over 200 trade fair stands (...); 52 showcases with over 450 artists on 6 stages and 35 speakers in 25 conference sessions" (ibid.).

⁵ So far, WOMEX has been held in Berlin (1994, 1999, 2000), Bruxelles (1995), Marseilles (1997), Stockholm (1998), Rotterdam (2001), Seville (2003), Essen (2002, 2004) and Newcastle (2005).

Although the list and description of the music presented at the WOMEX is, at first glance, inclusive, or, in other words, covers *all* types of music that bear the denominator of "world", "roots", "ethno", "folk", "traditional", "local" and "diaspora", its title bears the concept of "world music" whose scope, it seems to me, is closer to what is defined by it in the framework of the music industry, rather than what could be defined by it if it were really inclusive. Therefore, "all types of music" should be read as "all types of music acceptable to the category itself". Thus, the Croatian delegation presented itself at the 1999 Berlin WOMEX with "a stand at which one could receive information about Croatian traditional music by way of a compilation CD consisting of material stored at the archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb (works of Prof. Jerko Bezić, Ivan Ivančan, PhD, and Prof. Svanibor Pettan...), through publications in English (such as the book *Music, Politics and War, Views from Croatia*) issued by the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research from Zagreb" and "recordings by musicians from the Croatian ethno music scene (*Cinkuši*, Lidiija Bajuk, *Legen*, Dario Marušić, HC Boxer, Tamara Obrovac...)" and "the ETHNO AMBIENT – SALONA Festival" (Novaković 1999). Although albums of performers such as *Prļjavo Kazalište*, Damir Urban, Toni Cetinski, *Cesarice* and *Cubismo*⁶ are also examples of "local" music and, in the case of *Cubismo*, could even bear the denominator "world", "traditional" or "diaspora" music, it goes almost without saying that they do not fit in with the preferred interpretation of "local" and "Croatian", comprehended as world music in the WOMEX context. Consequently they could not be included into "appropriate" music with which Croatia could present itself at that global world music marketplace.

Beside the fact that the WOMEX has been held to date exclusively in European cities, which indicates a targeted audience, but also to the embededness of the world music industry and markets in the Western world, the segment of the WOMEX which relates to conference presentations seems interesting to me. That segment thematically encompasses numerous aspects of world music,⁷ thus confirming that world music does not merely depend on free circulation of the product, market expansion and definition of physical space in stores, but also on the construction of identifiable and marketable discourses. So it is not surprising that (local, regional, national and

⁶ I am mentioning these performers by name since they were all recipients of the *Porin*, Croatia's leading discographic award, in 1999.

⁷ As part of the conference organised within the 2004 WOMEX in Essen, papers were given, inter alia, with titles such as "Meet the Banned! Music Censorship in Turkey", "Folk Music as World Music. Why Folk Music Has a Rightful Place in World Music Events", "Establishing Turkish (Oriental) Music Repertoire in Europe. How to Distribute Turkish Pop Music Beyond their Ethnic Community Boundaries" and "Making your Way in the USA. How to Tour Successfully in the US Market" (http://www.womex.com/special/real_womex/pdf/conference_schedule04.pdf).

international) music festivals have also become venues that, apart from music, musicians and audiences, enable encounters of experts and scholars.⁸

According to Ronström, festivals are "effective arenas for distribution of messages and communication of symbols and signs" which produce and express "a stress on mixes, bricolage, eclecticism, crossover, blurring of genres and categories", on the one hand, and "a purification and reification of expressive forms and styles, in order to produce fast and clear-cut messages" on the other (Ronström 2001:62). The festivals and concerts of world music in Croatia are linked, of course, by the mere fact that they present other musics to the local audience. However, where they do differ is in the very approach to that presentation, the way of selection of the preferred symbols, signs and messages, and their discursive constructs and representational strategies.

Although the local audience did have earlier opportunities to encounter other musics within music and non-music festivals, what could be called the boom in world/ethno music festivals occurred in Croatia during the 1990s.

Ethno music concerts of the International Folklore Festival

... an approach in accordance with the aspiration to present less visible, marginal folklore traditions to a broader audience and to support the uniqueness and pluralism of local heritage and cultural identities⁹

The first festival within which world/ethno music concerts have been held – since 1994 – is the *Zagreb International Folklore Festival*.¹⁰ Unlike the other forms of festivalisation of world music that I deal with in this section – the *Solin Ethnoambient Salona*, the *Istrian Istra Ethno Jazz* festival, the *Zagreb Nebo – World Music Festival* and world music concerts organised by the *Zagreb* project *Multikultura* – the ethno music concerts of the *International Folklore Festival* are not independent events but a part of the bigger folklore festival, within which they are given the role of accompanying

⁸ As part of the diatonic accordion festival *Z armoniku v Roč* a scholarly conference entitled *Istarski etnomuzikološki susreti* (Ceribašić and Greblo 2002; Ceribašić 2004b) is held every second year, while papers delivered at the international symposium *Folk Music in Public Performance*, held in 2000 as part of the *Tanz- & Folk-Fest Rudolstadt* Festival, were published under the same name in a thematic double issue of the journal *The World of Music* (Baumann et al. 2001).

⁹ All the quotations at the beginning of sections dealing with particular festivals are taken from festivals' programme booklets and/or Internet sites.

¹⁰ Although concerts of musicians that could be classified in the category of world music have been organized within the *International Folklore Festival* before (the *Istranova* group performed in 1985, and the *Orient Express* group in 1986), the 1994 concert *Nadahnute baštinom* is considered to be the first of ethno music concerts of the *International Folklore Festival*.

events. The contents included in the ethno music concert programmes, as Naila Ceribašić writes, "could by no means be defined as local or marginal but, quite to the contrary, have relatively broad reception and are well paid" and, according to the author, "can be only accompanying events" of the *Zagreb International Folklore Festival* (Ceribašić 2003:297-298). Although perhaps we could not define the content of the ethno music concerts as local and marginal in comparison to the central programme of the Festival, if we were to compare it with the content offered by the other Croatian world music festivals, it seems to me that their content could be designated, if not as "local" – since all musics that fall under the category of world music, despite the unclear and inconstant nature of its definition, could still be characterised as "local", although that designation can be interpreted in various ways – then definitely as "marginal". When compiling ethno music concert programmes, the associates of the *International Folklore Festival* do not incline towards the simple (although financially more demanding) formula of organising concerts of groups and musicians who belong to the current mainstream, or, to use that term that is so popular with other festivals, the "very top" of the world music scene, but instead search for less known, and less visible representatives.

The ethno music concerts of the *International Folklore Festival* represent contemporary popular music which is an extension of local music traditions of the world or at least is inspired by them in multiple ways. In that process, the Festival is open towards diverse ways of connecting traditional and popular music; however, attention is given to the concept which concentrates on an individual regional tradition, maintaining the recognizable traditional tunes, and styles of performance and/or musical instruments used, which also connotes, at least to a certain extent, the departing from the unifying Euro-American music canon. Such an approach aspires to the presentation of less visible, marginal, folklore traditions and support to the uniqueness and pluralisms of local heritage and cultural identities (Ceribašić 2002c:72).

In recent years, the ethno music concerts of the *International Folklore Festival* have had a set theme, several groups regularly taking part in them and trying out various possibilities of representation, by which they achieve a certain shift from established festival patterns. The concert of ethno music *Što mogu gajde* held in 2004 as part of the 38th *International Folklore Festival*, supports this statement in both concept and content. Ten musicians and groups took part in the concert programme dedicated to one type of traditional musical instrument (bagpipes) and presented in their performance many varieties of the instrument itself along with the local repertoires performed on it – from so-called traditional repertoire to author compositions, which could be classified in the category of world music. The idea of the concert was to present the bagpipes as a specific "symbol of European music", which is present in all the European regions and has linked various social strata throughout centuries (cf. Ceribašić 2004a:76), along with the local specifics

of instrument making. The role of announcers of the programme was given to two performers. After their brief announcements, each performer himself briefly introduced his/her instrument and its function in the respective country's musical tradition. Apart from using English, which in time has become the *lingua franca* of world music events, individual performers also addressed the audience in Croatian, Macedonian, Italian and German, departing in that aspect too from the established representational canon. A two-day music workshop, *Zasvirajmo diplice, pa ćemo i gajde* was organised as an adjunct to the concert, while a text was published in the Festival booklet giving a brief organological history of the instrument, data on individual performers, and the specifics of the repertoire that is performed on the bagpipes in each of the represented European regions. By this approach to the presentation in concerts of world music, the ethno music concerts of the *International Folklore Festival* tend towards the approach that Ursula Hemetek terms "informative strategy". The approach in question enables the audience to actively participate in the event itself and offers a more profound insight into the similarities and differences of what is being presented. This approach offers an alternative to the strategy of "consuming multiculturalism" (Hemetek 2001).

Ethnoambient Salona

... may the sounds of your ancestors fill your hearts and remind you that the meadow is at its most beautiful when it is brimming with diverse life

Although the beginnings of the *Ethnoambient Salona* festival took place at about the same time as the first ethno music concerts of the *International Folklore Festival*,¹¹ their approaches differ. It seems to me that the concept of the Solin festival is close to the thinking of one of its founders, Mojmir Novaković.

There are moments in the life of every human being in which you are swept along so strongly by a certain idea that it becomes the centre of your thoughts and actions. From that moment on you have only two choices: to give up or to continue living that idea. In 1992, Mojmir Novaković decided to retain that moment and to follow his dream, *a search for existential wisdom* which is contained in the ancient lyrics

¹¹ Both began with concerts by representatives of the so-called Croatian ethno music scene – the IFF ethno music concerts in 1994, with a concert given by Dunja Knebl and Lidija Bajuk, while the 1995 *Ethnoambient* began with a concert performance by Dunja Knebl, Lidija Bajuk, Andrija Maronić and the Legen group. The *Ethnoambient Salona* festival in Solin started in 1998, but the concert "Ethno Ambient Live: Arhaične pjesme iz Hrvatske" held in 1995 in the Zagreb club, Gjuro II, is regarded as the predecessor to the Solin festival.

and melodies of his own people, and to bring them back to life in his own time and in a personal way. Since he was born and raised in a town, that environment and way of life conditioned the way of *transposing a fragment of the past into the present* (<http://www.ethnoambient.net/glazbenici.htm>; emphasis MP).

World music, as transposing a fragment of the past into the present, where traditional music represents a lost or almost lost existential wisdom, while accessible contemporary musical expressions and technologies are the means which enable a new life in the present to the traditional, make up the discursive framework i.e. the model according to which all the participants in this festival are represented. If I am correctly interpreting the festival founders' thinking, all those musicians, even though they belong to different cultures or, perhaps, for that very reason, are individuals for whom life in the present is a necessity, while traditional models i.e. "the traditional heritage" is an ideal, which, admittedly, might be unattainable, but they can at least try to draw closer to it through music in which "the sounds of ancestors resonate". Through the binary oppositions that derive from this discourse the contemporary times, and thus the contemporary society is the antipode of the traditional. While the former is corrupted, industrialised, alienated, displaced, and artificial, the latter carries the denominator of the pure, the uncorrupted, the humane, and the natural, brimming with "eternal values". In this profoundly poeticised discourse, the adjectives "ancient", "magical", and "wondrous" are almost the rule. Texts in which the organisers describe two groups, which performed at the 2002 festival – the Iranian group *Leymer* and the Australian group *White Cockatoo* – can serve as illustration. Since both groups also took part that year in the ethno music concert *Uz zvuk udaraljki* at the Zagreb *International Folklore Festival*, it is interesting to compare the way in which the groups in question were introduced at the two festivals.¹²

Leymer comes from the Būshehr province in the south of Iran. The music they perform is a combination of the traditional music of ancient Persia and diverse influences from Africa and India. *Leymer* was formed in 1991 and they won first prize at the sixth Fadjr International Music Festival the same year. After that, they participated in many festivals such as the Iran Epical Music Festival and the First Iran Scholars Festival as well as at cultural and art festivals in Germany and Yemen. People often compare the highly detailed melodic lines in this type of music to the complex design of Iranian carpets. As in those famous carpets, the melody line meanders, and the musicians study meticulously the music potential of a particular area before they move onto the next (<http://www.ethnoambient.net/2002>).

¹² Because of their extensiveness, I am not providing here the texts about *The White Cockatoo*. They can be found on the Internet site <http://www.ethnoambient.net/2000> and in Ceribašić 2002a.

The *Leymer* folk music group has been active since 1991. It brings together six musicians who nurture the traditional music of the Būshehr region in the Persian Gulf, in the southwest of Iran. They have taken part at numerous festivals and have won several awards and first prizes in their homeland and abroad.

To the present day, Būshehr has remained an important trading and maritime centre, a place where diverse cultures and civilisations have been meeting for centuries. This can also be seen in the music performed by *Leymer*, in various genres connected with labour, shipping, local festivities and reminiscences of wars, and in dance music. A special place belongs to percussion instrument music forms: the *senj* and *dammām*, music that accompanies the *mūlūdi*, *chardestmaleh*, and *yazleh* dances, and the *neymeh* sailor celebrations.

The percussion instruments used by the members of *Leymer* are the cylindrical two-sided drum (the *dammām*), goblet drum (*the tombak*, *tempo* or *zarb*), the tambourine (*the dāyereh*) and small cymbals (*the senj* or *zanj*), while the melodic instruments they play include the *ney-anbān* and *ney-joffī*, instruments similar to bagpipes, and the *buq* horn (Ceribašić 2002b).

While the text published in the programme booklet of the *International Folklore Festival*, like all the texts introducing the participants in the Festival's ethno music concerts, is oriented towards the contextualisation of the music in the *Leymer* group's repertoire, its location in a historical, geographical and cultural framework, the description of its functions and specification of the individual musical instruments which take part in the performance, the text published on the *Ethnoambient Salona* Festival's Internet site tries, on the one hand, to emphasise the excellence of the musicians by listing the prizes they have won at festivals that are probably unknown to the Croatian audience, while it poeticises the music content comparing it to an object that is perhaps better known and more accessible to audiences than Iranian music – the Iranian carpet. The fact that this particular comparison was taken from an article about Iranian music published in the *Rough Guide to World Music*,¹³ originally referring to *radif*, the repertoire of Iranian classical music which is not part of the *Leymer* repertoire, is less important, it seems, than its picturesque and associative nature.

According to the Solin festival organisers' interpretation, the basic characteristics of world music are the "promotion of a culture of tolerance, a new approach to tradition, excellent music performance and the promotion of awareness of globalisation trends" (<http://www.ethnoambient.net/2002>). Therefore their festival "aspires to the promotion of diverse cultures, and

¹³ In the original, the text reads: "People often draw parallels between the highly detailed melodic lines and the intricate designs of Iranian carpets. As in the carpets, the movement is meandering, as the musician exhaustively explores the melodic potential of a defined area before moving on to the next" (Nooshin 1999:358).

understanding and acceptance of cultural diversity, tradition, and Nature..." (<http://www.ethnoambient.net/2003>). Apart from being a "universal language that brings people together", to use WOMAD's vocabulary, music thus allows an insight into other cultures and their diversity and indicates the necessity of preserving one's own identity and respecting those of others, but also a necessity of a return to roots and Nature. Therefore, the accompanying events of the Solin festival include an ecologic agricultural products fair, a traditional crafts fair and a "small folklore festival" (ibid.). Ecology is frequently linked with world music, implying that world music performers and their audiences, by virtue of the very fact that their music relies on traditional models, should be more sensitive to ecological problems than, for example, rock and jazz musicians and their audiences. The constructs of "originality", "authenticity" and "purity" of their music, thus become applicable in the aspect of the "purity" and "originality" of Nature – it would seem that an equality sign has been placed between reviving and preserving traditional music (culture) and reviving and preserving Nature. The statement about "promoting awareness of globalisation trends" as one of the basic features of world music is also interesting in that context. In other words, it aims at well-known criticism of globalisation as a process that erases cultural diversity, exploits and homogenises. Consequently, world music is interpreted as the antithesis of a process without which it would not exist in the form in which we consume it today, among other places, at festivals like the *Ethnoambient Salona*. The sustainability of that construct depends equally on what it does, and on what it does not say. To see world music as the opposite of globalisation trends, means to deny, conceal or ignore its dependence on those same trends.

Istra Etno Jazz

Passion, fusion, erasing boundaries, a real music kitchen of fresh flavours and aromas.

The very name of the Istrian festival clearly indicates its concept and/or its orientation towards musical "fusions". In this process, the coupling of "ethno" and "jazz" is not the sole possibility of fusion that this festival presents in its programme. According to the words of the organisers, the concept is "based on the presentation of ethno, jazz and world music" and/or "musicians who link the traditional to the contemporary, who are inclined to research and musical journeys into the unknown". The diversity of the musical expression is not equalised with collective cultural diversity, but rather the diversity of the individual approaches. Therefore, this festival does not "promote" different cultures, as, for example, the Solin festival does, but "presents" different musicians. As a consequence, we can interpret this as a different reading of the world music phenomenon, in which the emphasis is not on

"reviving" tradition in contemporary times, but rather the "life" of elements of the traditional in contemporary music expressions.

Almost all the bands that we will hear break classical music forms and the usual associations we have at the mention of, for example, the flamenco or the tango. *Ojos de Brujo* call themselves the hip-hop flamenkitos, *Tango crash* already announces it in its name, we have never linked *Lado* with electro... Still, we will recognise tradition, but interpreted differently, exuberant, with new influences and new ideas (http://www.istraetnojazz.com/html2004/o_festivalu.ht).

Such an approach is in the line of thinking according to which each individual musical expression is characterised by a unique conjunction of social, cultural and historical conditions, upon which, among others, its specificity rests. However, these conjunctions do not set up a framework within which legitimate musical identities are shaped i.e. they do not define which of the identities would be "appropriate", and which "inappropriate". In fact, quite the opposite, they encourage questioning, trying out and experimentation. It seems to me that, for that very reason, there is an absence of concern in the discourse of this festival regarding the possible loss of identity of particular music (and musicians) in the encounter with music (and musicians), which may have been foreign to it in the past. The authenticity and faithfulness to a specific space (locality, state, region) and time (the past, imagined tradition) is replaced by authenticity as a faithful reflection of one's own experience in contemporary times, which does not deny its determination by the past, nor its conditioning by the present.

Zagreb World Music Festival NEBO

Intercultural dialogue through the form of music strengthens the values of diverse cultures.

The Zagreb *NEBO*¹⁴ Festival was held for the first time in 2002, and is thus also the "youngest" of the festivals mentioned so far. The festival organisers – the Association for the Promotion of Traditional Music NEBO – describe it as a manifestation "which gives an insight into the recent offer of world music" and "by enabling an exchange of information, and recognizing the value and wealth of each, and even the smallest culture, promotes understanding and free communication" (<http://www.nebofestzagreb.com/festival/festival.htm>). Using the term "world music" in the name of the festival and not, for instance, the term "ethno music" as in the festivals mentioned so far, implies that the Croatian audience at the beginning of the 21st century is

¹⁴ NEBO is the short form of *New Basic Ethno Options*, but it is interesting to note that the word "nebo" (sky) is also found in the name of the art director of the festival, the journalist and musician, Nebojša Stijačić.

familiar with this term and is capable of concluding what type of music could be included in the programme i.e. what to expect from the Festival's concerts. It is interesting to note here that the descriptions of the music on the Festival's English Internet site, apart from the qualification "world", "traditional", "ethno", "folk" and "local" are also used.¹⁵ A broader reading of world music, according to which the musics qualifiable by this label are characterised by inspiration in musical heritage, is evident from the programmes of the four festivals discussed so far. Musicians who perform at foreign world music festivals, whose albums are produced by discographic companies specialising in world music, and who fall under the world music segment, according to the classification of the international music industry, have participated in the mentioned festivals. However, in addition to leading world music performers, at the NEBO festival also performed musicians like Elizabeta Toplek, the Split group *The Skelligs*, the Zagreb group *Cinkuši*, Italian players of the diatonic accordion Claudio di Muzio and Bruno Duranti, amateur folklore groups of Croatian national minorities, representatives of the "Istrian ethno musicscene" Dario Marušić and Livio Morosin, and the *Hrvatski gajdaški zbor* ensemble.¹⁶ Exceptionally important aspects of the festivals, as far as the organisers are concerned, are the music workshops, lectures and discussions with the musicians. Through these, they try to "include the audience into the creative processes and to expand their knowledge of diverse cultural and musical traditions and instrument-building" (<http://www.nebofestzagreb.com/en/en.htm>). The workshops held so far have always been conducted by musicians taking part in the festival concert programme, and have been

¹⁵ "Zagreb World Music Festival NEBO... is the festival of the traditional, ethno, folk and local or world music" (<http://www.nebofestzagreb.com/en/en.htm>).

¹⁶ The music-making of Elizabeta Toplek, a singer from Međimurje, whom the media often call the "Croatian Cesaria Evora", cannot be linked closely with the phenomenon of world music in the narrow sense. Her initial engagement with music dates back to a time when the concept of world music did not carry the meaning attached to it today. Her music-making was linked with the church choir and the amateur folklore group (KUD) of her native village Donja Dubrava, and did not depend on the mechanisms of the music industry. On the other hand, however, her current popularity is undoubtedly linked to a considerable extent to the interest of the Croatian audience in traditional music i.e. music inspired by tradition. It seems to me that this is the source of the comparison with the world music diva Cesaria Evora. Teta Liza could thus become a symbol of Croatian world music or at least a model to the younger generations of musicians who find inspiration for their own musical expression in local traditional musics. The performances of the vocal groups of the KUD (amateur folklore group) "Joakim Hardi" from Petrovac, the KUD "Ivan Brnjik Slovak" from Jelisavac, the KUD "Branko Radičević" from Darda and the KUD "Marco Garbin" from Rovinj are interesting in the context of the approach to world music demonstrated at the NEBO festival. Including amateur folklore groups into the programme is not a regular practice of this festival, and it is unlikely that representatives of Croatian KUDs will be found in the programmes of future NEBO festivals. Mentioned groups were not included in the programme because of their approach to the tradition which they represent, but exclusively because of their status as representatives of ethnic minorities in Croatia.

dedicated to the traditional musical instruments of Macedonia, the techniques of traditional Mongolian singing, the Finnish traditional music and the vocal heritage of the Sami culture.

Although different in concept from the *Ethnoambient Salona* festival, this festival, too, does not manage to avoid poetisation of the discourse on individual music instruments and musicians. The voice of the Tibetan singer Yungchen Lhamo thus becomes a voice "which allows an insight into the heart of Tibetan culture, and confers God's blessing on the listener", the music-making of the Mongolian group *Egshiglen* "exudes the freedom and strength of a simple life in harmony with Nature", while the *Dragan Dautovski Quartet* "drawing strength from the mystery of ancient folklore tunes (...) emphasises the mystical force of the traditional, which it inserts into modern music trends and thus attracts devotees of primordial sound" (<http://www.nebofestzagreb.com/2002/2002.htm>).

Multikultura

This is the very peak of world music and a multicultural cycle that has not yet been held in these regions.

Unlike all the forms of world music presentation on stage mentioned so far, the programmes of *Multikultura*, "a project which deals with the phenomenon of cultural diversity – the existence of many cultures, or multi cultures", are not conceived as a festival. The very fact that they are not held over a short time period filled with almost full-day events but extend throughout the entire year, makes them the most visible and media-exposed world music events in Croatia. The way in which *Multikultura* has gradually won the public space it occupies today – from the premises of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Zagreb to the *Vatroslav Lisinski* Concert Hall – is a symptomatic and illustrative reflection of the transposing of world music in Croatia, from an alternative marginal programme to elite, spectacular musical events. The "cultural diversity" construct has been and remains at the centre of its programmes, along with world music as a medium for concretising those diversities, and an effective means in the struggle against prejudices about such diversity. What has changed, apart from the physical and social space, are the representational forms through which that construct is presented in the media, the programmes and on the stage itself.

At the very outset, while the *Multikultura* programmes were still being presented at the Faculty of Philosophy, the representational framework was conceived as a "presentation of individual cultures in multi-dimensional and multi-media programmes" in which "the theoretical aspect" was unified with "several forms of cultural activity (visual art, music, performing arts, film...)" (<http://www.multikultura.org/onama.htm>). At the beginning, music – live

performed or reproduced – represented only one of the "dimensions" of the programme, while today the music itself is at the very core, and other "dimensions" have gradually disappeared. The case of the (re)presentation of Pakistan, that is, Pakistani culture and music, can serve as an example of the metamorphosis from the content-wise ambitious to the financially and organisationally ambitious *Multikultura* programmes.

The first programme entitled "Pakistani Night" was held in 1997 (the year in which the *Multikultura* programmes commenced) at the Faculty of Philosophy, and included "a lecture with slides given by a native speaker, a performance by guests from Pakistan (traditional songs), reproduced music and Pakistani tea" (www.multikultura.org/arhiva.htm). In the next programme held in 1998 entitled "'Kavali' Music Night", along with "slides showing 'Velebit' [alpine club expedition] in Pakistan, a lecture about Pakistan and Kavalli [sic] music, translation of songs from Urdu to Croatian (by a native speaker), Kavalli live (Arieb & friends)", "a Pakistani beverage" was offered (ibid.). The 2003 concert given by the Pakistani ensemble *Rizwan Muazzam Qawwali* was held at the *Vatroslav Lisinski* concert hall, and was preceded by a lecture given by Aslam Azhar, "the founder of Pakistani Television and one of the greatest authorities in the field of culture in Pakistan" entitled "Upoznavanje kulturom između Istoka i Zapada" (ibid.). Apart from the concert performance by the Pakistani ensemble *Faared Ayaz Qawwal*, which was held in May 2005 as part of the *Croatia Osiguranje World Music Cycle*, there were no accompanying programmes.

Over the period of nine years, the *Multikultura* programmes have grown in importance, they have been given considerably more media coverage, they have established themselves at the very centre of the city's cultural life and become a kind of a symbol of the tolerance and multiculturalism of Croatian society at the beginning of the new (Christian) millennium. On the other hand, they have lost many of the dimensions that set them apart from mere "consuming multiculturalism" and/or enjoyment of "musical diversity". It would seem that the tasting of "local culinary specialties", which used to be an almost inescapable element in the first *Multikultura* programmes, has been replaced in the more recent ones by, to use bell hooks' phrase, "eating the Other" (hooks 1992:39).

As part of the *Croatia Osiguranje World Music Cycle*, 7 of the most famous world music names from 4 continents will be visiting Croatia in the coming months. We will have an opportunity at the concerts at the *Lisinski* in Zagreb, and at the closing concert spectacle in the Pula Arena, to enjoy the dances and music of 35 Turkish dervishes, songs and music of the Cuban stars Omara Portuondo and Ibrahim Ferrer, and the conversations with God of the Pakistani qawwali master Faared Ayaz. The bohemian spirit of Bucharest from the beginning of the 20th century will be presented to us by the Romanian-British ensemble, the *Balancescu Quartet*, with their multimedia project "Maria Tanase". We

will have an opportunity to enjoy the African singing of the Zulu ensemble *Ladysmith Black Mambazo* and to travel to the tropical island of Cape Verde on the wings of the music of the barefoot diva, Cesaria Evora. (...) This is the very peak of world music and a multicultural cycle that has not yet been held in these regions. We shall be presenting the immeasurable wealth of great cultural traditions in one cycle in which the quality of each concert will point to their common origin (<http://www.tportal.hr/worldmusic/fset.html>).

This brief announcement of the 2005 world music series of concerts organised by *Multikultura* is filled with numerous aspects of the popular discourse on world music that, it seems not without reason, have found themselves at the centre of sharp criticism on the part of experts. We could really observe the music of the Other i.e. the "cultural diversity" construct set on stage and wrapped in the rhetoric of multiculturalism, tolerance and political correctness, as some sort of global sampling or postmodern bricolage. Comfortably lounging in the seats of the largest and most elite Croatian concert hall, having paid for the increasingly expensive tickets, the audience has received in return: (a) an opportunity to be present at a "multicultural cycle that has not yet been held in these regions"; (b) enjoyment in the music and dance of Cuban stars, the spirit of Bucharest from the beginning of the 20th century and (pan)African singing; (c) the voyeur-like pleasure of peering into the mystic and intimate atmosphere of "conversations with God" and (d) a relatively cheap trip to a tropical island. According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, simply "the feeling that you are there, and nothing is between you" is "like photographs that conceal the camera or the photographer that made them. These are illusions with a price. The interface – folk festivals, museum exhibitions, historical villages, concert parties, postcards – are cultural forms in their own right and powerful engines of meaning" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995:375). The fact that the intermediaries in that intercultural pseudo-dialogue are concealed does not lessen its attractiveness. The meanings they produce through the promotional discourses are accepted, according to Hutnyk, almost without any critical detachment whatsoever.

... audiences today are largely uncritical of world music. In the face of what must be a largely incomprehensible exchange, however much Qawwals or bhangra or whatever can be described as being able to cross over, it is stretching the notion of the universal language of music and rhythm a little to think that there are no lacunae here (Hutnyk 2000:22).

According to Ronström's interpretation, festivals are deeply embedded in at least three different economies. The first of these is linked to the "normal" money economy (festivals as parts of the global capitalist market economy); the second to the symbolic economy, where the currency is cultural status, or value, cultural capital; and the third, perhaps also the most interesting, is

attention economy. Festivals have importance conferred on them in the attention economy for the very reason that they produce visibility and attention capital.

The visibility can be sold, as can the attention be re-directed. Both state institutions and private companies are interested in potential buyers. A big company can buy visibility for money that is then distributed to artists, in exchange for redirecting attention to the company. Individuals and organisations with cultural capital can sell their services to festivals (for example as opening speakers, guests of honour etc), which in turn might raise the visibility and attention for the festival as such as well as for the artists. Often individual artists or groups perform as representatives for a collective of some kind, an ethnic group, a local community, a region, or a nation. The visibility and attention the artist can achieve can easily be transferred to this collective. This makes festivals an important potential resource for groups that consider themselves underprivileged, and therefore strive to raise their status and recognition in society (Ronström 2001:61).

All the aspects of attention economy that Ronström speaks about can also be observed in world music festivals in Croatia. Therefore, we can also speak of these festivals as venues of the social, cultural, but also political life of Croatia, which vouch visibility simultaneously to the musicians, and the organisers, and the sponsors, and the audience, but also to the State authorities. The idea of music as a particular artistic form of expression that can contribute to the convergence of cultures, promote tolerance, set aside hostility and deepen understanding and respect for "different" cultures, can be found in the rhetoric of all the festivals mentioned, although sometimes as a mere undertone. Although this idea is often far from the actual experience of and relation towards the Other, it can undoubtedly be (mis)used as proof of the tolerant, non-xenophobic and open nature of the Croatian society. The creation of such an impression, even though it may be only an impression with little or no basis in reality, nowadays seems highly important in the political identity of Croatia. Thus, it is not surprising, only three years after the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia refused to issue visas to Pakistani musicians whose concert was being organised at the *Lisinski* concert hall by *Multikultura*, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia became a patron of *Multikultura's* 2005 world music series of concerts, as part of which as I have already mentioned, the concert of the Pakistani musicians was held. On the other hand, recently we could speak of a certain type of elitisation of world music, since the tickets for the concerts of leading world music stars are becoming increasingly expensive, which profiles its concert audiences to a certain extent. When Cesaria Evora's concert was held in the *Lisinski* concert hall in April 2005, which Zlatko Gall wrote about in the text from which the quote at the beginning of this paper was taken, the concert was attended by the president of Croatia. After the

concert, as we could read in the papers, he hosted a backstage party in honour of the singer, which was no doubt attended by respected VIPs. This party, it seems to me, is a good example of the growing "visibility" of world music in the cultural, social, and political venues of Croatia, but primarily, of the profiling of its elite, VIP audience, its instrumentalisation for political purposes, and a clear confirmation of the applicability of Ronström's conclusion about the role of attention economy in such events.

In closing, I would like to return to a question posed at the beginning of this article – Have world music events become profitable investments? A clear, unambiguous response to this question was given by the Chairman of the Board of *Croatia osiguranje* Insurance Company, the sponsor of the 2005 *Croatia Osiguranje World Music Cycle* – "Investment in culture is more profitable than investment in sport, in soccer let's say" (Vojković, in Haznadar 2005). If we take into account the fact that Croatia is a country in which investments in sports reach a really high level, this statement could become a warranty of sorts that an even larger number of world music concerts will be held in the future. It will be interesting to observe whether there will be changes in representational strategy and the discourses on world music and what direction they will take.

If we accept the reading of world music offered by the discourses of Croatian world music festivals, according to which this is music whose origins or inspiration lie in traditional musics, but also music that can contribute to a more tolerant attitude towards other cultures, and to the understanding and celebration of cultural diversity, Čulić's intolerant attitude towards the *International Folklore Festival* and his appeal for its discontinuation and a re-channelling of funds to organise a "respectable ethno or world music festival" becomes somewhat contradictory and, at the very least, prescriptive. Could it really be that there is only one valid representational framework in which it is possible to (re)present world music? It seems to me that the diverse approaches that I have tried to present and interpret in this article tell us that this might not be the case.

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SLAVI KULTURNU RAZLIČITOST! KUPI KARTU! ČITANJE DISKURSA *WORLD MUSIC* FESTIVALA U HRVATSKOJ

SAŽETAK

World music festivali posljednjih desetak godina postaju sve važnijim dijelom hrvatske glazbene scene. Premda bismo ih mogli promatrati kao aspekte društvenog i kulturnog života u kojima se "bezazlen", "ugodan" i "neposredan" susret s drugim kulturama zbiva kroz glazbu, nerijetko interpretiranu kao "jedan od savršenih medija za kulturnu razmjenu", promatrati ih isključivo s toga gledišta značilo bi zanemariti čitav niz diskurzivnih strategija, interpretacijskih poteza i reprezentacijskih konstrukata koji *world music* festivale čine

dogđajima ispunjenim društvenim, kulturnim, ali i duboko političkim značenjima. Ovaj se članak bavi upravo tim "neglazbenim" aspektima *world music* festivala. Analizirajući reprezentacijske diskurse pet hrvatskih festivala (koncerti etno glazbe *Međunarodne smotre folklor*a, *Ethnoambient Salona*, *Istra etno jazz*, *Zagrebački world music festival NEBO* i *Multikultura*) autorica pokušava predstaviti i interpretirati raznolike pristupe (re)prezentaciji, festivalizaciji i "prevođenju" *world musica*, no istodobno i iščitati višesmjerna kretanja od "globalnog" modela do "lokalnih" inačica njegove festivalizacije u Hrvatskoj.

Ključne riječi: *world music*, festivali, reprezentacijski diskursi, Hrvatska