Faculty of Humanites and Social Sciences Zagreb

Ivana Lučića 3, 10 000 Zagreb, Croatia

Department of Anthropology and Department of Pedagogy

Mentors: doc.dr.sc.Caroline Hornstein Tomić and prof.dr.sc.Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš

Youth entertainment in Croatia:

Behind the scenes of summer music festivals

(Master's thesis)

Tia Šimanović

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To my mom, who is always there for me and my sisters. Who always knows how to give us just the right amount of support and help, not to make us feel impotent and incapable; who showers us with love and tenderness in just a right amount not to make us spoiled; who knows when to get angry at us and make us regret for what we have or have not done; who can perfectly balance when to push us a little if we start to fall apart and when to leave us on our own, to make us learn to cope with situations this life has prepared for us.

To my mom, who is always somewhere near us, but leaves us alone to learn from our mistakes on our own; who lets us fall but always picks us up; who supports us endlessly and makes us feel as we can conquer the world if we just try hard enough; who makes us feel indestructible.

For you mom, who instilled in us feelings of pride, ability, and self-respect; who gives us the power to act. You let us lead our own battles, but in times of trouble and darkness you are there to guide us and hold our hands and we always know you are here for us to turn to.

I love you mom!

In addition, I would not be who I am and where I am right now without the immense support from my sisters, Dora and Maša. You always encouraged me to give my best, to fight for what I believe in and to, sometimes, slow down a little, forget about others and focus on myself.

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Content

1. Abstract

Erving Goffman presented a sociological analysis of the relationship between a performance and life in his book *The presentation of self in everyday life*. I decided to link his view to Croatian youth, music they listen to and a phenomenon of music festivals. According to Goffman, performance refers to all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers which has some influence on them (Goffman, 1959:22). Using this definition to try to anthropologically deconstruct a festival, clash the impression of a visitor with the one of an employee at such a venue and emphasize the importance of such phenomena among young people in Croatia, while relating it to a plethora of topics and issues adolescents face during their youth and growing up period, will be the main point of this thesis. Being liminal, neither here nor there, betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial (Turner, 1969:95) is the term that perfectly reflects both conditions: the maturation phase as well as working on a festival. On a more convoluted level, festivals reflect the individual's state of mind and mirror the person's internal struggles – similar to those every adolescent goes through during the period of transition from childhood into adulthood.

Key words: youth, interests and values, music festivals, subcultures, free time

1.1. Sažetak

Erving Goffman objavio je sociološku analizu odnosa između nastupa (performansa) i života u knjizi *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Odlučila sam povezati njegovu analizu sa životom mladih u Hrvatskoj, glazbom te fenomenom glazbenih festivala. Prema Goffmanu, izvedba se odnosi na sve aktivnosti pojedinca koje se događaju tijekom određenog razdoblja u kojem je on ispred određenog broja promatrača te na njih vrši određeni utjecaj (Goffman, 1959:22). Kroz ovaj rad koristit ću navedenu definiciju kako bih s antropološkog stajališta dekonstruirala festival, sukobila stajališta posjetitelja sa onima radnika na takvim mjestima te naglasila važnost ovog fenomena među mladim ljudima u Hrvatskoj, istovremeno ga povezujući sa brojnim problemima i poteškoćama kroz koje mladi prolaze tijekom odrastanja. Biti u sredini, niti ovdje niti ondje, između društvenih položaja definiranih zakonom, običajima, konvencijama i ceremonijama (Turner, 1969:95) sintagma je koja savršeno opisuje oba navedena stanja: fazu mladosti i sazrijevanja kao i rad na festivalima. Na

nekoj višoj razini, glazbeni festivali odražavaju stanje uma pojedinca te zrcale unutarnje sukobe kroz koje svaki adolescent prolazi u procesu prijelaza iz djetinjstva u odraslost.

Ključne riječi: mladi, interesi i vrijednosti, glazbeni festivali, subkulture, slobodno vrijeme

2. Introduction

In this paper I would like to provide an insight into young people in Croatia and their ways of spending free-time and having fun, as well as elaborate what the broad term "youth" encompasses in traditional and modern societies. It is a subject social sciences have tackled for several decades without a tacit result and, in the best of times, the category "youth" gets articulated as an absent presence (Roman, 1996:1). Who are young people? How do they live? How much space and power do they have in influencing today's policies for their world of tomorrow? Are their voices heard and counted for? (Spajić-Vrkaš, 2002:1) Are they an age-determined group and what does it take to be classified as "youth"?

In the colloquial sense, to be a youth is to be distinguished from the remainder of the population. They enjoy a greater amount of social power than children, but less than adults; they are more likely to be unemployed, earn less or be engaged in study than adults; they consume cultural phenomena and assume styles of behavior and dress that are different from the habits of children and adults, which makes them recognizable, especially in Western cultures (Heaven, Tubridy, 2003:150).

According to the United Nations Publication there are 1.8 billion young people worldwide (UNFPA, 2014:ii) making them a very important part of a society, that is shaping and leading our global future. Their values, interests and viewpoints can largely be interpreted through music they listen to, in that the nature of musical taste is a multi-faceted and fluid form of expression. Music generates a range of moods and experiences (Bennet, 1999:611). Since it first became a focus for sociological interest during the mid-1970s, the relationship between youth culture and popular music has been the subject of great number of books, journal articles, conferences and courses taught as part of university degree programs (Bennett, 2002:451).

In recent years, there has been a shift in values and interests of today's youth in Croatia. Although the European trend shows that each new generation is being more liberal than the previous one, in Croatia recently emerged the first generation that is more traditional and conservative than their parents. According to an article in the *Slobodna Dalmacija*

newspaper from 2013, such trend is being overtly expressed[1]. Young people are ignoring the music of their parents - rock-music, and are turning back to music of their grandparents like turbofolk and "cajke", that are a variation of "national music" their grandparents used to enjoy[1].

Music festivals are therefore an important part of youth culture. It is a place where political, sexual or religious orientation is not the crucial factor of socialization. According to Goffman, there is one sociological perspective from which social life can be studied, especially the kind of social life that is organized within the physical confines of a building or plant (Goffman, 1959:Preface). Festivals are exactly places that are geographically defined and constrained. They are also places where bands and public can make a certain statement, overt or covert, and create a sense of cohesion, and feelings of belonging. According to Bennett, in consuming popular music the individual is free to choose not only between various musical styles and attendant visual images, but also how such choices are lived out and what they are made to stand for (Bennett, 1999:614). I witnessed a beautiful moment at the *Volt festival 2015* in Sopron, Hungary. There was a straight-edge punk band "Rise against" playing their song *"Hero of war"* with which they are trying to depict a variety of emotional struggles their soldiers are facing after the war. The society is so proud of their soldiers, sees them as heroes, wearing medals and scars. However, a soldier alone finds it hard to justify everything he/she has done and all the killings he/she has made. During the second chorus, right before the part of the song saying "*She walked through bullets and haze/I asked her to stop/I begged her to stay/But she pressed on/So I lifted my gun/And I fired away./The shells jumped through the smoke/And into the sand/That the blood now has soaked/She collapsed with the flag in her hand/The flag white as snow*", the audience sat on the ground symbolizing a surrender and a passive protest against wars[2]. The crowd was making a political statement.

Anthropologists have compared town festivals to traditional society's public rituals, since they reflect and justify contemporary values and social situations, as well as offer a vision of the future. For anthropologists, these celebrations have various important factors, such as preserving heritage, fostering social cohesion and releasing tensions accumulated from daily life (Shalinsky, 1985:1). Music festivals have from several tenths to more than a hundred thousand visitors from all over the world. I see them as an intriguing part of youth

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[1] http://slobodnadalmacija.hr/Spektar/tabid/94/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/208661/Default.aspx
[2] https://youtu.be/y3gNlj-lx3Y?t=2m5s

culture in that they break strict divisions between subcultures and soothe tensions among left- and rightwing politics, sexuality and religion; they are in a way a vacuum where those values do not play a crucial role. There is something that unites different people at such places and creates warm and supportive communities. Festivals offer a unified focus for learning about history, government, community, social interaction, traditional values and social change (Shalinsky, 1985:1). What Bennett said about urban music, can also be applied to festivals: "Rather than signaling the end of a subcultural "tradition", [dance music] festivals open up entirely new ways of understanding how young people perceive the relationship between musical taste and visual style which negates the notion of a fixed homological relationship between musical taste and stylistic preference by revealing the infinitely malleable and interchangeable nature of the latter as these are appropriated and realized by individuals as aspects of consumer choice (…) and is much less rigidly defined than was once thought" (Bennett, 1999:613).

To summarize, the goal of this thesis is to generally classify youth (in Croatia), their interests and values, music they listen to, places they go to and ways they spend their free-time. My classifications and definitions will be based on sociology, pedagogy and anthropology, various research reports of the stated population and some legal documents. I am going to relate this population to music, music genres, subcultures and countercultures as counter products of the youth-adult transition, as their way of handling the immense amount of pressure put onto them by the society and as means of expression. As Bennett puts it, while talking about the (British) post-war working class youth, the deviant behavior of youth cultures or "subcultures" has to be understood as the collective reaction of youth themselves to structural changes taking place in a society (Bennett, 1999:600). I will present an insight into summer music festivals in Croatia, to many of which I have had behind the scenes access, revealing the other side of the spectacular and shinny outside; the gloomier, behind the scenes side, and anthropologically deconstructing the festival. I am going to emphasize what it takes to make one music festival possible; how many people, how many working hours, logistics, volunteers, etc. and how demanding it is, from an organizational point of view, to stage a festival, by relating my own experience to Erving Goffman and his explanation of the self in everyday life through a staged theater performance. I will briefly conclude my thesis, summarizing everything I have been writing about, and stating once again the importance that music and music festivals play in understanding today's youth population.

3. Classification problem of the term "youth"

To be able to talk about youth culture, the term "youth" first needs to be defined. It is a concept that signals an age-based separation or segregation. Anthropological concern on the subject dates at least to 1920s and Margaret Mead's book *Coming of Age in* Samoa (Adelman, Yalda, 2000:40). Today's scholars speak of the invention of childhood, a life stage apart from adulthood, as a process that emerged (in Europe) between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Social, economic, and cultural power determine who is able and who is barred from living "as a child" (Adelman, Yalda, 2000:40). The U.S. English term "adolescent" dates to 1904, whereas the idea of the "teenager" arose in the mid-forties due to increasing number of young people intentionally shifted from the job market into high schools in order to secure jobs for "adult" men returning from the war (Adelman, Yalda, 2000:40). Youth is best understood as a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood's independence, making it a more fluid category than other age-groups. The term is often referred to a person between the ages of leaving compulsory education and finding their first job, which is for statistical purposes defined as ages 15-24 (UNDESA, 1). On the other hand, for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) youth are people between the ages 10 and 24 (UNFPA, 2014:ii). In traditional societies the transition from childhood into adulthood was quite obvious. However, there was a demographic shift in industrialized societies and from 1970s onwards, many of those transitional markers are being reached at older ages, for ex. the median age of first marriage, or the age of a first childbirth (Arnett, 2000:469). Marriage has lost on importance as a rite of passage into adulthood, since the number of cohabitations rises. The importance of parenting and having a private place to live, as the maturity indicator in Western societies, increased as well (Ilišin, Radin, 2002:28). The biological view of maturity is focused on the physical change resulting in sexual maturity encompassing age groups from 11-20. However, the age of sexual maturity has historically been decreasing and it varies on class belonging and geography (Bolin, 2004:238). From a cultural standpoint, youth often marks the beginning of a long-term engagement in particular cultural practices and it is not a highly salient life stage in all cultures (Bucholtz, 2002:527). It lacks clear definition and in some situations may be based on one's social circumstances rather than chronological age or cultural position (Bucholtz, 2002:526). This is a dynamic process of behavioral changes and changes in attitudes, which an individual or a group of certain social stratum expresses towards societal stimuli. For most people, the late teens through the mid-twenties are the most volitional years of life (Arnett, 2000:469).

Youth is designated by three types of maturation: physical, psychological and social. The end of these stormy processes is seen as the acquisition of an appropriate degree of social autonomy and independence, as well as responsibility for oneself, for others and for the community as a whole (Vrkaš, Ilišin, 2002:9). Several earlier theorists have proposed ideas about the developmental characteristics of a period that follows adolescence but is not fully adult, for example Arnett and his theory of Emerging Adulthood. Erikson proposed that identity is the central developmental issue of adolescence. He also commented on the "prolonged adolescence" and the psychosocial moratorium granted to children of industrialized societies - a period during which a young adult freely experiments hoping to find a niche in some section of his society (Erikson, 1968 in Reifman, Colwell, Arnett, 2007:41). According to Arnett, Stanley Hall's book *On Adolescence,* published in 1904, is widely viewed as the beginning of the field of adolescence as a research area for scholars and scientists (Arnett, 2006:186). For Hall, youth is a unique life phase of emotional and existential prosperity (Bolin, 2004:239), but at the same time a very risky period, which has to be carefully monitored. The risks concern the potential threats to various aspects of person's well-being: physical and mental safety, as well as social and economic safety, and health in the broadest sense of the word (Pavićević, 2014:78). It also refers to their engagement with risk, as the recognition that traditional pathways and directions of life-course development will no longer be available for them (Lightfoot, 1997 in Brice Heath, 1999:377). They see themselves as undertaking choice biographies rather than those that have previously been considered normal (Becks, 1992 in Brice Heath, 1999:377). Unpredictability, contingency and risk mark their future (Brice Heath, 1999:377). This is also the time during which a will to confront the authorities develops. As Hall asserted, it is a time of "storm and stress" when all young people "go through some degree of emotional and behavioral upheaval before establishing a more stable equilibrium in adulthood" (Arnett, 2006:186). Some youths represent contempt for and/or resistance to law and legal authority as part of their identity (Adelman, Yalda 2000:37). They are "caught up in the conflict between traditional social expectations and changing social realities" (Pomeroy, 2008:80) which may lead to feelings of insufficiency, failure and stigmatization. Collective solutions to such feelings are manifested as: (1) delinquent subcultures expressing dissatisfaction through antisocial or criminal avenues; (2) cultural rebellion through which dissatisfaction is expressed in avant-garde artistic forms, personal style and life-style variations; (3) reformist movements which seek to accentuate similarities between dominant culture and subordinate group and bring them close together and (4) political militancy which seeks to raise group consciousness and unify the

subordinate group as a class unto itself (Pomeroy, 2008:80). According to a publication from European Parliament, more than half of young Europeans feel that in their country young people have been marginalized and excluded from economic and social life (Flash Eurobarometer, 2014:2). According to Thornton, the two senses of difference – deviance/dissidence and discrimination/distinction – clarify the politics of the youthful will to classlessness. On one hand, they aspire to a more egalitarian and democratic world, whereas on the other, classlessness is a strategy for transcending being classed. It is a means of obfuscating the dominant structure in order to set up an alternative, as well as an ideological precondition for the effective operations of subcultural capital. This is a paradoxical cultural response of youth to the problem of age and the social structure (Thornton, 1995:209).

At this age people start experimenting with alcohol and drugs. Hall has identified the link between sensation-seeking and risk behavior in adolescence, stating how youth always seek for excitement. When this is not available in form of moral and intellectual enthusiasm, they will search for it in form of sex and drinking (Hall, 1904 in Arnett, 2006:188). As stated many times, youth is a stage of socialization and transition to adulthood. However, it is "being re-evaluated as a central and strategic phase inside the life course" (European Youth Trends, 1998:4). This conceptual shift came as a result of increased individualization of the growing up process, in sociological terms "diversification" of pathways into adulthood. Individuals can no longer follow paths predefined by their social origin, but rather "negotiate" their adult position. Nevertheless, their origin still matters, as does the cultural capital and the support they get from their families. The individual's capacity to successfully negotiate his/her transition also depends on the opportunities given as well as constrains related to gender and region that an individual lives in (European Youth Trends, 1998:4). Apart from the cultural capital, economic and social capitals also count as key determinants of someone's social status, as well as a person's origin and social background.

3.1 Emerging adulthood and (Croatian) job market trends

Arnett has proposed a new term for this period of youth – emerging adulthood. Emerging adults are people between roughly 18-25 years of age, who generally consider themselves as too old to be adolescents, but not yet full-fledged adults (Arnett, 2000 in Reifman, Colwell, 2007:41). Since they are exploring the world, they often engage in a variety of possible life directions regarding love, work, worldviews and education. This

period, according to Arnett, carries its own constellation of demographic and psychological correlates (Arnett, 2000 in Reifman, Colwell, 2007:41). He proposes five distinctive features that characterize this population nowadays: a) the age of identity explorations; b) the age of feeling in-between; c) the age of possibilities; d) the self-focused age and e) the age of instability. It is the age of identity explorations due to the aforementioned psychosocial moratorium that is now normative and takes place during these years. It is the feeling in-between because this population is no longer adolescent, but not yet fully grown-up. Since this period tends to be an optimistic time of life full of potential mates, job opportunities, social causes and other commitments that are perceived as being available, it is the age of possibilities as well. During this age an individual has the opportunity to experiment and try various educational paths, until he/she founds a perfect match and manages to envision or crystallize his/her future career. Self-focused age refers to the tendency of taking greater independence and responsibility for oneself compared to earlier ages, but with the sense of considerable personal freedom remaining. Emerging adults put focus on themselves in that they develop skills, knowledge and self-understanding needed for adult life. This is also a period of semi-autonomy, whereby youth go away to college, regulate their time usage by themselves, choose their activities and select peers on their own (not based on their close proximity anymore). However, the majority of students are still fully or partially funded by their parents – semi-autonomous (Arnett, 2000 in Reifman, Colwell, 2007:42). The dimensions Arnett has presented appear to refer in a relatively favorable light to experiences of exploring life options and moving up to adulthood. Regardless, it is very likely for emerging adults to experience negative aspects of this transition as well. Sometimes, the sheer number of available choices and points at which those choices need to be made could make an individual feel overwhelmed. Every change is unsettling, and some individuals may lack confidence and wherewithal to succeed, making this period the age of instability as well.

This instability and volatility are especially present with regard to jobs. The labor market in the 1990s was characterized by falling relative salaries, dwindling opportunities for permanent and full-time employment, and high unemployment rates (European Youth Trends, 1998:9). The striking fact is that youth unemployment is considerably higher than unemployment among adults and has been so throughout the last two decades (Görlich et al., 2012:2). Youth unemployment rates in Eastern and Central Europe are comparable to EU average (about 30%), but the reasons behind these facts are different. Many of the state enterprises that formerly recruited graduates from vocational and professional schools have

closed or downsized and new career roots have appeared: private businesses, self-employment and unemployment (European Youth Trends, 1998:10). As for the overall unemployment rate, the youth unemployment rate in the EU-28 declined sharply between 2005 and 2007, reaching its lowest value (15.1%) in the first quarter of 2008. However, the financial and economic crisis severely hit the young. From the second quarter of 2008, the youth unemployment rate followed an upward path peaking at 23.6% in the first quarter of 2013 (Eurostat, 2014). In 2013, Croatia ranked third in the European Union regarding youth unemployment with 49% of young people under the age of 25 with no job (Ilišin, Spajić-Vrkaš, 2015:54). According to Eurobarometer, 43% of young Europeans expressed voluntary mobility – a will to work or study in another EU country (European Parlament, 2014:2) and the main reason for it are the criteria of professional satisfaction (Hornstein Tomić, Pleše, 2013:83). Such aspirations were especially visible among young people from Croatia, Slovenia, Romania, Estonia, Cyprus and Italy (European Parlament, 2014:2). "According to the research-based 2012 EUROSTUDENT report for Croatia, (…) a majority of university students in Croatia have foreign language skills and would consider studying abroad were it not for the financial constraints" (Hornstein Tomić, Pleše, 2013:84). Harsh conflicts that emerged during the formation and establishment of countries in context of post-socialist transformation in Middle and Southeastern Europe intensified these migrations (Hornstein Tomić, 2015:66). According to Croatian Bureau of Statistics, current (2014) data on migrations confirm the rise in this mobility trend (Hornstein Tomić, 2015:68). Youth requires education, health care and jobs, which are in short supply in many countries (UNFPA, 2013:46). According to local website *dnevnik.hr*, in three years 32.500 people emigrated from Croatia[3]. However, according to Hornstein Tomić and Pleše (2013:83) a significantly high number of young scientists were more willing to switch professional fields and enter the private sector than go abroad. "The demand for young talent and professionals and demographic development require policies that will make Croatia an attractive destination for so-called knowledge workers and migrants" (Hornstein Tomić, Pleše, 2013:80).

Young people find it increasingly hard to find a job. They face higher barriers to entry into the labor market due to their lack of experience. They are most likely to have gained less job-specific experience, because the companies have invested less in training them and therefore lose less when laying them off relative to an adult experienced worker (Görlich et al., 2012:3). Something similar is expressed in Croatia through *Stručno osposobljavanje*,

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[3] http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/i-oni-su-otisli-hrvatsku-u-3-godine-napustio-grad-velicine-vinkovaca.html

where employers employ young people for a fixed rate in order for them to get a one-year experience needed before the state exam. Although it is a valuable experience, many young people are in fear they will lose their job after this period, since it is much more economic for the job-giver to take another student the next year, and so on than to offer the student permanent placement. One of the factors contributing to this higher cyclical volatility among youth is lower job protection. Severance pay tends to increase with tenure, making it cheaper to fire a young worker (Görlich et al., 2012:3). In addition, the education system is not adapted to the trends on the market. There is an increasing demand for certain professions on one hand, and a surplus of others on the other. According to Coenjaerts et al. (2009 in Görlich et al., 2012:4), the mismatch between the demand and supply of skills possessed by young workers has been mentioned to contribute to higher youth unemployment rates. Furthermore, Manacorda & Petrongolo (1999 in Görlich et al., 2012:4) show that there is a relationship between skills mismatch and total unemployment across OECD countries. On the other hand, youth are also more likely than adult workers to resign voluntarily because they are more likely to be willing to explore different opportunities before they settle. They also face a lower opportunity cost for resigning, are less likely to have dependents that they need to support, and turning to higher education is a more natural and viable option for them than for adults (Görlich et al., 2012:3).

It seems like the youth perception on their own unemployment coincides with stated data. Slightly less than one quarter of young Europeans think that the main problem is lack of practical experience, whereas 12% of them blame lack of training opportunities and 11% of youth view this as a result of poor careers advice at school. For 38% of young Europeans the most important difficulty in finding a job is the lack of jobs in their country (Eurobarometer, 2007:10). However, although there is a gradual rise in the number of young people on the labor market, since not all young people make this transition at the same age, there is a steep rise in labor market participation from 5% at age 15 to 80% at age 24 (Eurostat, 2015).

In Croatia, many students temporarily work through *Student servis,* certain student, relatively low-paid, jobs. However, in July 2015, new regulations were enforced stating that, from 2016, student income will be added to the total income of that family, which will result in losing the status of low socio-economic status for some families and consequentially losing the right to be in a dorm. A room in a dorm is much cheaper than renting an apartment and most students decided to work either for their pocket-money or to help their parents and

provide them with some extra money. Nevertheless, many of them will now be forced to either rent an apartment or quit their job[4].

3.2. Withdrawal of youth into their private spheres

Today's most common youth behavior is withdrawal from the world of adults (Ilišin, Radin, 2002:14) into their own, private, reserved spaces. Some theorists understand youth culture as relatively inscrutable and potentially dangerous to adults. They see it as bounded and segregationist and they see youths as alienated and isolated from real (adult) life (Adelman, Yalda, 2000:41). In Western societies the period of adolescence is characterized by exclusion (separation) through rituals that are not clearly defined. Ruth Benedict (1938, in Pavićević, 2014:81), noticed that numerous traditional societies provide a progressive set of steps that lead the young towards the roles and responsibilities of adulthood. Young westerners show tendencies to run away from responsibilities and they are tired of always having to choose something from this distorted reality in which there is always "too much" of everything - too many music genres, movies, newspapers, news, restaurants, food types, voice messages, text messages, social network posts… People are over-stimulated. Simmel uses the term *blasé* to refer to a specific state of mind (attitude) of people, living usually in metropolitan area, who "suffer" from consequences of rapidly shifting nerve simulations. Nerves are being stimulated to their utmost reactivity until they can no longer produce any reaction at all (Simmel, 1903:14). There are too many possibilities around us, and we became incapable to react to new stimulations with the required amount of energy (Simmer, 1903:14). In this reality, where nothing is truly real, young people reject this overt artificiality and find consolation in their own small world, music and nightlife. This is most easily seen when young people go out until the late night/early morning hours; like they are prolonging their stay in their own world, trying to make it last as long as possible and postponing their return to everyday life. They are finding their sanctuary in nightlife, far from reality, from their parents, from elderly and their everyday lives. It is a man's non-indulged aspiration and will to run away and make adventures (Leburić, 2007:22). To do something, to stand up to everyday's monotony, to widen the horizons, conquer and visit new places is always a challenge – festivals indulge every of the stated needs and desires. Free-time provides people with the power to distance from everyday life, putting them in some kind of a vacuum

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[4] http://www.jutarnji.hr/studenti-jos-ove-godine-zbog-rada-preko-sc-a-ne-gube-smjestaj-u-domu/1379927/

(Leburić, 2007:22). Young people no longer have to explain to their parents where and when they are going out; there is some kind of mutual respect and privacy. Although the emotional relationship between "children" and their parents still exists, and will exist throughout their lives, the elements of parent's repression are fading and the family's impact on youth socialization is not so strong any more. Young people need some new knowledge that their parents can no longer provide. This also means that leisure time and peer groups are becoming more important than parents and the time spent at work or school (Bolin, 2004:239). Consequently, the majority of festivals take place during summer, when there is no school and/or lectures at the faculty and when groups of youth can carelessly enjoy and, as Bennett would put it, take their culture and popular music beyond the realm of theoretical abstraction and into the clubs, streets and festival fields where young people and music interact (Bennett, 2002:464).

4. Youth as a threat to society

In defining this period usually negations are used, such as that youth is not a childhood anymore, but not yet adulthood. Youth is a time of, in a way, a revelation; a transition period between that of being constantly monitored, fed, cooked for, driven to places etc. into that of doing many of these things alone and what is most important, as we grow older, the amount of surveillance upon us is abating. All of a sudden, with minimum parental control, a person feels as if the whole world is his/hers. This behavioral trait beautifully coexists with current trends of the word "youth". Youth was once was the ultimate state, envied and romanticized by those who had left it behind and young people themselves were celebrated as the possessors of beauty and potential. Unfortunately, that trend has changed. The state of today's youth is not that romanticized any more. The process of maturing implies risk, and the risk discourse is often presented in public spheres as a negative, disturbing and cautionary attitude towards youth, labeling them as an age-category in peril, trouble (Pavićević, 2014:77). Contemporary television news and print media portray young people as out of control. Some adults even express and exhibit fear of youths, clinically referred to as ephebiphobia (Males, 1999 in Adelman, 2000:37). This problematic aspect of the process of growing up leads to an ambivalent social perception of youths. They are perceived as a precious social resource and as a category that is both threatened and threatening (Pavićević, 2014:78). On one hand, youth has been made to represent cultural degeneration and social ills, problems of integration and lack of normative transference between generations, and on the other hand they have become

the signifiers of a brighter future. Lately, they also symbolize consumerist and hedonist ideals, defiance of authority and the opening up of new identities and lifestyles (Bolin, 2004:240). The main reason for such behavior is that the majority of youth is on the border between the protected world of childhood and competitiveness of adult world, which expects from them an adequate social integration through takeover of solid social roles. However, this integration today, as well as in the second half of the 20th century, is a complex process in which young people tend to distance from the society and they perceive the society, due to their own vulnerability and specific life experience, as enmity (Ilišin, Spajić-Vrkaš, 2015:5). Although moral panics inescapably define all of this in the play of ideological discourses, they have the most powerful effect on those with the least power-youths themselves (Roman, 1996:22).

Today, some of the most common attributes regarding youth are *unemployed, disaffected, nuisance* and *drunken.* Almost all of the verbs associated with youth are violent or threatening, with *attack, smash, vandalize, intimidate* and *assault* all scoring highly (Hornby, 1988). Youths cannot simply meet – they *congregate, gather* or even *plague.* Teenagers, the stage before becoming a youth, rank equally bad. They are commonly being the object of verbs such as *kill, stab, and arrest* or *molest* and are described as *troubled, rebellious, spotty* or *pregnant.* They are commonly related to terms such as "dropping-out", "teen pregnancy", "teen suicide", "gang violence" and "juvenile delinquency" (Roman, 1996:1). No matter how pessimistic this sounds, it seems as if the youth is presented as the most problematic population. For this is also a period of intellectual growth and finalization of an individual as a person, completion of their views, values and beliefs and anything but a coherent, rational and down to earth approach will end up in failure. According to Griffin (1993, 1997 in Griffin, 2001:153) specific treatment regimes relating to the education, criminal/correction and clinical domains are frequently associated with specific discursive constructions of (certain) young people as disaffected, deficient or deviant: as "in trouble" or "troubling". If childhood means acceptance, and adulthood means conservatism, youth means rebelliousness (Heaven, Tubridy, 2003:149). In the name of social good, and in rejection of some forms of youth resistance (Giroux, 1996 in Adelman, 2000:37), adults urge increased regulation of young people: by strengthening school-based physical and/or moral authority over students (Devine, 1996 in Adelman, 2000:37), by revaluing community and family values (Bennett, 1992; Etzioni, 1993 in Adelman, 2000:38); and through expansion of the parental role of the state via the juvenile justice system (Simon, 1995 in Adelman, 2000:38). Unfortunately, the solution to such situation is presumed to lie in education programs which aim to *rehabilitate*

these "problem youth" through the eradication of their assumed deficiencies, often paying minimal attention to the economic and social conditions in which they live (Griffin, 2001:153). Public discourse has often treated young people as a barometer of social ills and means of establishing social control. As Mary Douglas (1966, in Turner, 1969:109) would argue: that which cannot be clearly classified in terms of traditional criteria of classification, or falls between classificatory boundaries, is almost everywhere regarded as "polluting" and "dangerous". According to Pavićević (2014:78), their behavior is not a generator of social chaos and disturbance, as interpreted in the spirit of "moral panic", but rather phenomena that arise as a consequence of a constant socio-cultural change in their environment that is inevitably inclusive of risk on a daily basis. It is therefore important to teach the youth how to spend their free time constructively and how to make the most of it. Unfortunately, largely due to media (mis)representation, this population is being constantly monitored and judged. Nonetheless, as Griffin puts it, if "youth" serves as an important signifier for "the state of the nation", and as a conduit for dealing with social, economic and political crises, then we should not be surprised to discover that the adult fascination with the youth continues to be articulated in relation to the "youth as trouble" paradigm, taking a complex variety of forms in different contexts (Griffin, 2001:162).

4.1. The Concept of Moral Panic

Delinquency, subculture, style, youth culture, vandalism, drugs and hooliganism are closely related to the term "moral panic" (Cohen, 1972:vii). The term may be defined as an episode, often triggered by alarming media stories and reinforced by reactive laws and public policy, of exaggerated or misdirected public concern, anxiety, fear, or anger over a perceived threat to social order (Krinsky, 2013:1). Jock Young first used the term "moral panic" in 1970s, to refer to rise in drug abuse (Perasović, 1999:77). Moral panics can be distinguished from other official discourses in that they produce subjects which are the focus of fear and moral consternation. For them to be successful, they first have to engage people's attention and then create possibilities for identification with the named "crisis" (Roman, 1996:10). Its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media (Cohen, 2002 in Krinsky, 2013:4). On the one hand they uphold traditional values, while on the other they stimulate the development of new, critical values, particularly among young people (Helve, 1999). Due to such presentation, many youth gatherings are perceived in a wrong way. For example, 2015 was the third year that *The Ultra festival* took place in Split, Croatia. Media

reported on the number of intoxicated, hospitalized and arrested people. Although this year the public was already more tolerant towards this population, the first two years they were perceived very negatively – mostly due to drug use. However, this year there were more than 100.000 people and the only material damage was made on four public buses and the total cost of damage is estimated on 10.000 kuna[5]. On the other hand, during those three days of festival in Split, Croatia earned more than 500 million kuna[6]. Nevertheless, this festival will always face public misunderstanding and misinterpretation, and it will always have the flare of "drugged people", which is largely due to music that is being played at such an event that is connected to drug (mis)use. According to Roman (1996:11), one common semiotic feature of moral panics is the reification of the supposed differences between those constructed as other and those so constructing them. One other common feature has to do with keeping the other the subject of pathology, deviance, or blame so as to render it constantly and irredeemably alien. The flip side of *othering* is *normalizing* those in power by regularizing their so-called positive attributes of character, demeanor, cultural and socioeconomic background, and so on (Roman, 1996:11). It might be that such festivals are considered pure evil, simply because a huge amount of young people attend them and the majority population does not know what to expect. Moral panic emerges as a result of ignorance.

The objects of moral panic are rather predictable. They are new and hard to recognize; deceptively ordinary and routine, but invisibly creeping up the moral horizon. They are also old, camouflaged versions of traditional and well-known evils. They are damaging in themselves, but also a warning sign of the real, much deeper and more prevalent condition. They are both transparent and visible, but also opaque – experts must explain the perils hidden behind the superficially harmless (Cohen, 2002:viii). A moral panic may be defined as an episode, often triggered by alarming media stories and reinforced by reactive laws and public policy, of exaggerated or misdirected public concern, anxiety, fear, or anger over a perceived threat to social order. Kenneth Thompson has called the early or mid-1990s „the age of the moral panic" (Thompson, 1998 in Krinsky, 2013:1). The two most relevant frameworks in the case of moral panics come from the sociology of law and social problems and the sociology of collective behavior. The field of collective behavior provides detailed accounts of cases of mass hysteria, delusion and panics (Cohen, 1972:11). Stanley Cohen

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[5] http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Spektakli/tabid/79/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/292388/Default.aspx
[6] http://www.jutarnji.hr/splitska-ultra-hrvatskoj-ce-donijeti-pola-milijarde-kuna/1381083/?utm_campaign=partners&utm_medium=widget&utm_source=slobodnadalmacija.hr

made this phenomenon a fertile sociological concept and anticipated the principle of relationship between the dominant culture and the culture of youth (Perasović, 1999:77).

The situation of youth in Croatia is being additionally burdened by growing-up in a transitional society with only two decades of building a democratic society and politics as well as due to the war, whose material, social and political consequences are still visible (Ilišin, Spajić-Vrkaš, 2015:4). There was a 4-year long research, funded by the European Commission, in which youth from 14 European countries were surveyed, regarding their views on politics, history, economy, minorities etc. for that certain country. Once again the media turned to sensationalism with titles such as *"Every third person between the ages of 16 and 25 would support military dictatorship"* or *"Young Croats want a firm leader, do not spend time with Serbs and Roma population, and would not have anything against military dictatorship".* However, one of the leaders of the project, Benjamin Perasović, stated in the article how one should be careful in interpreting the results and not jump into conclusion how young Croats are in favor of totalitarianism. In his opinion, such results are the youth's reaction to inefficient democracy and overall dysfunction of our country[7].

It stays open for further discussion whether the concept of moral panics is always approved and how much effect do the modern media have. However, being a neophyte in a certain society and always under pressure, results in developing an intense comradeship and egalitarianism among them (Turner, 1969:95); they tend to stick together. According to Turner, when referring to youth movements in the 1960s, some groups, such as the beats and the hippies, even use symbols and liturgical actions, "mind-expanding" drugs, rock music, and flashing lights to try to establish a "total" communion with one another (Turner, 1969:138). Such feelings and tendencies are one of the characteristics of music festivals, where everyone is there for one another. The festival community lends itself well to musical involvement and interaction among participants and performers. People who travel to the festival, whether as participants, volunteers and/or performers, have committed themselves to being a part of the festival community for the weekend. Everyone camps together, eats the same food and drinks the same water (Snell, 2005:4). I would use here Turner's term – communitas, presenting the blend of lowliness and sacredness, of homogeneity and comradeship. It is a moment in and out of time (Turner, 1969:96) – far from reality, far from everyday routine, out of regular time-frame, and yet subjugated to time and schedules. In

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[7] http://www.jutarnji.hr/mladi-traze-vodu-cvrste-ruke--svaki-treci-pripadnik-generacije-izmedu-16-i-25-godina-podrzao-bi-uvodenje-vojne-diktature/1363644/

words of Gibson and Connell (2012 in Ballantyne, 2014:66) most festivals create a time and space of celebration, a site of convergence separate from everyday routines, experiences and meanings – ephemeral communities in place and time.

4.2. Subcultures and countercultures

4.2.1. Chicago and Birmingham school

Chicago School is most commonly related to urban sociology denoting the beginnings of the discussion of sociology of subculture. It acted in the 1920s and 1930s and its ideas get periodically resuscitated in modern sociology. It had three intertwined dimensions – (1) Theory of human ecology and socio-spatial relations, (2) theory of social disorganization and (3) methodological, qualitative return to data. Chicago school was determining relations between the spatial and the social, comparing social processes (competition, segregation, accommodation) to similar processes in plants and animals. It comprised two ideal types of order: biotic, where competition reigns, and cultural, emphasizing a consensus and dynamic equilibrium (Perasović, 1999:12). In today's society these two types of order might be translated to the clash between politics and dominant culture, and youth with its subcultures and trends. Chicago methodology would today be most similar to urban ethnology or ethnography. Criminologist Sutherland introduced the theory of delinquent subculture, and Chicago criminology created theory of differential association that explained how social groups engage in normative conflicts and that the process of learning can mean acquiring deviant behavior. Clifford Shaw, on the other hand, expressed how delinquency is not an expression of evil and misconduct, but rather a quest for stimulation and excitement (Perasović, 1999:15), a concept already discussed with regard to youth population and their engagement in risky behavior. However, cultural values and moral standards of delinquency clash with those of conventional society (Perasović, 1999), exacerbating the problem. Sociologists therefore still pay attention and conduct research on the delinquent subculture. Much of the early research on youth cultures and subcultures emerged from the so-called "Birmingham School" during the 1960s and 1970s (Griffin, 2001:150). Although the main actors of this school were against the use of the term, the term persisted to this day, when the school as such is no longer active (Perasović, 1999:92). Such studies took a critical look at the moral panics over the activities of white, working-class, British males. The researchers drew on arguments from the sociology of deviance to counter the representation of youth as

deviant, criminal and a threat. By taking their perspectives seriously, researchers challenged the predominance of the psycho-biological model of adolescence which underpins the Storm and Stress model (Griffin, 2001:150). Main actors of the first period of this school were John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson and Brian Roberts. They viewed youth as a forced category and a metaphor of social change in postwar Britain. They wanted to de-throne the term "youth culture" and believed that dominant culture is the only culture, whereas repressed cultures fight the dominant one. Subculture is a part of a parent culture – its subsystem (Perasović, 1999:99). Paul Willis, another author of this school, introduced the term "homology" and found the connection between values and certain life-styles. He also found that music has the ability to express meanings that correspond to other aspects of life of a certain group (Perasović, 1999:102/103). As Thornton would say, subcultural ideologies are means by which youth imagine their own and other social groups, assert their distinctive character and affirm that they are not anonymous members of an undifferentiated mass (2005:201).

John Clark introduced the term "bricolage" as a concept of recontextualization and remodeling. This concept plays a great role in constructing a style (Perasović, 1999:104). When "bricoleur" removes a certain significant matter to another place within the same sign system, he/she gives it a new discourse and emits a different message (Clark, 1976 in Perasović, 1999:104). Regarding a subculture, this intervention has to be related to an item of a great significance in a coherent system in order to make this relocation and transformation visible (Perasović, 1999:104). Creating new subcultures does not mean making something out of nothing, but transforming and rearranging something that was received or borrowed into a pattern with new meanings (Clark, 1976 in Perasović, 1999:104). Subcultures are made through differential selection from the existing pattern. Thorton also emphasizes this fluidity in subcultures, referring it to the "Club culture". Club culture is not a unitary culture but a cluster of subcultures which share territorial affiliation, but maintain their own dress codes, dance styles, music genres and rituals – they are *taste cultures*. Taking part in club cultures builds further affinities, socializing participants into a knowledge of meanings and values of the culture. Clubs and raves house *ad hoc* communities with fluid boundaries which may come together and dissolve in a single summer or endure for several years (Thornton, 2005:200). That is the beauty of music festivals where these views manifest – various nationalities, various music types, various fashion styles, and various cultures building a new community, united only by their music preference, socializing and making "friends" that may

end up the very next day, but might as well last for years. It is not even unusual to have "festival friends", people with whom one rarely meets, but with whom one always attends festivals.

4.2.2. Subcultures

Youth are seen as the part of society that is most likely to engage in a process of cultural borrowing that is disruptive of the reproduction of traditional cultural practices. Youth subcultures are seen as being implicitly rebellious, born as much from a desire to reject the generation that went before them, as from an identification with what they have become (Heaven, Tubridy, 2003:149). In sociology and cultural studies, a subculture is a group of people within a culture that differentiates itself from the parent culture to which it belongs, often maintaining some of its founding principles[8]. However, it usually differs in behavior and value systems from the majority, sometimes involving breaking the laws of the conventional, dominant group. They are typically anti-establishment and confrontational, but it does not mean they are always conscious and that they deliberately criticize dominant culture (Heaven, Tubridy, 2003:151). Mainstream media likes to portray them as dangerous and link them to delinquency (Heaven, Tubridy, 2003:150). Subcultures can be related to music genres and they usually have their own ideology. In 1950s there were working-class subcultures that resisted subordination through the production of their own culturally subversive styles. They were related to American rhythm and blues music and known as beatniks and teddy boys (Kahn, Kellner, 2003:301). A subculture seizes to exist once it becomes appropriated by the mainstream. For that reason, a decade later youth turned to the mods as well as the hippie and countercultural styles of sex, drugs and rock and roll (Kahn, Kellner, 2003:301). In 1967 was the great *Summer of love* – a social phenomenon where more than 100.000 people converged in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood in San Francisco and started a Hippie Revolution[9]. The 1960s were the years when the first skinheads emerged in Great Britain – influenced by Jamaican rude boys styles and culture and related to hard-working class as well[10]. These years were characterized by disco scene and Studio 54 too. It was the time of political movements, such as gay rights movement and worldwide movements against the Vietnam War.

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[8] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subculture
[9] https://en.wikipedia.org/?title=Summer_of_Love
[10] https://en.wikipedia.org/?title=Skinhead

Additionally, there was a massive student protest in France[11] and Germany in 1968. After the commercialization and appropriation of the counterculture in the 1970s, youth turned to new movements – for example punk (Kahn, Kellner, 2003:301).

What is interesting regarding punk is that it is, up to this day, one of the least (if not the least) understood subcultures which dominant culture tends to completely misrepresent– due to their misunderstanding of punk and punk values. The punk subculture has its own way of describing people, places, and events which are important to them (Pomeroy, 2008:83). As with any scene, there are "good guys" and "bad guys". The nature of the styles adopted by punk rockers and the form of the artistic expression may lead outsiders to view this as a delinquent subculture, but their purpose is primarily to provoke reaction and affirm personal identity (Pomeroy, 2008:87). The characteristics of the punks in a certain area will define the kind of scene that community will have. Nazi punks are often violent and affiliated with white supremacist organizations. Straight-edge punks do not smoke, use drugs or alcohol, since they believe that one should be responsible for his or her own actions and health (Pomeroy, 2008:83). Skate punks are active and accomplished skateboarders (Pomeroy, 2008:85), to name a few. Their verbal style is often confrontational, with vulgar and graphic language. However, among members of the subculture, these insults and remarks are not meant to offend them. Their humor is sexually explicit and politically irreverent. Other people will express concern over large-scale disasters or personal misfortunes which make (inter)national news, whereas punks will use it as sources of joke. This verbal style reinforces the outsider's impression that this subculture is made up of delinquents (Pomeroy, 2008:86). However, concerns they express have to do with anxiety over contemporary and political issues. Punks believe that in a contemporary society poor and weak are being ignored, justice is twisted to serve special interests, powerful are serving their own interests and young people are used as pawns. People are just commodities. The solution they offer is to take action, think intelligently and fulfill one's potential – or die (Pomeroy, 2008:86).

1980s were again completely different. They were characterized by global popularity of hip hop culture. At that time youth turned to more urban and underprivileged "gangsta" styles of violent rap subculture (Kahn, Kellner, 2003:301). The 1980s were also very proliferous for the subculture scene. At that time the hardcore scene emerged, as well as the straightedge movement, which advocates a life without using drugs, alcohol, tobacco or any other psychoactive substances. It is also a time at which the Goth scene started to develop, as

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[11] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_modern_Western_subcultures#1940s

well as the aforementioned break-dance and hip hop scene in the US. Techno music found its roots in the 1980s accompanied with rave parties[12]. The 1990s, or the generation X movement, were characterized by the followers of the baby boom generation after the hippie movement and the World War II. It comprises of the people who were already in their late childhood age or even early adulthood by the 1990s – they were conceived during the hippie movement. The term was coined by the photographer Robert Capa in 1950s and was later used to denote various cultures and subcultures. The term was popularized by Douglas Coupland's 1991 novel "Generation X – Tales for an Accelerated Culture"[13]. They are highly educated, active, balanced, happy, and family oriented. Their worldview is based on change, the need to combat corruption, dictatorship and abuse. They are a generation in search of human dignity and individual freedom, the need for love, stability, tolerance, and human rights for all[14]. Generation X does not believe in standard values and institutions. They distrust authority and large institutions including corporations, religious institutions and the government[15]. They are critical towards materialism and consumerism[16].With regard to music, this period was characterized by the emergence of hard-core, with bands such as Dead Kennedys and Crass (Perasović, 1999:194). Hard-core popularized the encircled letter E (equality) as an equation of peace sign and punk's anarchistic "A". It revived long hair and "love and peace" worldview. Hard-core also brought explicit political engagement – it fought for animal rights, ecological sustainability, and peace and one of their key mottos was "cooperation, not competition" (Perasović, 1999:195). This was the period of revival of the early rock'n'roll through "rockabilly" as well (Perasović, 1999:204). The 1990s were also the time of the World Wide Web emergence, so the subcultures of that time were related to game communities, online forums and chat rooms. The 2000s were characterized by Millennials or the Generation Y – the demographic cohort following Gen X, with birth years ranging from the early 1980s to early 2000s. The term was coined by William Strauss and Neil Howe. Alternative names are *Generation We, Global Generation, Generation Next* and the *Net Generation*[17]. They are also called the *Echo Boomers*, referring to the fact that many of the parents of this generation had belonged to the Baby Boomer generation[18]. According to the article from The Economist, this generation is more liberal than any previous generation.

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[12] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_modern_Western_subcultures#1940s
[13] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Generation_X
[14] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Generation_X
[15] http://www.jenx67.com/who-is-generation-x
[16] http://www.dw.de/generacija-y-manje-rada-vi%C5%A1e-slobodnog-vremena/a-17171798
[17] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Millennials#Peter_Pan_generation
[18] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_modern_Western_subcultures#1940s

They are very tolerant towards social and cultural differences and more relaxed about drugs, sex, alcohol, euthanasia and non-traditional family structures. They are less likely than the elders to consider themselves part of any particular religion, less likely to join a political party or a trade union and less likely to have a "high or very high opinion" of the armed forces[19]. While millennials favor government taking a role in protecting people, they are permissive when it comes to personal choice. They see themselves as social liberals and favor legalizing same-sex marriage, marijuana, and online gambling, and they opt for consumer choice on a number of products and activities many governments have sought to ban (Reason Foundation, 2014:9). This generation is skilled with technology, determined, diverse and more educated than any previous generation (The Council of Economic Advisors, 2014:45). More Millenials have a college degree than any other generation of young adults (The Council of Economic Advisors, 2014:12). Unlike Baby-boomers, who put great weight on a certain structure, hierarchy and safety on their workplace, Generation Y prefers having a job that is fun for them, that makes them happy, that they think makes sense and that fits into their life-concept. They want to work and grow a career, but they also want more free-time for their friends and family[20]. The 21st century is characterized by the emergence of some new subcultures – e.g. emo, chav and hipsters[21]. In today's culture it is almost impossible to be up-to-date with all the existing scenes and music genres. The changes are so fast that there is no point in trying to keep up with them. New artists, new genres and sub-genres, new groups, trends, and lifestyles are created almost every day. Still, one can discern some main music directions, such as pop, punk, rap, metal, rock, reggae, techno or folk music. Other styles are either a subgroup of some of these (oi-punk, skate-punk, German-rap, melodic-death metal, reggae-tone, etc.) or are created through fusion of elements from various existing styles (folk-metal, dub-step, jabbaton…). This mixture is enabled by the development of electronics and DJ-ing as well as by technical advancement in production, recording and reproduction of music. In words of Bennett, there may be much to learn about the social significance of contemporary youth cultures and music (Bennett, 2002:462). However, there was an abandonment of the concept of "subculture" in favor of terms such as "scene" (Straw, 1991 in Bennett, 2002:462), "tribe" (Bennett, 1999 in Bennett, 2002:462) and "taste culture" (Lewis, 1992 in Bennett, 2002:462) which allow for the greater heterogeneity now routinely identified with stylistically and/or musically demarcated groups. Such new approaches stress the significance of musical taste as

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[19] http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21578666-britains-youth-are-not-just-more-liberal-their-elders-they-are-also-more-liberal-any
[20] http://www.dw.de/generacija-y-manje-rada-vi%C5%A1e-slobodnog-vremena/a-17171798
[21] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_modern_Western_subcultures#1940s

one of a series of inter-related aesthetic values through which individuals both construct their own identities and identify with others who are seen to possess the same or similar values. This highlights the value of a more reflexive understanding of popular music's meaning at a collective cultural level (Bennett, 2002:462). It is therefore important to put focus on music festivals which merge a variety of "subcultures" and "scenes" on one place, creating again, something new. With regard to Croatia, youth here are still working on picking up all available music genres and scenes, since our society re-traditionalized instead of becoming de-traditionalized in its transitional, post-Yugoslavian period. However, by hosting various (inter-)national music festivals, Croatian youth gets the opportunity to become acquainted with, visit and/or even participate in something new, thereby widening their horizons.

4.2.3. Countercultures

Although sociology was familiar with the term "counterculture" even before the second half of the 1960s, parallel to the emersion of various other social movements as well as rebellious subcultures in USA, Theodor Roszak's book became synonym for various political and cultural movements – countercultures (Perasović, 1999:60). The Vietnam War gave rise to the counter culture in that young people's rebellion against the War was the beginning of new ideologies and movements (Helve, 1999:48). This term encompasses the values and norms of behavior that substantially differ from those of mainstream society, often in opposition to mainstream cultural norms[22] – it directly clashes with the dominant culture. The youth rebellion was against the materialism of modern culture as well, which introduced the idea of spontaneity, love and freedom, but it also led to commercialization and personal disorganization associated with drug use (Helve, 1999:48). Cultural practices that oppose dominant culture are referred to as counter-cultures. Student movements and social activism are the dominant means by which youth seek to organize themselves and exert effects upon larger social developments (Heaven, Tubridy, 2003:151). While subculture only differs from the dominant group, the counter-culture necessarily attacks it. However, in some situations it is impossible to discern the intertwined aspects of rebellion and separation (Perasović, 1999:62). Youth riots have two meanings – politically-spiritual and existentially-violent (Teodori, 1976 in Perasović, 1999:62). The violence and demolition started in the 1950s and 1960s with Elvis Presley, who used to break chairs and spread violent ways of celebrating

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[22] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Counterculture

rock (Perasović, 1999:62). Yet never before has cultural and political opposition been so strong and massive, with such an emphasis on generation gap and misunderstanding, with such a huge audience, as now. It is in part due to the development of technology and media that it became so widespread (Perasović, 1999:60).

5.   Values and interests

Values are constructed as a result of interaction among individual, social and historical factors and as such are prone to changes in time and space (Ilišin, Spajić-Vrkaš, 2015:18). According to Rokeach (1973 in Ilišin, 2011:82/83), values can be analyzed as dependent and independent variables. They are dependent because they are the result of various social and cultural factors. They are independent as they are separate entities affecting human behavior. Values are researched on the individual level and they give an insight into a certain society and social groups (Ilišin, 2011:83). However, there are various definitions of this term. Anthropologists have one vision of what a value is, while the philosophers have a somewhat different stand on the same topic. I would agree with Hartman, who stated that values as such are objective, whereas their usage is subjective (Hartman, 1959 in Karajić, Rimac, ed. 1991:44). Ilišin uses Lindh and Korhonen's (2010 in Ilišin, 2011:83) summary of different definitions stating that value is sureness regarding desirable statuses and behavioral models that transcend specific situations, govern the selection or evaluation of behavior, people and events and is defined by relative importance of other values forming the system of priorities. Whether we perceive something as good or bad, as right or wrong depends on our personal evaluation. It is a conceptual thing. What does it mean to have a "great car"? For a male, it could be a brand new sports car. On the other hand, for a mother of three a "great car" might be an SUV – a safe car, with lots of space. Although it is common knowledge what a "car" is and what the purpose of the adjective "great" is, the final product is still very different in each person's head. That is because we tend to attribute some personal, subjective meaning and representations to very unique terms (Hartman, 1959 in Karajić, Rimac, ed. 1991:44). Everyone has his/her own reason to act the way he/she does. While some actions are viewed as disastrous from one point of view, the same actions can be viewed as sanctimonious or righteous by those performing them. It depends on subjective and/or cultural standpoint. According to Herskovits, an individual's perspective is instilled in his/her culture, as the only valid and acceptable values to an individual are those valid for his/her society in a given time

point (Antropologija danas, 1972 in Karajić, Rimac, ed. 1991:44). Culture is a system to which a society is subdued. However, we now face a new trend – "surfing values". There is a growth of individualism and frustration towards church, political parties and other traditional institutions and the attitudes of most young people still lack order. They show ambivalent or overlapping attitude structures (Helve, 1999).

According to research by Pantić (1980) and Ilišin (1988 in Karajić, Rimac, ed. 1991:57), interests are one of the most distinctive human characteristics. They are universal in their character, huge motivational factors, a measure of maturity, a very important factor in forming the individual's identity and his/her creativity, as well as the main criterion in forming the individual's free-time. Interests are hierarchically arranged and formed through interaction of historical, social and individual factors. Although they become more or less stable in early adolescence, their hierarchy can vary through life. According to Pantić (1980 in Ilišin, 2011:92), interests are a version of usually terminal values that are characterized by individual's preoccupation with them and related activities. There is a great difference between values and interests. While values represent the internalization of positive attitudes and are used to estimate the good and the bad from an individual's standpoint, interests represent the projection of a value system in the behavioral patterns of an individual and directly affect his/her actions (Karajić, Rimac, 1991:57).

Values of youth are especially interesting in that they enable the researcher to see the (dis)continuity of new generations and modern societies. The process of socialization is still in progress among this population; hence they are more prone to different inputs and effects of their social environment than older population, making the potential changes more visible (Ilišin, Spajić-Vrkaš, 2015:18). Vlasta Ilišin has conducted a study to try to group youth interests and consumerist activities to which we turn to in order to spend free-time. Ilišin discovered seven various patterns: I. urban culture pattern – the most accepted one among Croatian youth (going to coffee bars, clubs, parties, movies and sports exhibitions, listening to pop music, playing games of chance or simply doing nothing (ljenčarenje). This group is not homogenous and it includes primarily young singles and students as well as uneducated people from small towns and villages (Ilišin, Radin, 2002:285); II. elite culture pattern – activities that request intellectual involvement (listening to classical music, visiting cultural exhibitions, theaters, public discussions, going for a walk or to a field trip). Quite a small amount of young people exert such a pattern and they are usually from highly educated families (highly educated themselves as well), living in the most urban settings (Ilišin, Radin,

2002:284/285); III. rural cultural pattern – activities connected to rural tradition and atmosphere (listening to national (folk) music, playing games of chance and going to sports exhibitions). The participants in such activities are mostly religious and women, as well as low-educated men (coming from low-educated families), residing in villages, employed as well as unemployed and married ones (Ilišin, Radin, 2002:288/289). Other four patterns refer to youth preoccupation with social work, sports, media and music. Social work is the least favorite among youth, mostly because it refers to politics and society. In sport activities are mostly included men, students and singles. Preoccupation with media is widely spread and it also includes gambling (mostly on sport results) and is equally distributed among all young people (Ilišin, Radin, 2002:288). Finally, interest in music includes listening to various types of music, with rock music and radio standing on top (Ilišin, Radin, 2002:289).

From a global perspective, various authors emphasize how socioeconomic development in the so-called western societies affects traditional values, such as family and religion, in that their impact is abating, whereas some other values, such as materialistic (social standard and security) and post-materialistic (self actualization and individualization) are emerging (Ilišin, Spajić-Vrkaš, 2015:18). However, in Croatia value formation is made in a society that has in its transitional period been re-traditionalized (Pusić, 1993; Županov, 1995 in Ilišin, Spajić-Vrkaš, 2015:19), rather than de-traditionalized (Beck, 1992 in Ilišin, Spajić-Vrkaš, 2015:19). Rogić quoted in (Perasović, Mustapić, 2014:5) states that the fundamental characteristic of the Croatian transition in comparison to other post-socialist countries was that its key moments took place during a war. Županov (1995 in Perasović, Mustapić, 2014:5) notes the convergence of simultaneous strengthening of individual utilitarianism, nationalism and the heroic code (at the national level) and radical egalitarianism (at the societal level), which shaped the framework (in the form of a "re-traditionalization") and basic values of Croatian society in the first decade of transition in the 1990s. This tendency has revitalized traditional values and given strength to materialistic values which resulted in steady acceptance of certain post-materialistic values. Current events testify how this global crisis presents fertile ground for rise of traditional, even archaic values (Ilišin, Spajić-Vrkaš, 2015:19).

In 1977 Inglehart hypothesized that values in industrialized societies are shifting from materialistic to post-materialistic and today we can see this happening. This shift is based on (1) The Scarcity Hypothesis and (2) The Socialization Hypothesis. The first states how everyone strives towards freedom and autonomy, but their priorities reflect their socio-

economic abilities. The second one states how there is a certain delay in relationship between financial scarcity and value priority, since the basic values largely depend on circumstances in which a person has grown. Furthermore, every new generation carries a set of values from the generation before, and it is not always easy to free from it (Inglehart, Welzel, 2007:106). However, in post-industrialized democracies it is much more likely for youth population to emphasize expressive values, which is connected to growing requests for establishing or deepening the existing democracy (Inglehart, Welzel, 2007:122). A fair proportion of European young people share post-materialist values which are libertarian and authoritarian types. Ingelhart's core-value, individualism, supports the political orientations of a libertarian new left and an authoritarian new right. Whereas the new left cares for the victims of competition and places the value on solidarity, the new right does not (Helve, 1999:49). Analysis of World Values Study and European Values Study Data reveal two major dimensions of cross-cultural variation: (1) a traditional versus secular-rational values dimension and (2) a survival versus self-expression values dimension (Inglehart, Welzel, 2010:4). In survey from 2012, Croatia ranked in the middle when comparing the traditional/secular-rational and survival/self-expression values, with the first set of values on "0" and the second set slightly towards 0.5. This second dimension is linked with the transition from industrial society to post-industrial societies, bringing a polarization between Survival and Self-expression values (Ingelhart, Welzel, 2012). With the emergence of postindustrial society, unprecedented levels of prosperity plus the welfare state bring high levels of existential security. When survival is insecure, it tends to dominate people's life strategies. But the younger birth cohorts of these societies have grown up taking survival for granted, allowing other goals to become more prominent (Ingelhart, Welzel, 2010:4) focusing on subjective well-being, self-expression and quality of life (Ingelhart, Welzel, 2012). Noticing great differences about music preferences among Croatian youth, we really might be (stuck) in the middle with same amount of highly "developed" people, who cherish post-materialistic values as the amount of very traditional people stuck in some other time-frame.

6. Youth culture and free-time activities

Talcott Parsons (1949/1964) was the first to coin the term "youth culture", defining it as a culture created around identity formations, where values and forms of socializing were characterized by irresponsibility and expressive behavior rather than by instrumentality. His

definition was based on the fact that the gap between the life forms of the young and the ways of life of the adult world has increased and so did the gap between the values of the young and the value systems of the labor market (Bolin, 2004:239). The category of "youth culture" can be traced back to theorists associated with and influenced by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies who emphasized its counter-hegemonic and "generational" qualities and examined the ways in which working-class youth subcultures resisted subordination through the production of their own culturally subversive styles (Kahn, Kellner, 2003:300).

Free-time depicts a certain time frame with which an individual governs freely. He/she can choose the content and activities which he or she likes, completely unrelated to school and other duties. It is not only about providing fun and relaxation, but also about satiating the persons quench for physical activities, sun and fresh air (Novak, H., *Kvantitet i sadržaj slobodnog vremena učesnika viših razreda osnovnih škola* in Broćić, M., ur. 1971:46). Free-time encompasses a space that mirrors myriad of possibilities. In everyday life and the field of sociology it is studied in relation to work or something else socially required (education for example). Leisure, a term related to free-time usage, participation in recreational activities, and state of mind is often associated with social and cultural contexts of life (Kassing, 2010:5). Free-time is a phenomenon born in industrialized society, due to enhanced technological development and massive employment, which resulted in shortening of working hours (Ilišin, 2002:270). When young person's labor was needed for the survival of the family, the occasional free moments were spent resting after hard work (Danish, Gullotta, 2000:5). Therefore, when some people think of leisure, they think of "doing nothing", which, in a work-oriented society, puts leisure in a negative light (Kassing, 2010:5/6).

By researching the ways youth spend their free-time, some have said that today's youth is anti-cultural. Tactile data as well as common knowledge corroborate the fact that usual free-time activities do not include culture as such. The trend to read, visit exhibitions and enjoy arts in general has dropped exponentially since new interests arose. One of the reasons for such development might be that in today's society people tend to divide their lives onto work and free time. While at work, one should be self-disciplined and responsible; one has to think ahead, submerge his or her will and needs and dedicate his- or herself to work. Free-time, on the other hand, tends to be everything in reverse; it tends to be self-determined and planned (Novosel, *Kultura mladih i slobodno vrijeme,* in Broćić, ur. 1970:38). People spend their free-time motivated by their intrinsic needs and wishes. Free-time activities should not be exhausting, but for pleasure. Unfortunately, a lot of elite (classical) culture insists on

higher mental effort from the consumer, than mainstream culture does. As a result "true" culture is being avoided. Mass culture went through enormous expansion in today's society. It is defined as a culture created according to mass norms of industrialized production, spread around by technical media of mass diffusion and it is referring to a social mass – a giant agglomerate of individuals, congregated together without referral to societal structure. It differentiates from classical culture in its recipients and based on its technological foundation of creation and distribution (Ilišin, Radin, 2002:272). Mass culture actually did appear to satiate the consumerism of an average citizen. In the attempts to adapt the culture to this population, it went a step too far, into artificial (Novosel in Broćić, 1970:38). Kahn and Kellner (2003:299) introduce the term "Global Youth Culture" that draws upon the Frankfurt School's conception of culture industry and signifies the process by which industrialized, mass-produced culture and commercial imperatives drive global capitalism and attempt to legitimate its aims by integrating youth into the capitalist system by means of their involvement with new media technologies. It is a trans-disciplinary category attempting to understand the emergence of complex forms of hybrid culture and identity that increasingly occur amongst youth throughout the world due to the proliferation of media like film, television, popular music, the Internet and other information and communication technologies (ICTs) in their everyday lives (Kahn, Kellner, 2003:299). The culture has become an industry concerned with the production, marketing and sale of cultural commodities. From cinema to advertising, news service to fashion it is synonymous with the vast expanse of commodities made available through consumer culture (Heaven, Turbridy, 2003:149). However, people experience constraints in consuming their free-time at different levels of intensity (Dilwoorth, *Contemporary leisure*. In: Kassing, 2010:145). According to Roberts (2002:496) few young people are time pressured, but money-poor and time-rich. Leisure pedagogy should create options for spending free-time, broad enough to suit various aspirations and needs consumers might have. It should take care that during free-time the negativities are removed and positive stimuli strengthened. After-school and positive leisure time activities can be used to help youth experience the joy and growth producing benefits of play while increasing a sense of community (Blumenkrantz, *Let's Play: Initiating Youth Into the Healthy World of Play*. In: Gullotta, 2000:108). For example, participants of music festivals reported feeling more positive about themselves, others, and life in general as a result of attending such a venue (Packer & Ballantyne, 2011 in Ballantyne et al., 2014:68). Such outcomes reflect the self-acceptance and purpose of life aspects of psychological well-being, as well as the social acceptance aspect of social well-being and the happiness and life satisfaction aspects of

subjective well-being. Positive social outcomes may result as attendees connect with others who share similar or different beliefs, create a sense of community, participate in social activities, and engage in intense and concentrated interaction (Ballantyne et al., 2014:68). Festivals are examples of a positive and organized way of spending free-time. They are also essential to the long-term viability of any human community in that they have inclusive potential and emphasize the shift from consumption to community (Porter, *Integrating Resilient Youth into Strong Communities Through Festivals, Fairs, and Feasts.* In: Gullotta, 2000:183/184). On the other hand, if young people do not have anything organized to do for fun, they will seek fun in the streets. In the United States it has gone so far, that ordinances, intended to disperse congregating youth, ban sitting on public sidewalks after certain hours (Adelman, Yalda, 2000:38). New lifestyles and construction patterns in urbanized societies disable people from spending time in open air, in parks and surrounded by green area and sun (Novak-Reiss, *Pravilno korištenje slobodnog vremena – važan faktor u zaštiti zdravlja djece i omladine.* In Broćić, 1970:184). Action is needed by individuals as well as policy makers to communicate the personal, economic, social, and environmental potential of leisure and to ensure that people have a variety of opportunities for expression of leisure (Henderson, *Importance of Leisure to Individuals and Society.* In: Kassing, 2010:22).

To study free-time (from a sociological perspective) means to study the existing or potential implications of free-time and boredom on society and culture in the world of various free-time consummation possibilities (Dumazedier, 1968; Mesec, *Problem specifičnosti slobodnog vremena mladih.* In: Broćić, 1970:61). Educational sciences tend to emphasize the importance of spontaneity and child's freedom in their free-time and to minimize boredom, tiredness and negativities alike. Although it might seem paradoxical, sociology of free-time tends to control mechanisms of creating and consuming free-time among youth (Mesec in Broćić, 1970:61). In a similar fashion, working on a festival represents this paradox – both work-time and free-time are completely controlled either by a strict festival schedule, or by simple physiological need to eat and sleep.

6.1. The problem of youth free-time

It seems as if in our society there are many parallel worlds: for example, that of the older people and that of youth - their dialogue is more complicated than ever. The values and life-goals have shifted. Finishing school, finding a job and starting a family are no longer

ultimate goals and a regular timeline pattern. Young people, particularly in postindustrial societies, choose part-time employment while completing their secondary-level education. Many also simultaneously enroll in technical schools or community colleges for courses related to areas of special expertise they are interested in (Newman, 1999 in Brice Heath, 1999:377). They take up mixed patterns of learning, working, and taking seriously their free-time (Brice Heath, 1999:377). European Commission also distinguishes NEET youth – young people who are neither in employment, nor education or training and who risk being permanently excluded from the labor market and dependant on benefits (European Commission, 2010:35).

In my opinion youth culture tries to balance between the two end values. On one hand it is so global, so uniform, so massive and media-influenced that it is hard to make any distinctions in it. On the other hand, this population is more differentiated than ever. There is a rising number of "sub's", every genre has its subgenre. There is a great fluidity among clubs and scenes - new ones are emerging, old ones are shutting down or shifting to some other population/subculture. In this cleft between globalization and authenticity, the youth is trying to choose their culture, to find their own place under the sun. The result of it is ever greater individualization. It is not the subjectively oriented and narcissistic individualization, but rather searching the best for a certain individual. Unfortunately, it seems that society is failing to recognize youth as a crucial stage in life where important decisions and choices are made determining the unfolding of the rest of individual's life (European Youth Trends, 1998).

7. Music festivals

7.1. In general

What is a festival? According to the Farlex dictionary, a festival is "an organized series of special events and performances, usually in one place"[23]. This definition suits the purpose of this paper. By just Google-ing the term "music festivals" the first results say: "A music festival is a festival oriented towards music that is sometimes presented with a theme such as musical genre, nationality or locality of musicians, or holiday. They are commonly held outdoors, and are often inclusive of other attractions such as food and merchandise vending, performance art and social activities. The Pythian Games at Delphi included musical

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[23] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/festival

performances, and may be one of the earliest festivals known"[24]. By Google-ing further I found that Pythian Games were one of the four Panhellenic Games of Ancient Greece, a forerunner of the modern Olympic Games, held every four years at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi"[25]. What becomes apparent quite quickly through any literature review entailing the word "festival", is that "festival studies is very well established within anthropology and sociology, while festival management and festival tourism are much more recent and relatively immature" (Getz, 2010:4). "From the mid-1980s onwards many sociologists of youth and those in related areas of study began to reject purely theoretical models of investigation and turned to ethnographic research in an attempt to situate their accounts of the relationship between youth culture and popular music more firmly in the social settings where this relationship is formed and where its micro-social manifestations could be more readily observed" (Bennett, 2002:455).

Festivals have been defined by Falassi (1987 in Getz, 2010:2), in the classical cultural-anthropological perspective as "a sacred or profane time of celebration, marked by special observances." Festivals celebrate community values, ideologies, identity and continuity. Perhaps more reflective of the modern approach to naming events as festivals, Getz (2005 in Getz, 2010:2), defined them as "themed, public celebrations". Pieper (1965 in Getz, 2010:2) believed only religious rituals and celebrations could be called festivals. Numerous forms and themes of festivals are possible, and the term festival is often misapplied and commercialised. What characterizes festivals is that they are usually held annually and generally have social rather than economic or political aims: getting people together for fun, entertainment and a shared sense of camaraderie (Gibson and Connell, 2002 in Ballantyne at el. 2014:66). They are held under the same name, only the year changes. A lot of festivals have started as small, local festivals, but grown with time, and became some of the biggest festivals in region (Groezrock in Belgium, Exit festival in Serbia, Sziget festival in Hungary, which has started as a low-profile student event, even the InMusic Festival in Croatia etc.). Some other strongest (biggest) festivals nowadays are Wacken Open Air in Germany (metal music festival, usually sold out months before the event), Ultra music festivals (electronic music), Punk rock holiday in Slovenia, Novarock in Austria (punk and punk-rock music) and Riot fest in Chicago (mixed genres). The travelling festivals are also quite common today – Vans warped tour (punk music with extreme sports events during the day) and Persistance tour, for example. The difference between the festival and the tour is that the festival is held in one

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[24] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Music_festival
[25] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pythian_Games

place and all the bands are playing there. With toured festivals, there are numerous bands touring together and playing in different countries. The line-up might vary from country to country. There is also a difference between a toured festival and just bands touring together – when bands tour, there are two, usually three bands, that know each other, are friends, and have decided to tour together. One band is usually headliner, others are supporting bands. With toured festivals on the other hand, bands do not necessarily know each other, there are more than ten bands present and it is held annually with more or less similar dates every year. The music festival is exceptional because it will often take place over an entire weekend. As such, participants are immersed in the musical context for several consecutive days and evenings having a chance to grow (Snell, 2005:4). Furthermore, a lot of music festivals are family, children and pet friendly, and they often offer free admission for children under the age of 12. Volt festival in Sopron, Hungary, used to give children entrance wristbands in exchange for the child's drawing on how he or she imagines a festival. It is not uncommon to see families with children at such an event, especially abroad. In my opinion it adds a certain value to the event itself as it enables young people to make cohesion between their interests and music preference and their children, while spending free-time on fresh air and sun – they do not have to choose between family and fun. Festivals abroad encourage such behavior and proudly emphasize their children, pet and family friendly atmosphere. Unfortunately, Outlook and Dimensions festivals, as well as Ultra festival in Split, have strict over 18 policy and are not child friendly.

7.2. Ultra Music Festival Croatia 2014

Our society likes to generalize and classify a whole group of youth regarding a few, usually eccentric, individuals. Even when something "good" is happening, the public and the media tend to destroy it. The latest example was the second edition of Ultra Europe festival in Split, in July 2014. Ultra festival comes from Miami, where it has started exactly 16 years ago[26]. What has started as a one-day electronic music event in Florida is now a three day event in Miami, as well as in 7 other countries: Spain, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, South Korea, South Africa and Croatia. In year 2014 there was the first edition of Ultra in Columbia. So despite the media attempt to present it as something morally wrong, it is not something created overnight to ruin the youth, which has hitherto, never heard of drugs, sex and alcohol. Unfortunately, such is the media and public perception. The only positive thing, from their

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[26] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ultra_Music_Festival

point of view, is the huge money income. Getz uses the term "festival tourism" as an important element in "event tourism", so much so that „the term "festivalization" has been coined to suggest an over-commodification of festivals exploited by tourism and place marketers" and a „marked trend towards treating festivals as commodities has emerged. The roles of festivals in tourism include attracting tourists (to specific places to overcome seasonality), contributing to place marketing (including image formation and destination branding), animating attractions and places, and acting as catalysts for other forms of development. Dominating this discourse has been the assessment of economic impacts of festivals and festival tourism, planning and marketing festival tourism at the destination level and studies of festival-tourism motivation and various segmentation approaches" (Getz, 2010:5).

Once again, the newspaper created moral panic and had reviews beyond sanity – people urinating on each other; swarm of drugs and intoxicated people; the worst of the worst at Poljud… It really sounded like something very wrong was happening there. Estimates are that in total 110.000 people went to Ultra Europe 2014. However, this does not mean that 110.000 people were drunk and on drugs, involved in socially unacceptable behavior and orgies. Indeed, there was a fair amount of such population, but unfortunately, every event has such population – even sport ones (football matches for ex.). It is not due to Ultra but due to an individual's way of having fun and indulgence. I am not that much into electronic music, but I was curious what was really going on at this "Sodom and Gomorrah" for three days so I attended it. It was not even close to what media represented to the public. In my opinion, it was beautiful - thousands of people, from all over the world, peacefully coexisting and enjoying the DJ performances; people carrying their flags around their back – Brazil, Mexico, Texas, Canada, USA, Northern Ireland, Spain, Germany, Austria, to name a few. People of all nationalities, religious and sexual orientations united, without any prejudice, having fun. To me, that is how a constructive free-time activity should be – accepting the different ones, meeting new people, socializing… To be honest, one who is using does not need Ultra to get intoxicated. Ultra is not the cause of such behavior, neither is a football game, nor any other organized occasion.

Ultra Europe 2014 did have some major organizational failures. It is inexplicable how there were no toilets on the grass part of the stadium. To be able to get to the toilet one had to walk all the way up to the bleachers and further up to the exit point, and then down again from the other side to the toilets and one can only imagine how crowded and disgustingly

dirty it was. Not to mention that the way up were stairs with just two entry points, the rest of the bleachers was fenced. Therefore, a lot of people decided to urinate somewhere in the corner or even in the middle of the grass, covered by his/her friends. People only found the way to make it easier for them, nothing more and nothing less. The other major mistake was the security, or the lack of it. Neither the entry bracelets were not checked properly, nor personal belongings. One was able to carry in whatever one wanted. It looked as if Split was not prepared for so many people. And yet, everything did go quite smooth – artist after artist, with minimum or no delay, lasers, video screens, fires on stage, fireworks from stage… It was really a state-of-the-art performance.

7.3. My experience at music festivals in Croatia

The Garden and Soundwave festivals are British festivals that take place every year in Tisno, Murter Island. They used to be in Petrčane, near Zadar, but for the last 4 years they are in Tisno. Garden festival usually takes place in the first week of July, and lasts for a whole week, whereas Soundwave used to be mid- to late July, but 2015, it will be in the first week of August. Unfortunately, Garden 2015 will be the last edition of Garden festival in Croatia, since it was sold to Malta. Garden festival is a small, intimate festival, whereas Soundwave is quite big, and in words of a security lady I met in 2014 "the most problematic of all Garden festivals". Garden festivals comprise of five festivals, all of which take place in Tisno. This British "invasion", as locals like to call it, starts early June and lasts until the mid-August. The festivals are: Garden festival, Electric elephant, Soundwave festival, Sunce beat and Stop Making Sense. They are all very different from each other, yet again pretty much the same. The organization is more or less the same; stage crew is the same, location, accommodation, and an on-site offer. The music varies from festival to festival, but it is always a mixture of everything: electronic, dubstep, reggae, jazz music, etc. The artists are primarily British (a few Americans as well) and the audience is mostly British. One of the reasons might be the ticket, which is immensely expensive from our point of view.

Most of the festivals rely heavily on volunteers and it is a great opportunity for those not willing to cash out this silly amount of money, but would still like to be a part of the experience. This is how I managed to be a part of Garden and Soundwave. It is quite nice to start a summer with Garden festival. Garden has only two stages and boat parties. Soundwave has three stages and boat parties as well. There is always one stage with just DJs and one with

bands. The show lasts from 2 or 3pm until 1 or 2am. Afterwards everything moves to Barbarella's, an open-air disco club, owned by the Garden executives. At Barbarella's only DJs play and there are organized busses for extra money to and from the disco the whole time (for the duration of program there). Personally, I love this modus operandi. It gives the staff at site enough time to get some rest, or to continue partying at the disco. One way or another, everyone gets a chance to rest or to party – regarding his/her own will. Since the party is moving, the campsite stays deprived of music - there is just one DJ until 4am, but it is not too loud to go to bed.

As a volunteer at a Garden festival I could not stop feeling as a part of the small community. The organizational team as well as volunteers were all so kind, warm and friendly. I did not have that much contact with the management team that time. 2013 was my first year at this festival. It was my first contact with any festival behind the scenes and I just loved it. I therefore decided to take it to the next level, and applied to be a part of the British support team for Outlook and Dimensions in 2014.

7.4. One day at a festival

When working at a festival, there is no such thing as a "typical day" since it is not a regular desk or office job where one can have some kind of a routine. It is all about making the customers happy and tailoring the day according to their needs and wishes. In the back region there is a lot of administration that has to be done, but in the front the customers are the only focus. As Erving Goffman would put it: "Front is the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance" (Goffman, 1959:22), whereas "a back region or back—stage is a region where the suppressed facts make an appearance" (Goffman, 1959:112). Festivals are purely service industry and that is what makes them so different from the non-industry scene. In the backstage everything revolves around profit and to maximize the profit the customers need to feel that they are the purpose of the festival; that it is all about them and their satisfaction. The secret to success is not to let visitors feel that their purpose is to spend money, but to provide them with good value for money, with great music, great party, and excellent staff always at their service. How these goals and the real cause for organizing the festival will be handled is what distinguishes a brilliant festival from a really bad one. Goffman puts this quite nicely, saying that cynical performers, which is here the whole industry, are interested in deluding their audiences for purposes of what is called "self-interest" or private gain (Goffman, 1959:18).

Basically, it is all a great stage play for the masses, but it allows the mass to be a part of it, to have a role in that play – to constitute the third party in the play (Goffman, 1959:preface). That is what makes this industry so appealing to others. It is vibrant, open to everybody, it does not discriminate, it does not neglect. Everyone can find their place under the sun at such an event. Although it is controversial that people feel the most accepted and loved at a place that is so un-individualized, and yet very individualized, where people are seen as profit, but treated with respect, where everything is so artificial and with due date, and yet so real and caught up in a moment. Probably because it is nothing like the non-industry scene, where everyone has strict, society-formed roles, where true expression of individualism is oppressed and where everyone has to fit in some of the offered groups/classes is why people find revelation at such an event.

While I was working as a Guest List Manager on 2014 Dimensions and Outlook festival in Pula, I was located at a Box office. It is the first office visitors see and it is the place where everyone comes to and asks all kinds of questions. Technically, we were in charge of selling tickets, exchanging certain types of pre-bought tickets for matching wristbands, doing the name change on the ticket and organizing guest lists. However, in practice the guests wanted us to be the Info-point, the money exchange point, the campsite reception, the airport transfer point etc. Basically, although our contract did not say anything about such duties, we were required to at least know where to direct the customers, if we could not directly help them.

Schedules were made on a weekly basis, but more as an orientation, than something set in stone. My shifts were 12-hours long – which meant 12 hours minimum, and more when needed. The longest shift I did was 17 hours long. In return, I was entitled to accommodation and food vouchers proportional to the hours worked – under 4 hours 1 voucher, 4-8 hours two vouchers and more than 8 hours of work a day gave me the right to 3 food vouchers. However, at times I did not have the chance to take a break and go to the restaurant to get some food or my shift did not coincide with the opening times of the restaurant, so in the end I had plenty of vouchers left unused. Fortunately, we could use them at some of the food stalls as well, enabling us to get food late at night, when the restaurant was already closed. But, somehow, in all that hectic, food was the last thing that came to our minds. It is paradoxical how I was working there during my free-time, and yet my free-time was strictly organized in working shifts. When I was free from work, my free-time was dictated by my physiological

needs – to eat and sleep. Although I was in another dimension, living a non-ordinary life, I still did not have control over my own leisure time.

I consider myself as one of the luckier individuals, since my shifts were "daily". I usually started around 11am and finished until 2am so I still had time to get some sleep. Since all the Management support team members (MST) were placed in bell tents, the temperature inside depended a lot on the outside temperature. The nights were very cold, and it was therefore cold in the tent, but as the sun rose, around 9 am, the tents started heating up, leading to an unbearable temperature from 11am onwards. People working night shifts, who came back to the tent at that time, usually took their mattresses outside and slept under the sky in order to get at least a few hours of sleep.

All MSTs had organized transfer from their home-city to Pula and the expenses were usually 100% covered by the organizers. I travelled by van with the other Croatian MST and some British staff who flew in to Zagreb. I was required to pay the expenses of getting from my house to the pick-up spot, and the other way around – from the drop-off spot to my house once I am back. We arrived around 1am and had to check in. Luckily, the British staff was already experienced and they knew where to go, since it was the first time for me and the other Croatian MST and we were not that familiar with the location. At the check-in, we had to leave our IDs and got an envelope with food vouchers for the first few days, job description and the schedule for the first day, when we had the initial meeting with our Manager. We were directed to the tents and each tent had a note with the names of MSTs sleeping inside. I was with two British girls who were already sleeping when I came. I used the first day to get acquainted with the festival ground and to try to find out who my Manager, with whom I had to meet at the initial briefing, was. It was a bit confusing, since there were no signs and there were a lot of offices at the Production field – a part of the, what Goffman would say, setting – everything that "supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it" (1959:22). All the MSTs were required to get to the festival a few days prior to the official opening in order to get everything ready. We spent those days counting the food and drink vouchers, counting the wristbands, making signs for visitors and doing anything that needed to be done in order to make the festival run as smooth as possible. My team also had a meeting with the representatives of a company that provided the software and scanners for the tickets. We had to learn how to scan, how to search a person in the system, how to recognize (and react to) a forged ticket and what to do in case the system crashed. The main thing people at the box office had to obey, was to check the person's ID and under no conditions issue a wristband or sell a ticket to someone under-age. Outlook and

Dimensions festivals have a strict over 18 policy and it is a strong violation of rules if doing otherwise. To me, it was one of the toughest rules to follow. The ticket selling partner in Croatia sold a few tickets to under-aged persons, so even though they had a ticket I was supposed to deny them entrance. Luckily, I witnessed only two of such situations. I had a boy and a girl who travelled all the way from Split to Pula and wanted to enter. He was 18, but she was not. There was a problem with their camping, so they were at my window for quite a long time as I was trying to sort things out with the camp. While waiting for someone from the Campsite management to appear, I issued him a wristband and for some reason, I double-checked her ID a second before giving her the wristband. At that moment I realized she was not even eligible to enter. And what was I supposed to do? She was 17, she bought her ticket legally, she travelled from Split to there, she relied on camping and she had no place else to stay. It was a split-second decision whether I should let her in or face her with the strict rules. I decided to tell her that she is not eligible to enter and that there was nothing we could do. It was a hard decision, but on the other hand the festival website strictly states the "over 18" policy[27]. Apart from minors with the ticket, there were an extreme number of 18-year olds at the festival ground. So, in all that hectic, we had to calculate the customer's age. What I find a bit absurd was that there were locals, who were entitled to free tickets (if they live in or close to the festival ground), coming with their children and were thereby denied entrance. Although it was pointless to me to forbid them to enter with children aged 5 or 6, because those kids will not abuse alcohol or drugs and their parents only wanted to show them the festival the rules were strict and I was not allowed to issue them a wristband. There were some situations where I let people enter, without a strong proof of their age or nationality, but at some point one has to say "no", which can be quite hard. Croatian people usually got really aggressive, started calling me names and acted as they had to be there and as if I was, for no reason, depriving them from their right to get to the festival. Interestingly, there was no difference in the behavior between teenagers, middle-aged people and retirees, and no huge difference between men and women. I had an old lady, born in 1950s, who lives in Pula but not in the close proximity of the festival. As stated earlier, only certain areas were entitled to free entrance in order to soothe them to noise and special traffic regulations during the festival. However, she came to my booth demanding I gave her the ticket because she lived in Pula. I tried to explain to her that she does not live in the designated area, but she started swearing and threatening. I was completely stunned – she was over 60 years old, but so

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[27] http://www.outlookfestival.com/terms-conditions/

determined to get her wristband. In the end, she gave up and left. After discussing this situation with the others from my office I realized that the wristbands could be sold for a very high price, which explained the fervidity with which certain locals came to pick them up - they somehow took them off afterwards and sold them. The festival ticket costs 140£ for foreigners and 750kuna for the ex-Yugoslavians. Earning even half of the full price is a nice pocket money and I witnessed extremely shrewd ways of trying to get the ticket: I had apartment owners coming to buy an Ex-Yu ticket for their Italian guests; I had Germans whose great-grandmother was Croatian wanting to buy such tickets. I had minors wanting to get in, claiming they left their IDs in the car to prevent losing them, but were reluctant to walk back to the alleged car and bring them. I met all kinds of people and all kinds of excuses, I was cursed at, yelled at, I had customers crying and begging, but rules are rules. Somehow, when a person is dealing with such people who become aggressive and impolite, it is easier to say no. I also had funny people, trying to seduce me, being sweet and nice, trying to bribe me, but the only thing I did not let them get away with was if they were minor. Sometimes I even went to the "Saznaj svoj OIB" webpage and asked the customer to provide me with their JMBG. That way I was sure about their age and could easily check if their data were true. We performed all kinds of ID and data check in order to be able to provide them with their wristbands. On the other hand, the foreigners were almost never impolite and rude. I felt really sorry for them, because they could get the Wi-Fi once they enter the festival, and they could not enter if they had the ticket on their e-mail and/or did not have their IDs with them. A lot of them had a scan of their passport on their cell-phone, but were unable to reach it without the internet connection. At times, I helped them and logged into their account from my computer, but if I had 100 people queuing I could not afford such a delay. So many times I just had to reject them and tell them to find another way. I had people calling their mothers in Spain at midnight, asking them to send the festival an e-mail with their passport scans. I had people texting their friends in America, I saw all types of excuses, but I also witnessed how resourceful and intelligent people can be if they really want something. At times, if it was really obvious that a person is over 18, I still did not let them enter easily, but wanted him/her to convince me about their age first. As time went by it started to amuse both me and my office, to see all the excuses and plans people think of. When I finally issued them a wristband it was very common that they come back the next day and either brought me their ID, to show me that they were being honest, or they brought me beer, Whiskey, chocolate… Of course, I was not allowed to consume it while working, but it is a special, overwhelming feeling when you know you helped someone, and even more when that person shows you that

he/she really appreciated what you did for him/her. Dealing with many various customers was really exhausting, but on the other hand quite amusing and awarding. People were really happy and grateful if you sometimes shut one eye or if you really did everything you could in order to help them. Since I attended festivals long before I started working/volunteering on them, after this experience I started grasping how it is to be on either side. As a customer, I was always annoyed by the long lines at the wristband exchange, it bothered me how people are doing their job mechanically – they took my ticket, scanned it, put my wristband, moved to the next customer, basically without a word. It also bothered me how I had many questions and directed towards the box office personnel, and they just redirected me to some other booth. Now, I completely understand such behavior. Unfortunately, wristband exchange can become something one starts doing automatically and forget that one is dealing with living people, because almost every person is the same – to you. I tried to keep that personal touch, greet people, thank them, wish them a nice festival, but sometimes I just couldn't. I got too tired of people, of their questions, of their rude behavior, basically of everyone and everything and just wanted to finish with the cue already.

Each and every person from my team had a breakdown at some point and at that point I realized the importance of the team. Although we were related to one another by bonds of reciprocal dependence and familiarity, it was only because the festival depended on our co-operation. We had to support each other in order to foster a given definition of the situation and each teammate is forced to rely on the good conduct and behavior of his fellows and vice versa (Goffman, 1959:82). My line managers had their breakdowns quite early, the second day of the Dimensions festival; I had it in the middle, even towards the end of the Outlook festival. Everything, every bad experience, every rude customer, every problem one had and either could not resolve it or had no one to turn to for help, every "rude" and hectic order from the manager, every sleepless night, everything just keeps accumulating and at a certain point it just crashes down on ones shoulders and one just cannot do it any longer – a person just wants to go away, be alone, sleep and cry. It is a terrible feeling. However, our manager told us the very first day – "there will be breakdowns, there will be tears and it will not be easy. Prepare for it and don't get it personal if someone just takes out his/her troubles on you. Be cooperative, support and help each other". And that is what we did. When we saw someone losing it, we stepped in for that person, gave them a minute or two for themselves – to cry, to shout, to smoke… To do whatever it is in order to come down, keep it together and keep the performance running.

Although it was my first time to be really involved in the organizational process and I was only briefed in theory, I knew there will be unpredictable situations and that I will be required to act on spot. I was therefore a bit nervous before the festival-opening. The most horrible feeling I have ever felt was when I just peeked through the shutters on my window and saw an endless river of people queuing with all their backpacks, tents and luggage. I knew we were expecting around 6000 people for Dimensions, and around 17000 for Outlook, but I was nevertheless stunned by the mass awaiting for us to open. It was a mixture of "What have I gotten myself into"?, "How on Earth will I be able to process all these people"? and "Bring it on" feelings. I was excited and completely terrified at the same time, but in the end it all turned out great. Outlook is considered the largest Soundsystem Culture festival in Europe, combining many strains of underground dance music[28], which added extra pressure on me. Since there were a variety of musical genres, I can not specify a certain scene or subculture residing there. There were hip-hop artists, techno artists, jazz, trance, DJs, etc. It was a mixture of styles, nationalities and culture – it was the way a perfect festival should be.

The biggest rush hour we had was on the day of the Opening acts and the first day of the festival, both for Dimensions and Outlook. As paradoxical as it may sound, our job load started to decrease once the festival was officially open, although we had a lot of work to do between the two festivals as well. As the work decreased I had enough time to talk to other staff members, and I usually talked to the security that was always near our office. There was both Croatian and British security at the festival, as well as the undercover police. Croatian officers were located at certain checkpoints, standing and waiting for something to happen, whereas British security was in charge of drugs and weapon search. However, if they found anything suspicious, they had to wait for the Croatian police who then took the suspects into custody. Basically, our security was just soldiers, and their security had more power to act. Their security is called Event Control. Those men are tall and huge. They wear purple vests, dark pants and navy boots and their appearance causes fear. However, I talked to some of them, and they were all quite nice and friendly and one would not believe that they are security. Fortunately, the rules on British festivals are very clear – you disobey once, you will be warned. If you disobey again, your wristband will be cut and that is non-negotiable. There weren't that many problems with the British people, but a lot of drug issues and one serious fight. People who violated the rules and got kicked out of the festival were photographed and we at the box office received their photos, joint with their name if known, for our "Wall of

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[28] http://www.timeout.com/music-arts-culture/50-best-music-festivals-in-the-world/

shame". That was our list of the offenders to whom we must not sell a new ticket (provided they are not in jail and can come and try to buy a new ticket). Unfortunately, we did not know the whole story of every offender, but we had one guy who was dealing at the premises; we had one young girl who jumped off the cliff into the sea and no one saw her dive out. The Event control alarmed coast guard and scuba-divers and there was an intense search for her, only to find her on the other side of the beach. She did not think it would be such a problem if she jumped. We also had a guy who was so high on drugs, that he started to randomly kick people passing by and eventually got arrested.

It is funny how this environment is so hectic, so nerve-wrecking and so exhausting, and yet it is like a fix. A person somehow gets addicted to all this vibe and no matter how hard it was and how many sleepless nights we had, we cannot wait for another opportunity to work at the festival. As Porter would put it: "once caught up in the fun, it becomes harder to simply push away" (Porter, in Gullotta, 2000:185). However, as with any addiction, at some point one has to stop consuming. People on higher positions regularly slept less than 3 hours a day and regularly lost from 3 to 6 kilo's a week, depending on their ability to cope with stress. Coffees and Red bulls were a must – in extreme cases even 7-10 a day. I have never seen anyone using certain substances, but I am still bothered by the question how they could survive those three weeks and were there drugs involved to keep them concentrated, busy and awake the whole time. They usually manage to be on the same position for two or maximum three years, then they just quit because the stress level is far beyond elevated. My Manager has recently contacted me, offering me a proper, paid job with proper accommodation on 2015 festivals. I was extremely excited when I saw her e-mail and everything just rushed back to my memory – the massive festival site, thousands of people united in that special, non-everyday life experience, the music, stages, boat-parties, dealing with people, multiculturalism, alternative styles of music and expression. At that moment I realized how much I crave to leave this routine I am living in and immerse myself in the festival vibe. No matter how worn out and exhausted I got during the last festival, I knew I need this short-term transcendation to a special setting. Every time I pass by Pula or other festival grounds in Croatia I become excited, remembering all the exceptional people I met and that special lifestyle, completely unrelated to my usual life and my usual self – it definitely is like a fix. However, I believe one has to be pretty careful what to expect and whether to perceive working on such a festival as mostly fun, with some working hours, or the other way around. One can get very disappointed when having unrealistic expectations. It bothers me a bit how

the festival management is recruiting the team under the motto of great fun, new friends, great music etc. This is an example of what is currently written on their webpage:

VOLUNTEERS

Experience the festival from the inside
Every year we recruit enthusiastic and fun, festival-loving volunteers to join our team onsite. Earn a free ticket and experience the festival from the inside, with a range of opportunities from Stewarding to Stage management, Artist Liaison to Litter Picking.

For the year 2013 this is what the ad looked like:

VOLUNTEERS

As well as getting a **free** ticket and four days **free** camping, volunteering is a great way to make new friends, have a laugh and really get into the Outlook vibe.
We have something for everyone whether you're opening minds with amazing art, spreading the love while you're litter picking, or just looking fresh in a high-vis!
Each and every volunteer contributes to the success of the festival, so why not get involved?

The organizers are searching for someone special, who will not get burnt-out too quickly and who will be energetic throughout the festival and they are stressing how everyone can find their place on the festival and everybody is welcome. However, since the advertisement is full of words evoking positive vibes, one usually does not re-think why they would need someone with such attributes and how hard it could be to play a role at such an event. "Fun, festival-loving and team" are all positive words that bring joy to an individual. Everyone wants to be a part of something bigger, people need to feel this sense of coherence, of belonging; it is in our human nature and that is what the festival is offering, but for a certain price. Sense of coherence is not only important in social sense, but in biological as well. It is a great predictor of the ability to maintain good health and cope with daily life. Participation of people in their own society is considered crucial to the strengthening of health in a society and health is the ability to resist physical, mental and social stresses and strains (Hassler, Eklund, 2012). Moreover, volunteering is a great way to get a free ticket, says the add, whereas in reality the volunteer only gets a daily ticket for the day(s) he/she is volunteering, not a full festival ticket. I was very disappointed with the organization of volunteers, with available volunteering roles, and the way they have represented it in the media. I had great expectations, but to me, it was something completely different than what I have imagined and I would never want to be a volunteer again. Although volunteers constitute

an important part of every big event, I did not find myself in such a role. Being a volunteer everything is relaxed and relatively unorganized. A person is responsible for finding the shifts on his/her own and yet required to do at least three shifts – which means coming to Volunteers office a few times a day to check if any shift is available and hope for the best. Volunteers are usually told someone will come and pick them up when their shift is finished and that rarely happened – we were left confused whether we can leave our spot or should we wait for someone to allow us to leave. Despite a great role they play there, I got the impression that Management (Outlook and Dimensions festivals, Garden festivals were a different story) does not cherish them enough.

MANAGEMENT SUPPORT TEAM

Our Management Support Team (MST) scheme is a summer placement opportunity offering live event experience in a variety of on-site roles. We are looking for ambitious and enthusiastic individuals who want to build upon their live event skills and knowledge within a team of experienced professionals.

It is a great way to meet new friends that is true, but it is also quite impossible to be a responsible MST and party hard. I only went to the opening concerts and only once to the stage, I was there for half an hour and decided to go to bed instead. There were people missing their shifts or coming to their shifts drunk, but in my opinion that was not the point. It is somewhat easier to be a volunteer, because they have shorter shifts and their shifts are more flexible. MSTs get their weekly „rota" and there is not much space to make changes. I am still highly convinced that without using some illegal substances there is no chance to work, party and work again, with almost no sleep for anyone other than a volunteer. Although there are some MST positions located in the middle of the party, they still have to do their job – they are just closer to the music and party. At some point we all faced that inner discourse between what we were wanting/expecting, and what we were getting/being asked to do. We all came there pretty verdant with a vision of what this experience would look like, based on our own previous experiences and the media representation of the festival and festival roles. Somewhere, along the process, there was a clash between that vision and reality and it takes great self-discipline to face the reality, to discard one's own idea of the job and accept the facts – rigorous work, great responsibility, coping with rules and ethics without much free-time. In a way, festival can be a mirror of what adolescence is like. Every adolescent has his/her own vision of their life, of their goals and ideas, of the perfect life they are striving towards. But on the other side of that bubble is a cruel reality – parents and their ideas for the

life of their children, school, teachers, society, norms, rules, culture, friends... During the teenage and adolescent years individuals' wishes and ideas usually collide with everything else – hence feelings of not being accepted, understood and of being constantly restrained. The ambivalence of adolescence with all the inner fights and discourses an individual goes through is a real-life presentation of working on a festival. Work on festivals is full of dichotomies – individual- and team-work, fun and responsibility, free-time and strict schedule, a will to let go and indulge and (legal) restrains in doing so. It is extremely hard to stay focused and dedicated to work, when being is immersed in festival vibe and atmosphere. Apart from moral reasons of exerting the job properly, MSTs signed a contract that stated, among other obligations and rules, that a person can be sent home (on his/her own expense) in case of certain serious violations of his/her position. We experienced a clash of two worldviews – being hard-working, responsible, rested, concentrated and reliable on one hand – characteristics that were imposed on us from some higher instance, and wanting to have fun, go to concerts, party, skip sleeping and enjoy on the other – our inner interests. With regard to adolescence and growing up, it is due to this clash of someone's interests and societal norms and regulations that makes it difficult for youth to go through this transitional period.

As the festival finished, the guests were required to leave by noon the next day. We were there for an extra 2-3 days, some even stayed a week longer. We went through the stuff left (wristbands, vouchers etc.), packed and cleaned our office, etc. No matter how hard it was to cope with everything and to be there for 20 days, that packing was immensely hard as well – it meant that that special time in our lives is over. Back to reality; back to school, back to our cities/countries, back to our old routines. The time spent there was out of scope of reality, it was something different, unusual and unpredictable. Every day was different. We never knew what is going to wait for us the next day. It was hard, but it was also rewarding, interesting and something for what one can never be fully prepared. It was the time to think on-spot, to bring quick decisions, to be highly responsible and obey rules, but to stand behind one's own decisions and defend them if necessary. It was a time I cannot compare to anything lived through so far. Leaving it brought the same repugnant feeling as did the breakdown – both things meant facing the reality. However, once we packed everything and once there was only a huge empty place there left, I instantly felt homesick and wanted to leave as soon as possible. I was supposed to stay until Thursday and on Wednesday there was a Goodbye party for all the MSTs, but I managed to get a place on a bus on Tuesday, which I wholeheartedly accepted. I could not stay there a minute longer. Once I got back I was sleeping for 15 hours, each day from Wednesday to Saturday. My feelings were all messed up, from depression,

through being stable to excitement with mood swings from tears to happiness and laughter. It took me quite a while to relax, to get rest and to set back to my boring, predictable, everyday routine life. Looking back on it, I would never change a single thing and I would never change that experience for anything in the world. It was not as expected, it was not as advertized, it was definitely not easy, but it was one of a kind – something special and something new, something worth all the trouble.

One thing I would like to emphasize is how on such events back- and front-stage are intertwined. For us working there, back-stage was actually front-stage. We had our privacy and we were able to merge in the masses and be free out of our offices and in front of the stage. For visitors, back-stage was where we were, the other side of the stage, behind all the lights and performance. In words of Goffman, there is a tendency for a region to become identified as the front region or back region of a performance, still there are many regions which function at one time and in one sense as a front region and at another time and in another sense as a back region. The private office of an executive is the front region where his status in the organization is intensively expressed (Goffman, 1959:126) and yet it should be a place where he can take his jacket off, loosen his tie and spend time with fellow executives of his own rank. Such a complex relation perfectly coincides with today's society, youth and music, where there are no longer strict divisions and boundaries between age, status, style and scene, but everything tends to be interconnected and merged into something higher.

8. Conclusion

The term "youth" is now more complex than ever. It cannot be chronologically determined, but has biological, psychological, social, economic and cultural aspect. The boundaries between childhood, youth and adulthood are blurred and the three categories overlap. Given the change in our life-styles, youth often feel deprived and marginalized – educational period is prolonged and their entrance into work sphere is delayed. Youth are stuck somewhere in between, they are liminal. They have more power than children, but less than adults. As a consequence, they often turn to sub- and countercultures which results in dominant culture perceiving them as a threat. On one hand, youth are viewed as the new "hope", as a generation that will improve the world. On the other, they are defiant, rebellious and might reject to conform to traditional patterns thereby causing a threat to society.

Youth no longer cherish the traditional culture, but turn to modernity. They strictly divide school/work and free-time and do not want to deal with anything from the educational/working sphere during their leisure time. This category is under increased risk of deviant behavior, since they always seek for excitement. They also lack possibilities and organized events they can attend, and therefore usually opt for behaviors dominant culture does not approve.

Since youth already is a category at risk, if no measures or changes happen in the future, they will no longer be able to successfully go through this transition into adulthood and become a stable person. Schools have to start teaching the free-time pedagogy and encourage children to develop interests in "true" culture. Cities and counties have to provide children and youth with parks and recreational areas. Society should stop being discriminative and restrictive towards this population and try to start a dialogue with them. More understanding and acceptance from both sides, combined with guided and constructive exertion of free-time could improve youth's status in society and enable them smooth transition into adulthood.

Young people are related to music and they express themselves through music genres. Some enthusiasts decide to act and get involved into music industry through volunteering or working on music festivals. It is an exhausting, yet very awarding job that perfectly mirrors the struggles every adolescent has in this transitional period. It takes a lot of people, working hours, energy and will to make a festival happen, but in retrospective it is definitely worth it. New friendships, new communities arise from festivals – different people, different cultures, different worldviews become one. Many festivals are family, pets and children friendly; some even have special infrastructure for handicapped people. Festivals do not discriminate on any level – they could even bear the potential for social inclusion since they unite, at least for a moment, different social groups creating the atmosphere of acceptance, support and friendliness.

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