

The Other by Itself:
Authenticity in electronic dance music in Serbia
at the turn of the centuries

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Abstract

Electronic dance music (shortly EDM) in Serbia was an authentic phenomenon of popular culture whose development went hand in hand with a socio-political situation in the country during the 1990s. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991 to the moment of the official end of communism in 2000, Serbia was experiencing turbulent situations. On one hand, it was one of the most difficult periods in contemporary history of the country. On the other – it was one of the most original. In that period, EDM officially made its entrance upon the stage of popular culture and began shaping *the new scene*.

My explanation sheds light on the fact that a *specific space* and a *particular time* allow the authenticity of transposing a certain phenomenon from one context to another. Transposition of worldwide EDM culture in local environment in Serbia resulted in scene development during the 1990s, interesting DJ tracks and live performances.

The other authenticity is the concept that led me to research. This concept is mostly inspired by the book “Death of the Image” by philosopher Milorad Belančić, who says that the image today is moved to the level of new *screen* and *digital* spaces. The other authenticity offers another interpretation of a work, or an event, while the criterion by which certain phenomena, based on pre-existing material can be noted is to be different, to stand out by their specificity in a new context. The phenomenon/work/event should be evaluated from the perspective of time when is performed, appeared or presented.

To prove my thesis I created an argument through four steps. Firstly, I presented main characteristics of the genre and its contextual development from 1991 to 2000. Secondly, EDM was not only considered as a *musical phenomenon*, but also as a *performance*. Starting from the architectonics of music flow, I examined the appearance of the tracks in other forms that are also important for the analysis of EDM such as music video and live performance. Each of them focuses on one phenomenon which determines EDM as specific genre: sample, remix and (two metaphors) musical spaces/spatiality in music. Thirdly, EDM parties were considered as *multivalent forms* in which music is the most important, albeit not the only element. By analysing three select recordings of live parties as *performances* I found out three aspects that were (re)shaping through them: *ritualised performance*, *re-enactment*, and aspect of space. Finally, re-reading analysed examples using the lens of the other authenticity, I found several ways of expressing the other authenticity, e.g. presence of the past and relation to it, symbolic communication with the pre-existing material, the key sound image/the key moment of the performance, etc. Using interdisciplinary approach and developing system of analysis I made a link between ethnomusicology – studies of popular music – performance studies.

The model of *concentric circles* (music–DJ–performers on stage–VJ–audience–space–space-time context), illuminates levels of performance in EDM (with the centre in the same point: in music). The model opens a new perspective for thinking about *music-performance* not in the relations which are divided as a *music* and *performance*, but as a *new platform*. In that light, EDM becomes *transitional phenomenon of popular culture* which stresses the importance of understanding the uniqueness between sound/music and performance/theatre.

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What Is This All About?

Music explores in a given code entire field of possibilities, faster than it can make material reality. It helps us to understand what would later become evident and visible, which would impose and regulate the order of things. It is not only an echo of aesthetics of a certain time, but also a transcendence of the everyday and an announcement of its future.

Jacques Attali

Electronic dance music, shortly EDM, is an umbrella term which covers various (sub)genres of popular electronic music, performed in clubs or alternative spaces for dancers gathered around the disk-jockey (DJ). EDM is divided into main sub-genres – house, techno, drum'n'bass and ambient, as well as numerous sub-subgenres, among which are progressive house, acid house, trance, minimal techno, intelligent techno, break beat, etc. Despite performing in clubs or alternative spaces, EDM and live DJ performances appear also in Internet space, today primarily on numerous web radio stations which promote this genre, such as Proton Radio, Frisky Radio, Digitally Imported, etc. The core of EDM lies in “four-on-the-floor” and breakbeat rhythms,¹ electronic sound and samples which are created by using the gramophone for mixing (Technics 1210) and rhythm machines (e.g. Roland TR 303 and 909), and later recombined by various computer software (such as Cubase, Ableton Live, Logic Studio, Pro tools, etc.). Also, EDM is specific by sound which is set in a multilayer order, repetitiveness and frequent use of pre-existing materials.

One of the important characteristics that distinguished EDM as a specific appearance in popular culture is the fact that EDM is a *trans-territorial phenomenon* which started to

¹ All EDM genres use 4/4 meter. However, beside the dominant “four-on-the-floor” rhythm which is specific for sub-genres such as techno, house and trance, there are also those constructed on breakbeat (e.g. drum'n'bass, hardcore, breakbeat), or those based on the blend of these two rhythms. Nonetheless, while “four-on-the-floor” occurs as the effect of programmed drum-machine rhythms and characterises a constant stream of steady bass-drum quarter notes, breakbeats highlight entire drum-set patterns and irregularity in presentation. As Mark J. Butler points out “Four-on-the-floor comes from rock, in which a performer playing a drum set would need to depress the foot pedal on the bass drum (the “kick” drum) four times per measure in order to play a four-quarter-note pattern... Breakbeats are drum patterns sampled from the percussion-only sections, or “breaks,” of old funk records. When used in EDM, breakbeats are sped up, often considerably” (Butler 2006: 78).

develop and be shaped from the late 1980s of the 20th century. In this light, Sarah Thornton pointed out that, “It was not considered to be the sound of any particular city or any definite social group, but rather as an offer of 'a celebration of rootlessness'” (Thornton 1995: 76). Although it cannot strictly be revealed *where* and *when* it first appeared, it is possible to highlight several important influences under which EDM developed. Namely, one of the basic ones ensued from the concept of *improvisation* of music material borrowed from African-American jazz. Secondly, an influence from Jamaican dub as a sub-genre of reggae music which introduced the “cut” and “paste” technique in popular music as a new media feature. Thirdly, EDM development has its roots in the disco music of the 1960s and 1970s. Namely, disco has been continued by the house sub-genre, which was popular in Chicago and New York during the 1980s. Furthermore, the great impact of the German band Kraftwerk and their creative (musical) thinking influenced, among others, the development of Detroit techno. Besides, German Krautrock and bands such as Can, Faust, Neu! and Euro-disco genre contributed to creating EDM. Nonetheless, Giorgio Moroder’s addition to further development was also important. Namely, Moroder extended mega mix and created the aforementioned “four-on-the-floor” disco pulse rhythm using a drum machine to simplify funk rhythms in order to make them easier for the dancers.

Further, influences spilled over to entire sideline impacts of American experimental music of the mid 1950s guided by the idea of research in music as a creative process with an uncertain result, whose founder and main leader was John Cage; also, there were the minimal composers who were working in the field of *live electronic* aiming to blur the boundaries between popular and high artistic practices (Terry Riely and La Monte Young), as well as Pierre Schaeffer’s ideas of sampling. In addition to this, it can be pointed out that science fiction authors such as Alvin Toffler (author of “The Third Wave”) and William Gibson (author of “Neuromancer”) had a significant impact on EDM development. Finally, without rhythm which retains ancient rituals, nature and our planet’s pulsation, and connects people to dance and experience body movements, EDM would never have such an expansion, regardless how it became popular and began to spread rapidly.

The DJ is a central figure responsible for the success or the failure of an EDM performance. As a craftsmen and a music-lover, the DJ plays a pivotal role in the adaptation of records for dancing, not only as a representative and respondent to the audience, but also

as an artist. Thornton highlighted that “DJs bridge the gap in that they are professional collectors and players of ‘originals’ as well as mediators and orchestrators of the audience” (Thornton 1995: 30). What is interesting in Thornton’s interpretation is the fact that the DJ performance became an artistic expression. “Anyone who wants to understand them has to go to a club,” adds Ulf Poschardt and continues, “The truth about DJs has to be experienced by watching them at work and dancing” (Poschardt 1998: 17). Following these statements, it is important to shed light on a paradigm change which happened in EDM: the transition of the disk-jockey into a musician-performer form of DJ. Namely, under the name disk-jockey there was usually a record-spinner, a person who presented an established music repertoire in clubs or the radio, accompanied by comments. Disk-jockeys played records following the taste of the audience, they were the assistants in discotheques. When a disk-jockey got his own space and time of performance in EDM, he began to decide about the records and music to be played. Namely, he obtained the role of a DJ, becoming an author figure, a *performer*, or a *music-performing persona* respectively (Auslander 2006a).

A range of music(s) and sound recordings centres on the figure of the DJ as a performer. Due to an eclectic role, DJ “organises the material that has already been created and builds artworks into a new whole” (Poschardt 1998: 16). During the mid 1990s, the term “DJ culture” became important for describing the particular space made possible by the culture of recording, where sounds circulate as a network of recorded entities separate from the specificity of time, place and authorship. In this light, Poschardt elaborates that, “Now the DJ transcends music produced previously in the materialist sense: he collects and archives it as raw material for his own work. In so doing, he enters directly into a relationship with music history, and is thus able to tinker with it... He can bring together sounds, beats and melodies from various songs, by various composers, even from different eras, juxtaposing or combining them. Old music is put in new contexts; the contexts are transposed. Old pieces of music (both whole songs and elements of songs) are endlessly reinvented. Musical history seems to lose its linearity: the potentially boundless access to old material makes everything run towards the present, the moment of synthesis” (Poschardt 1998: 16).

The second paradigm change happened in DJ culture. Namely, as the dominant sound recording medium by the end of the 20th century, the gramophone and vinyl got new roles.

The gramophone became the instrument with which the DJ brings about a revolution in popular music. Not only is it no longer a transmitter of another sound phenomenon, but it becomes one by itself. Breaking the traditional boundary between the real and the virtual, between the concert and the gramophone ways of listening to music, the DJs consider gramophone record playing on a turntable as an activity *per se*. Although some artists are still loyal to playing vinyl at their live EDM performances, or combining different devices, which happens in most cases, during the last decade, music reproduction from professional DJ CD players and laptops, which also became musical instruments, replaced reproduction from vinyl. Furthermore, digital technology has been mastered in DJ culture during the last years, while EDM became a new way of considering tendencies at the turn of the 21st century, the openness to learn, overcome and use technology, evolving into a platform for presenting (sound/music) material from the past in the new shape.

Nonetheless, armed with ideas and dedicated work, a talented DJ, who also got the role of mediator into Other Worlds (which mainly refers to escapism and creating imagined physic landscapes of utopia), can inspire the dancing of thousands of people at large live EDM performances. The parties can be marked as *initiations* of modern time. In this light, the term *modern time* refers to the third paradigm change which became visible in popular culture from the early 1990s when raves, which in that period spread throughout Western Europe, changed the common understanding of a party. Namely, in contrast to other pop musical genres where the emphasis is on the stage and the performers, in EDM the light is shed on the dance floor and the audience. The audience obtained a significant role and became a performer, which is one of the most significant features that EDM brings into life (Butler 2006). Simon Reynolds indicated that it is not enough just to listen to music, but also to experience music and convey it through one's own bodily movements. He described it as follows "[...] dance moves spread through the crowd like superfast viruses... Each subindividual part (a limb, a hand cocked like a pistol) was a cog in a collective "desiring machine," interlocking with the sound system's bass throbs and sequencer riffs. Unity and self-expression fused in a force field of pulsating, undulating euphoria" (Reynolds 1998: 5).

Looking through these perspectives, it can be said that the uniqueness of EDM performance lies in the special DJ ability to create a strong bond with the audience. Namely, between the audience and the DJ there is created a field of energy which expands and

intensifies. If EDM performed by a DJ animates and inspires the audience, then the audience will react to it and create bodily answers to the music played. In that way, a gradual energetic seesaw is created, or waves of energy exchanged, while, as Reynolds previously described, the energy and rhythm from music materialises through the bodily movements of the dancers. Although it does not happen at every live EDM performance, making circular communication energy is important for creating temporary communities between the DJ and the audience.

Viewed in this way, EDM performances became physical experiences which happen in “the here and the now” of time and space. Not only have these performances become events, but also *temporary* and *open* works of art in which every participant enters into the space of the performance and roles different from ordinary life. A gradual entry into the atmosphere of the party also enables entering into the roles of DJ and the performing audience where each individual becomes a dancing, party persona. Together they create performative spaces² in which every participant has a specific experience. Also, EDM performance can be enriched with VJs (video jockey) live performances and (professional) dancers and/or other musicians on the stage, which all contribute on one hand in extending and stepping forward the music into the performance, while on the other – in achieving a stronger experience of a party.

The energy is established in the relations between the music that is played – the DJ – the audience – and their feedback reactions (bodily or sound) to the DJ – (VJ and performers on stage, if any) – (scenography) space where the party is performed – and the space-time context of the performance, as can be visualised in the following figure:

² I use the concept of performative space defined by Erika Fischer-Lichte in this study to show how performative spaces were created and shaped in EDM in Serbia. According to the author, all spaces in which performances take place may be understood as performative spaces. Not only do they open up special possibilities for a correlation between actors and spectators, for movement and perception, but also every movement of people, objects, light, sounding can change a performative space. In this light, it can be noted that the performative space is unstable and fluctuating, as it opens up possibilities without defining how they will ultimately be used and realised. Moreover, the performative space can be employed in ways neither planned nor foreseeable. The nature of performative space, unlike architectural-geometric space, is constantly mutating. Spatiality is generated through the movements and perceptions of actors and spectators and it focuses on the process through which the autopoietic feedback loop brings forth spatiality, directs attention to the affective potential of the circulating energies, and engenders spatiality as a blend of real and imagined spaces. It identifies the performative space as a “space between” (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 107-114).

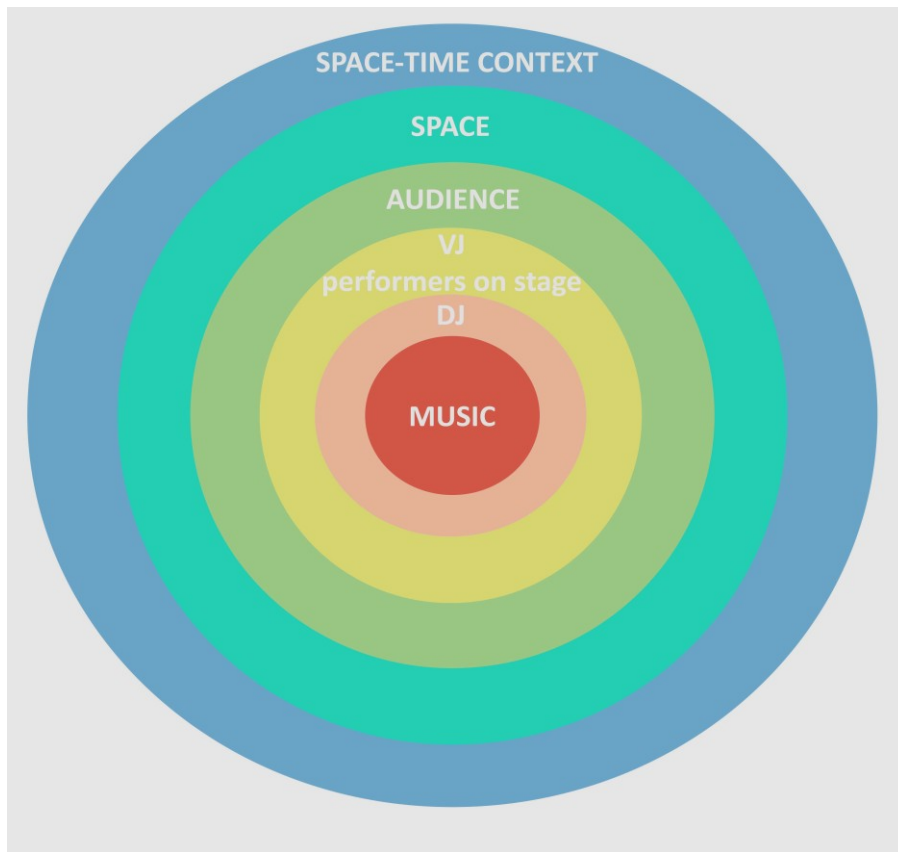


Figure 1 | Levels of performance in EDM.

What is engaging with the model established in this way is the fact that EDM becomes a *transitional phenomenon* which highlights the importance of understanding the uniqueness between sound/music and performance/theatre. In pop cultural shape and sub-cultural meaning, sound/music and performance/theatre are more related to *transitional phenomena* than being the subject of disciplinary thinking. Hence, EDM, understood as a compound of music and theatre and interdisciplinary conceived, presents the main point of departure in this study. As Figure 1 demonstrates, the levels of performance in EDM are shaped as concentric circles with the centre in the same point – in music. In that light, it is important to highlight that the power embodied in and through music/rhythm/sound has a crucial role in the construction of the whole EDM phenomenon. However, this study will in a way open a new perspective for interdisciplinary thinking about *music-performance* not in the relations which are divided as a *music* and *performance*, but maybe as a *new platform*.

From the early 1990s, EDM began to cause interest in the wider audience not only as a new pop cultural phenomenon, but also as something which is closely connected to the affirmation of a possible future(s). Namely, the artificial and synthetic sound of EDM created by using (digital) technology and creating performative spaces with a specific atmosphere at live performances together referred to the affirmation of the future. Nonetheless, it has been seen as a popular force of expansive mechanisation and digitalisation of culture. The “meaning” pertained to the macro level of the entire *techno culture* while, according to Reynolds “you no longer ask what the music 'means' but how it 'works'... Where rock relates to an experience (autobiographical or imaginary), electronic dance music *constructs* an experience” (Reynolds 1998: 9).

During the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, EDM was mainly related to the Western capitalist countries and the USA. However, in the beginning of the 1990s, a group of young Serbian DJs and promoters saw the importance of bringing the new and growing popular culture and implementing it in the local environment. My interest in EDM began with these clubbing experiences from the beginning of EDM development in Serbia. Namely, when in 1994 for the first time I entered Belgrade’s club Industria (Industry), which in that period was almost an institutionalised space for EDM, I felt the unique energy which led me to recognise that a new, unfamiliar to me in that period, phenomenon of popular culture was in question. It was a specific feeling, the descent down the metal stairs of the club and entering into an atmosphere of a gradual symbolic connection and communication through body movements with other dancers conducted by the DJ, who was positioned at the central, slightly higher part of the club. The feeling of discovering the space, communicating through movements with other dancers and a strong wish to immediately become a part of the performance led me to perceive that this was a new kind of clubbing, something different from other events in Belgrade. The difference was reflected in the dressing code, the look, style, music and a specific kind of experience of the party.

In addition, this phenomenon of popular culture appeared in a specific socio-political situation in Serbia after the fall of Yugoslavia during the 1990s, and it is important to illuminate because through EDM it is possible to examine the changes in the field of popular culture. As it will be seen more clearly in the following chapter, during the period, participants used the means of a performance to signal their acts of protest while defining a

community at numerous protests that took place in Serbia. Nonetheless, performative acts (such as whistling, moving/walking/dancing, making noise, etc.) gradually began to emerge, to profile and to direct the field of popular culture, which went hand in hand with the developing EDM genre. Not only did the genre make a turn in popular music, changing the narrative structures into the performative (which also marked a performative turn in the field of popular music culture in Serbia during the 1990s), but also the performative acts that participants at the EDM parties conducted began to spread from club spaces into the streets, precisely into *events* in the streets.

My consideration and examination of the EDM phenomenon will be conducted on four levels. Firstly, I elaborate EDM development in a specific socio-political context. Secondly, the focus will be on examining select examples from the level of music, while thirdly, I consider this transitional phenomenon through the level of live EDM performances. Linking the results obtained from the analysis with the contextual framework of EDM development in Serbia during the 1990s, I will illuminate the facts which led to my understanding of this pop cultural phenomenon in Serbia as authentic. My aim is to determine the ways in which the transitional phenomenon of EDM is manifested within a particular context, taking as an example the period in Serbia at the turn of the 21st century. There will be analytical and critical observations of the conditions in which young, urban people in Serbia understood, displayed, expressed themselves and produced their world in EDM. My personal experience and participation in EDM culture in Serbia have motivated me to shed light on and concentrate on this pop culture phenomenon, as one of the rare *pillars of reliance* in that period.

In addition, this study contains an Appendix with two charts of the formal musical structure of the examples analysed in Chapter 2. Also, it contains an attached CD with material of select examples analysed in Chapters 2 and 3 (CD examples 9 – 15) as well as fragments of video recordings from EDM parties which took place during the 1990s in Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš (CD examples 1 – 8 and 16 – 19). The content of the compact disc is included also as a separate list.

Chapter 1 | EDM in Serbia: history, influences and development.

Although from the roof of my building everything looks the same as it was ten, fifteen years ago, things have completely changed. The reason why I used to love this city is that, in it, my life was a big party. There were the days when I complained that Belgrade is not Amsterdam, but more often I was happy because it was not East Berlin. Today I see that it was an outstanding ambience for living, and then darkness began to fall. At the very beginning, seven, eight years ago, no one could imagine what was going to happen. No one could even guess that the devil was coming to town. When matters became clearer, it was too late. The city was divided. They were standing on one side, and on the other – it was us...

(Introduction to the documentary *Geto*³)

³ *Geto* (1996), a documentary directed by Mladen Matičević and Ivan Markov shows the degradation of urban city life in Belgrade during the 1990s by way of the walk of the main protagonist and narrator Goran Čavajda Čavke through the city. He was the drummer of the famous Belgrade-based band Električni orgazam, influential and distinct as one of the representatives of the New Wave in Yugoslavia. Čavke's encounters with Belgrade musicians and artists, who attempted to retain the spirit of the city for the days to come resembled therapy sessions (Perković 2011: 85).

1.1.1 | The ambience and atmosphere of the socio-political situation in Serbia after the fall of Yugoslavia.⁴

For a better understanding of the specificity of EDM in Serbia, which began to develop during the 1990s of the last century, it is significantly important to consider, at the very beginning, the contextual level in which the phenomenon appeared. Thus, in this chapter I focus on two central questions: how popular culture was transformed in Serbia after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and how and whether EDM of its own accord had elements which contributed to the process of changing the social climate at the turn of the 21st century. Having in mind the fact that there is no study about EDM in Serbia, nor in the whole post-Yugoslav space, this pioneering attempt will hopefully shed light on the EDM phenomenon *per se* and all the facts that point out its importance. Therefore, the change of the socio-political system, which I consider in the following sub-chapters, and EDM as a new pop culture that was developing in the period, are set as the basis ground in this study. The historical overview and survey is based on the following: a personal field research I conducted in a few stages from 2010 to 2014 with DJs, producers and promoters; popular press inquiries, reviews and media shows that promoted EDM in Serbia during the 1990s; also, participation in clubbing from the mid 1990s to date. In addition, as an activist during the socio-political upheaval in the former Yugoslavia which precipitated the subsequent disintegration of the country as a result of war, sanctions and isolation, I took part in a number of protests which became a part of everyday life in Serbia at the turn of the century. My survey draws on this experience, which has become integral to the research topic. Therefore, shedding light on the facts, I aim to present a context in which EDM was developed and shaped in Serbia, while Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the analysis of selected examples as part of a broader context.

The last decade of the 20th century in Serbia can be called “living in controlled chaos.”

⁴ The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a Communist-federal state formed after the Second World War. The country was developed on the base and roots of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, respectively. A year after the disintegration of SFRY in 1991, Serbia and Montenegro established a federation named the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In 2003, it was reconstituted as the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. From 2006, Serbia was an independent state, officially known as the Republic of Serbia. Bearing in mind that country name changes can be confusing for readers, I use the name Serbia, mostly because of the development of the EDM scene, as well as the fact that the examples analysed in Chapters 2 and 3 of the study are located in that geographical/historical/cultural space.

Hence, if an outsider attempted to perceive and see the basic political processes, s/he would be confused and at the same time surprised. The high alternation event flows, sudden breakdowns, turnovers of political factors within a short period, and the entire complex of problematic issues that are characteristic for isolated countries involved in (war) conflicts make the image blurry. Therefore, my aim is not to write the history of all the events that occurred in Serbia after the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991, but to highlight the facts that are indispensable for the development of EDM, or more precisely, for the first wave which took place from 1992 until 2000.

Lastly, the concepts of *atmosphere*, *climate*, *darkness*, *spaces of intimacy* and *total institutions* and the stand point of the generation that grew up in Belgrade in that period will hopefully allow a focus on the situation that affected the atmosphere and opened space for an expansion of the EDM genre in Serbia. As will be seen more clearly in the following sub-chapters, dictatorships, revolutions and other unstable dynamic social orders indicate a state of “great fear,” whereupon people reveal that the institutions which unite and connect a society almost disappear in front of their eyes. Moreover, they also show that new possibilities and perspectives could change the root of things. In support of this, Greek mythology highlights that every cosmos, order or array was born from chaos (Đurković 2002: 123). Although at the turn of the 21st century, EDM in Serbia was almost an isolated phenomenon, it quickly began spreading throughout the field of popular culture, demonstrating, as we will shortly see, its specificities and significance.

1.1.2 | Prologue. The staging of politics.

The atmospheric conditions that constitute specific feelings in life can illuminate the experience of certain ambient(s) and space(s). This multidimensional concept and intermediate phenomenon that stands in the correlation subject-object can refer to nature, culture, history, geography, politics, private and public, and can be placed in the field of the imaginary as well as the real. Understood as a condition that develops in multiple ways, an atmosphere generates the production of different worlds and experiences. Kathleen Stewart highlights: “An atmosphere is not an inert context but a force field in which people find

themselves. It is not an effect of other forces but a lived affect. A capacity to affect and to be affected that pushes a present into a composition, an expressivity, the sense of potentiality and event. It is an attunement of the senses, a labour to make matter potential ways of living or living through” (Stewart 2011: 452). Gernot Böhme asserts that, when speaking of atmospheres, we refer to their character as divided into moods, and “it presents a way in which it communicates a feeling to us as participating subjects” (Böhme 2012: 2). What both authors imply is that atmospheres are powers which affect the subject; they have a tendency to induce in the subject a specific mode. Hence, atmospheres can be experienced as unpredictable and in contrast to one’s own mode, which stresses their transformative power. In addition to this, Böhme says: “[...] atmospheres are involved wherever something is being staged, wherever design is a factor – and that now means: almost everywhere... [they] unify a diversity of impressions in a single emotive state” (Böhme 2012: 2).

Further, Böhme’s concept of *the art of the stage set* as a paradigm of making atmospheres with objective reality highlights “the felt presence of something or someone in space” (Böhme 2012: 8). The concept is significant for several reasons and applicable for considering the socio-political situation in Serbia during the 1990s. Firstly, atmospheres seem to be something ambiguous and debatable. Further, in the art of the stage set there is a long tradition of talking about atmospheres and of practical skills to deal with atmospheres. They are like the aesthetic quality of a scene or a view (Böhme 2012: 2). Secondly, atmospheres seem to be something irrational. However, the art of the stage set proves that participants can “make” atmospheres. Böhme points out: “The purpose of the stage set is to provide the atmospheric background to the action, to attune the spectators to the theatrical performance and to provide the actors with a sounding board for what they present” (Böhme 2012: 3). Finally, even though atmospheres seem to be something basically subjective, the art of the stage set would be useless if it was not possible to make atmospheres on the stage which were not perceived in the same time by a broader audience. “The choice of the paradigm of the stage set for the art of generating atmospheres, therefore, mirrors the real theatricalisation of our life,” highlights Böhme (Böhme 2012: 9). In addition, in this context, I understand and use the term “stage” as a metaphor for certain happenings. Considering Böhme’s theoretical angle, the concept of an atmosphere emphasises bodily experience which is, as will be made more clear soon, important *in* and *for* this study.

On the next level, placing the socio-political situation in Serbia at the turn of the centuries as a stage set, I focus on the ways in which atmospheres were created in relation to the objective reality in the country after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Guided by the idea that “staging has become a basic feature of our society” (Böhme 2012: 9), the concept will shed light on two questions: firstly, which atmospheres and climate changes create a unique image of Serbia at the turn of the century; and, secondly, how they were made and produced. Böhme gives an interesting interpretation: “[...] making atmospheres refers to the manipulating of material conditions, of things, apparatus, sound and light... [Atmosphere itself is] a floating in-between, something between things and the perceiving subjects. The making of atmospheres is, therefore, confined to setting the conditions in which the atmosphere appears. We refer to these conditions as generators” (Böhme 2012: 4).

However, in order to properly understand the context of atmosphere and ambience change in Serbia during the 1990s, it is necessary to illuminate several important facts. Namely, positioned at the crossroads between the East and the West, Yugoslavia was actually the country where winds, metaphorically, blew in various directions. Also, the existence of six national communities, many national minorities, four languages, three religions (Orthodox, Catholics and Muslims) and two alphabets (Cyrillic and Latin) – determined the conditions of the atmosphere and its multileveled character. The East – West division, or the Orient – Occident correlation, firstly refers to the border position of the country. Historically speaking, it was the territory of contention between Christianised Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Looking through the lenses of geography, it was a part of the Balkan region, or a territory between Europe and Asia. Diachronically observing, in a borderland geographical space, ancient Greece and Rome, Byzantium, Ottoman Turkey and Catholic Europe cultures interlaced, influenced and coloured the space and its inhabitants in many ways, producing a dynamic, lively and multilayered local civilisation. Looking in a wider context, the Balkans was also thought of as the Oriental part of Europe, or the European East, equally close to and far from the West.

Situated in the space of creative borrowing, Yugoslavia held a significant position. It was the only Eastern European country to remain socialist but independent. After the Second World War, the country was under the power of a “temperate” totalitarianism, different from the Soviet regime due to a lack of total repression. The basis of the political system was reflected in the illusion of a larger freedom and principles of absolute loyalty to

the Communist State Party (Golubović 2004: 235). However, after the end of the 1980s, the country fell into a deep economic crisis which opened numerous plights that were reflected on the levels of politics and a disrupted system of values. In 1986, Zoran Đinđić used the metaphor “Yugoslavia is a Candle Burning at Both Ends” to emphasise the problems which the country began to be confronted with (Đinđić 1986). The tense atmosphere soon made Yugoslavs more solemn and worried about the future. The troubles were reflected in other fields and critical situations, and people who used to live together began to distance themselves.

The old Communist system, rooted in the persona of President Josip Broz Tito and Western financial support, demanded changes in almost all spheres. As a result of a statutory answer formed within the ideology of “brotherhood and unity,” Yugoslavia was already divided into six republics.⁵ The collective memory of Yugoslavia was soon replaced with national memories, and in particular, communist ideology was supplanted by varying nationalist ideologies. Dubravka Ugrešić highlighted ironically: “Collective memory can be erased and rewritten, deconstructed, constructed and reconstructed, confiscated and re-confiscated, proclaimed politically correct or incorrect (in communist terms: suitable or unsuitable). The political battle is the fight for the territory of collective memory... one memory is erased in order to establish another” (Ugrešić 2008: 315).

At the beginning of the 1990s, the atmosphere was essentially transformed: the cheerful and somewhat naive mood of “brotherhood and unity” was replaced by a mood of mourning. The main fact was that, after the emergence of political pluralism at the turn of the decade, Yugoslavia had a different ending from the other Eastern European countries. This involved not only the disintegration of the country (which happened in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia as well), but also the process. Namely, as war separated the republics, it resulted in various social strategies and communities that were formed in the Yugoslav space during the 1990s (Pavlović 2004: 269). It seems as if the political and intellectual elites in all the former republics had no strength, ideas or possibilities for creating a space for dialogue to avoid war conflicts.

During the 1990s, the political circumstances that occurred in Serbia took place in a limited space, as a result of the country’s isolation, and they were connected with everyday

⁵ Socialist Republics of Serbia (with the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo), Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro.

life. The procedures enacted by the central protagonists (state leaders) influenced the audience (citizenry) to initiate various self or collective everyday performances, as I will present in the sub-chapters that follow. The light and sound of the performances were also in close connection with all the participants. In the climate after the disintegration of Yugoslavia to the moment of the official end of communism in 2000, Serbia was the in-between space experiencing turbulent atmospheric changes which caused various emotive situations.

1.1.3 | Act I. The twilight of Communism. Darkness began to fall.

At the end of the 1980s, citizens in Serbia began to abandon the idea that everything should be in stasis by conjuring Tito's ghost under the slogan "After Tito, Tito" (Živković 2011: 1). They were led by politicians, a residue of the old Communist system, who knew the highly manipulative qualities of collective memory. Serbian politicians put their trust in President Slobodan Milošević who developed the principles of ruling on the basis of usurpation, corruption and media manipulation. This helped him and his devoted subjects to safeguard power and to become wealthy at the time of the country's decay. On one hand, they lived together in a kind of virtual reality that the president himself had created while, on the other hand, people in Serbia were living, as already mentioned, in controlled chaos. As Miša Đurković convincingly determined Milošević's "innovated dictatorship" by using the metaphor "Slobism," he actually highlighted how Milošević consciously manipulated the accumulated historical, national and socio-economic problems. The metaphor also relates to the destruction of the elite, an amputation of historical and ethnical territories and the state's reputation in international centres of power (Đurković 2002: 19, 20).

Understood as a culture of fear, Milošević's regime was twofold. Firstly, it was the fear of knowing, represented through physical repression and a violent control over the society. Secondly, it was a fear of the unknown, presented in undoing. This means that the absence of clear rules of behaviour, a destruction of channels of mutual communication and solidarity between the regime and citizenry were in direct relation to the methods of selective state terror (Podunavac 2008: 80). In the process of deinstitutionalisation, the

order of law and politics, Serbia obtained the contours of a non-state. Even though the institutions which make up a state existed, they were not respected.

In the series of caricatures published in the weekly socio-political magazine *Vreme* (Time)⁶ from 1990 until 2005, political caricaturist Predrag Koraksić-Corax displayed his own attitude towards the Milošević regime and life in Serbia during that period. As Figure 2 shows, Milošević, presented as a painter, takes a paintbrush and starts colouring the air. His aim was to change an idyllic, beautiful sunny day in the country on the mountainous Balkans into a dense, dark nocturnal atmosphere, as well as to highlight stars as symbols of communism. To protect his head, he made a hat from the *Borba* newspaper (at around that time, the regime took over the independent newspaper *Borba*). The caricature indicated that Serbia had begun to live in darkness and that every freedom of speech would be punished.

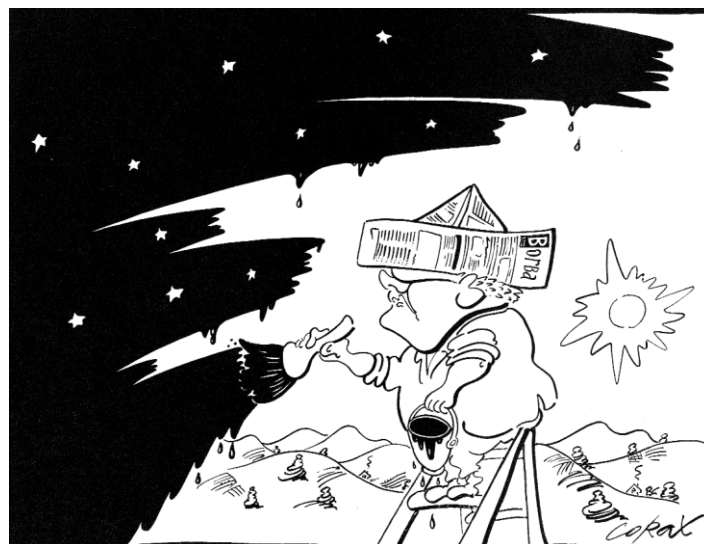


Figure 2 | *Slobodan Milošević turns day into night* (taken from Koraksić-Corax 1996: 8).

Considered from this angle, it should be highlighted that on March 9th 1991, tanks appeared on the streets of Belgrade for the first time after the Second World War. The reason was the rally under the name *Miting protiv petokrake* (“Protest against the Red Star”), scheduled to take place against the Milošević regime and its media monopoly at the Republic Square, a wide open area in the city centre. The rally was the reflection of the

⁶ It may be worth noting that the Serbian weekly magazine *Vreme* is equivalent to the German *Spiegel*.

exclusion of opposition parties from the state broadcasting services that lasted several months. Nonetheless, as the name of the protest indicated, it was also a desire to break up with the Communist regime that lasted for half of a century, as well as the comment on using state television to show one-sided reports in conflict zones and force national conflicts that were forthcoming in Yugoslavia. The protest signified a change in the atmosphere in the Balkan metropolis, and soon after in the whole country.

The very next day, on March 10th 1991, students from the University of Belgrade began gathering in front of the Terazije Square fountain. Built in 1860 by stonemason Franc Loran, the fountain presents one of the historical meeting places in Belgrade. It was commissioned by Prince Miloš Obrenović (whose initials are engraved on the fountain next to the year of construction), to mark his return to the Serbian throne. Constructed in white stone with four lion heads – taps for the water and a decorative urn on the top, it stylistically relates to 19th century Belgrade architecture and represents one of the most valuable monuments from that period (Nedeljković 1998). Looking for strength in national history, students organized their parliament in the front of the fountain, demanding freedom for arrested protesters, the resignation of the Minister of the Police, the end of state media monopoly and the exemption of independent radio stations that promoted a civil spirit in Serbia.

The student protest which lasted several days coloured the atmosphere with youthful optimism and resistance appeal. The students organized several performances filled with witty messages. *Parada slepih* (“Blind Parade”) was a walk by students with their eyes closed in front of the state television. The message was clear: the state media must avoid one-sided reporting and be objective. The giving of soap bars to Republic Parliament deputies in a performance named *Ispiranje jezika* (“Flushing tongues”), referred to the ritual cleaning of lies, etc. All the events that followed in the next days and years presented the main result of the March demonstrations: a clear generational division of Serbian society on the level of politics. Namely, the support to the ruling party was mostly concentrated within the older generation. Although students could not achieve a new balance in political power with their own public statements, a struggle for democracy followed in the years to come.

On June 25th 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. Serb minorities in Croatia and Croat minorities in territories with a Serb majority started to pile up weapons for “self defence” (Collin 2001: 44). The republics followed opposed goals, and the mutual

hostility escalated to the level in which enmity became visible. Playing the roles of new lords, dictators, managers of institutions, mental hospitals or prisons, the main characters taught their audience (patients) to identify the enemies: “The Serbs named their own: the Croats, Muslims and Albanians. The Croats also identified theirs: the Serbs and former Yugoslavia. The Bosnians were not asked: they were perishing” (Ugrešić 2008: 292). Demographic changes appeared with the war that followed in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The general poverty and affliction were supplemented with a large influx of refugees. In the Yugoslav war, thousands of people lost their lives, homes, families. Many of them became emigrants, “homeless at home.” Attempting to impart a narrative coherence of the war chaos she experienced, Ugrešić expressed in her own voice: “War has penetrated all aspects of life; it leaks from the television screens that are eternally switched on, from the newspapers and photos. In a dismembered country, real and mental wars were being waged in parallel. Grenades, real and mental, obliterated people, houses, cities, memories. In the name of the Present a war for the Past was being led, and in the name of the Future – against the Present... Warriors, lords of forgetting, destroyers of the old country and constructors of a new one, used all strategic sources to establish a collective forgetting; and everything became the same: some of them died for their country, others were killing and stealing in the name of theirs; some lost their homes, others gained them; some lost identities, others argued that they finally gained them; some became ambassadors, other disabled persons; some lived, other died...” (Ugrešić 2008: 17, 18). As a result, life and death lived on in their various forms and war became the basic core that compensated the loss of legitimacy of the political elite in Serbia.

A curtain lifted and a tough, dark, decade-long performance began to unfold on the level of everyday life. In the years that followed after 1991, the regime controlled all aspects of life in the public sphere and utterly rejected critical thinking. Creating a specific atmosphere of controlled chaos, the regime limited the possibilities for moving within space by restricting light (rejecting objective seeing and visibility) and sound (silencing voices that opposed the regime). Serbia gradually gained the contours of a total institution where darkness evolved into the main atmospheric character in the 1990s. In total institutions, according to Erving Goffman, people are cut off from the wider society and they conduct closed, controlled lives. As he explains, “The obvious example presents prison, according to the fact that prison characteristics can be found in institutions whose members did not

break the law” (Gofman 2011: 13).

Nonetheless, a mass rejection of mobilisation followed and a significant number of young people left the country, which signalled a considerable outflow of human capital. The regime’s dependence on the older population, those less educated and more rural became more prevalent than on younger urban people (Gordi 2001, 71). As the propaganda forced by the state media became more intense, the atmosphere in Serbia became more anxious and tense. A voice of the state television propaganda, understood as “violence directed against the spirit of the nation” (Podunavac 2004: 79), helped Milošević strengthen his position. The irrational war rhetoric, misuse of words, images, and sounds, had no boundaries.⁷ However, only a year before its disintegration, Belgrade had the reputation of a city open for culture exchange, art, sports and enjoyment. As the capital of former Yugoslavia, Belgrade was the centre of avant-garde galleries and theatre, of cosmopolitanism and dissidence. Shrouded in a war uniform, this change in the atmosphere caused fear among people. As time went by, the image of everyday life became militarised, and there were more military than civilian vehicles on Serbian roads. At every step, soldiers, reservists, semi-uniformed gunmen as well as refugees could be seen. The Yugoslav national army increasingly ceased to be Yugoslav, and progressively became a dangerous toy in the hands of Milošević.

These were the important reasons why Serbs began organising various anti-war performances and protests in Belgrade, which soon spread all over the country. Resistance as a statement on war became visible at different places. In the Duško Radović theatre in Belgrade, there was an anti-war marathon. As a reaction to the bombing of Sarajevo, thousands of people on the streets of Belgrade formed a massive black ribbon line as a sign of mourning for all those who had perished. An open voice against mobilisation could be heard at the anti-war concerts organised under the slogan “Do not count on us.”⁸ Unfortunately, anti-war protests were soon overshadowed.

In an atmosphere of a (cultural) space being narrowed as well as financial limitations,

⁷ The dailies *Republika*, *Demokratija*, *Naša krmača*, independent radio stations B92 and Index and others, were a spark of free speech in that period. Thus, they were the target of the regime’s attack.

⁸ The Rimtutituki Group, formed by members of three prominent Belgrade rock bands (*Partibrejkersi*, *Električni orgazam* and *Ekatarina Velika*), recorded a pacifistic single-song *Slušaj 'vamo (Mir, brate, mir)* (“Listen here (Peace, brother, peace)”) with lyrics explicitly opposing the war: *Peace is the most beautiful girl that no one can have... You are too young to die... There is no brain under the helmet...*

on May 15th 1992 the United Nations Security Council imposed sanctions on Serbia (just a few weeks before Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence). This act caused the total isolation of the country, reflecting a sense of abandonment and forcing people to enclose themselves within their own private spaces. The character of Gofmann’s concept of total institutions is symbolised by a barrier of social relations between “inner” and “outer” physical space. Not only does the barrier disallow abandonment, but it also limits space with locked gates, high walls, barbed wire, rocks, water, forests, etc. (Gofman 2011: 18). Nonetheless, there was also a clear division between detainees and their supervisors. Social distance is large and often formally prescribed while information flow and contact with “outer” space are controlled and thus the achieved tension in the “inner – outer” world becomes a strategic tool in managing people. In everyday conversations, people in Serbia used prison terms: “going out” was a sign for going abroad, while “inside” was a term for living within the country. People began to feel like hapless detainees, and the atmosphere of shared depression started to shape life within the walls. Another caricature by Corax shed light on the situation in an ironic sense. As Figure 3 shows, isolation and fear is silhouetted on people’s faces while Milošević, with the strong support of his wife (also influential in the regime politics) pass on good wishes for International Workers’ Day:



Figure 3 | *Živeo Praznik rada* (“Long live May Day,” taken from Koraksić-Corax 1996: 5).

In addition, inflation was continuously rising from the early 1990s. In the first half of 1991, prices increased by 50 percent, while industrial production fell by a fifth. Inflation was accelerated by the sanctions and soon afterwards by blocking the import of fuel. The Serbian

economy was devastated by a cessation of trading with the former Yugoslav republics, and with the effects of war on domestic consumers, although a different image of reality was presented by the state media. In that period, two different realities often clashed in Serbia. On one hand, for example, news broadcasts on state television informed in detail about successful wheat exporting, while, on the other hand – there was no bread nor any food in the shops. Regardless of this fact, the government continued to print money to cover up the pending economic crisis. Namely, the hyperinflation period in 1993 prompted the National Bank to print a 500 billion dinar banknote, the largest nominal value ever officially printed in Yugoslavia, with the image of Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, a well-known Serbian poet from the 19th century on the obverse, and the National Library of Serbia depicted on the reverse (Figure 4). Hence, this was the final outcome of hyperinflation and money became worthless while a strong hyperinflation brought people to the edge of deprivation. The period of “universal enforced poverty” (Gordi 2001: 177) intensified the pressure and control of Milošević in the public sphere.



Figure 4 | *The final result of hyperinflation: a 500 billion dinar banknote (private collection).*

Conditions for a normal life were unattainable due to constant effort in providing basic everyday resources. A sense of resignation, uncertainty, passivity and defeat became widespread. Economic destabilisation and instability distracted thoughts from the political changes, the energy for alternation dissipated while the power of the war profiteers increased. When basic needs were limited to the lowest existential level and the smell of poverty and destitution could be felt in the air, the conditions for political struggles and constituting of relevant political factors were almost impossible as people were more likely to mention food queues, variable exchange rates and shortages of milk and bread than war. In actual fact, both affected them; however, the economic crisis was operational on the

personal level (Gordi 2001: 187). Goffman stresses: "Creation of small privileges is, perhaps, the most salient feature of detainees" (Gofman 2011: 56). Eric Gordy highlights the following: "As long as individuals are seriously distracted in their private lives, the regime has kept the possibility to act without interference in the public sphere" (Gordi 2001: 187). What these two authors indicate is that Serbia had turned into a territory where the regime created an ambience which suited them while a certain prison atmosphere became more edgy as the walls began to close in. Although it lasted until January 1994, the hyperinflation period established economic chaos and a rapid impoverishment of the population.

Overlong and unpredictable electricity restrictions marked the years of 1993 and 1994. Serbia attained an appearance of surrealism when citizens started to carry flashlights whenever leaving their homes, or set lit candles at strategic places in their apartments. The atmosphere of darkness had several meanings. Firstly, it marked electricity restrictions closely connected with the discomfort of everyday life. Secondly, darkness became a signifier for isolation and the impossibility for all people to perceive the situation from different perspectives. Thirdly, the informational darkness referred to the efforts of the regime to hush the independent media, and make them invisible (Gordi 2001). Gordy defined this situation as "a destruction of the alternatives" where the regime did everything to establish some strategies for self-preservation (Gordi 2001: 15). Finally, the darkness found its reflection in the field of high and popular culture where the values developed within the Yugoslav cultural space were discounted.

At first glance, the atmosphere of candle lights in private spaces opened a perspective for developing "intimate spaces." In an ironic sense, Serbia became "the most romantic country in the whole world" (Gordi 2001: 202). In this kind of atmosphere, Serbian cities became a Mecca for gangsters, while sanctions opened the doors to crime. The centre of Belgrade was adorned by casinos with glittering and sparkling lights, expensive restaurants, cars, and highly equipped disco-clubs for those inclined towards the regime. In that way, a contrast was achieved: on one side there was a grey atmosphere of everyday life coloured by candle lights, while on the other – a "flashy" and "shining" reality created a different image of Serbia in the 1990s. The urban and breezy atmosphere of Belgrade from pre-war times was replaced by a semi-urban and dark atmosphere of isolation.

Also, the intimate atmosphere fostered closeness, and people started to develop parallel lives. A feeling of belonging to something or somewhere was primarily provided by

the independent media. The media offered possibilities by which people were able to improve their strategies of self presentation in relation to the social environment. Therefore, by reading up on various events, listening to independent radio programs, and discussing the situation in public spaces, people had the opportunities to demonstrate a sense of belonging. Along with this, the independent media gave their “consumers” some elements of a strategy for living within a limited space. They enabled people to feel that they have, at the very least, some control over their lives. Ugrešić comments: “People prepared for survival are a strange, unusual sort. If a man by chance finds himself in a mental hospital, it would not be advisable to rely on the logic of the outer world, but on the accommodation and estimation of madness as a new behavioural form. Perhaps because of this, adaptability makes those who practice surviving a strange sort” (Ugrešić 2008: 138). Lastly, this showed that people who supported the regime and the state media also had their own orientations, dissimilar to the supporters of the independent media. The differences offer an image of a social division in Serbia that lasted for decades.

During the 1990s, musical taste also became an important indicator of the attitude towards the regime, war and the ambience they created. Even though it was mainly connected with the regime and the spirit of the dark 1990s, turbo-folk,⁹ a musical hybrid and antipode of urban dignity was the result of the disappearing of state control (Đurković 2002: 179). A familiar symbol of cheap entertainment and escapism to an easy life and consumerism, turbo-folk was formed as a result of the confrontation between global music trends in the culture industry (singing over a recorded matrix) and various domestic traditions of folk music. It formed a “recognisable” sound that destroyed cultural values.

It is important now to shed light on a fact which will be seen more clearly in the following sub-chapters. Namely, in the former Yugoslavia, rock musicians had an image of themselves as the creators of an underground culture. During the 1980s, rock’n’roll was a proof of the liberty which prevailed, as opposed to the other Communist countries. Although Gordy holds the opinion that Yugoslav rock’n’roll as an underground culture had a defensive attitude, highlighting the differences from mainstream culture which were

⁹ The phenomenon of turbo-folk is a paradox. Despite the fact that the former Yugoslav republics were in conflict, turbo-folk crossed borders and became popular in the entire country, and shortly afterwards in the Balkans as well. The term was coined during the late 1980s by Rambo Amadeus (Antonije Pušić), an artist with the reputation of a popular musical phenomenon of the former Yugoslavia. He used the term jokingly to describe a unique methodology of blending different styles and influences.

promoted by the state media (Gordi 2001: 156), Đurković asserts that it was an (ideological) tool which gave pro-Western legitimacy to the ruling Communist elite (Đurković 2002: 211). Rock'n'roll was the official popular music in the media. Therefore, Đurković's opinion is supplemented by the fact that a termination of contacts between the urban centres in former Yugoslavia (Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Skopje) caused a market dwindling. Indeed, from the moment of the country's disintegration and Milošević's conflict with the West, there was no political need for rock'n'roll. Therefore, this kind of popular culture started to move from the centre to the margins and to discover itself in the alternative structures that were developing.

Soon after, at the beginning of the 1990s, the structure control of urban cultural space changed dramatically. At the moment of transformation, when turbo-folk came to the foreground and rock'n'roll was left aside, EDM officially made its entrance upon the stage and began shaping the *new* scene of popular culture in Serbia. At that moment, creative spaces for its development were opened. Creativity awakened among young urban people in the Serbian centres of Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš, which will be presented soon in this chapter. Nonetheless, the importance of the appearing of EDM in Serbia in that period was also emphasised by Dušan Kaličanin, one of the most prominent individuals for EDM promotion in Serbia and the founder of the Technokratia organization. Kaličanin recalls how a new pop culture in Serbia was developed by following world trends: "It was very important to catch onto something, not only to have wrong examples and bad models. We were thinking about that. Our aim was to give everyone a chance for creative expression. In the period of isolation, war, and a very hard situation within the country, it was important for young people not to weaken spiritually, but rather, to remain strong in spirit. Then, with the raising of the spirit, to increase their creativity, and finally, to let creativity find its way" (Kaličanin, interview, June 23rd 2012).

The phenomenon of EDM started to unfold not only as a disinclination to hear the sounds of war and life in isolation, but also as a need of young people to discover some new sound spaces which this genre allowed. Through EDM, young people created a feeling of belonging with people similar to them; it was a good platform for developing personal meanings. In other words, the energy that was accumulating and being shaped in Serbia at the turn of the 21st century materialised to some extent *through* and *in* the EDM phenomenon that enabled a sense of freedom among its followers. In the general condition

in which the country and citizens found themselves, EDM approached young people and coloured the atmosphere with slightly brighter tones. As free space became more and more limited and material constraints more present, EDM increasingly began to expand.¹⁰ Gordan Paunović, one of Belgrade's EDM pioneers, pointed out: "For young people, it was a matter of displacement from the reality in which the war began or happened in Sarajevo, or here... and difficult and gruelling news on the TV. They would just go to a club and have an abounding experience. On one hand, it was a kind of escapism. On the other – significant number of them had their first physical communication in the clubs, as they connected in such a way. Later on, that influenced the development of the *Otpor!* ("The Resistance!") movement, as well as other things. It was not a banal story" (Paunović, interview, June 12th 2012).

Continuing the rock'n'roll tradition of urban culture, EDM gradually became a strong source of identity against the regime, even though this at the beginning referred to a minority of the urban community. In that way, they created a kind of identity that marked EDM and the developing moments of the phenomenon that took place shortly. I will shed light on this symbolic direction and comment against the regime by analysing two examples in Chapters 2 and 3: the track *Laki je malo nervozan* ("Laki is a little nervous") created in 1992 and the performance named *Techno Therapy* that took place in 1994 and which I analyse using the outlook of a ritualised performance. Moreover, it is important to clear up in this context that in the first half of the 1990s, the divisions among the younger population in Serbian centres became visible. Namely, on one side were those who listened to alternative music and who, albeit as a minority, entered into the field of the developing EDM. On the other were the turbo-folk fans. Although the creative energy formed within the EDM phenomenon was strongly opposed to turbo-folk, these two phenomena were not, in fact, an antithesis to one another. They did not come into closer, more direct contact. Actually, young people made a partition according to their affinities and formed an urban and a semi-rural audience, which is corroborated by personal experience. In fact, it seemed as if these groups ignored one another.

Finally, returning to the socio-political situation in the country, it should be pointed out that on November 21st 1995, the Dayton Agreement was signed by the leaders of all

¹⁰ As a contemporary of the socio-political situation, I would like to highlight that young people could go out at night freely, regardless of the isolation of the country, difficult situation and criminal groups.

three countries involved in the war (Serbia: Slobodan Milošević, Croatia: Franjo Tuđman and Bosnia: Alija Izetbegović). The peace treaty was a sign that the war had ended in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and sanctions were partially suspended in Serbia. Gradually, the country began to open. Although the economic situation was the same as before the agreement, social consequences deepened and even though the space for independent actions and decisions remained limited, people in pre-transitional Serbia became aware that the political situation could be changed. Darkness slowly began to lose its murky tone, and a strong energy gently started to form and articulate ideas about a civil rebellion.

1.1.4 | Act II. Sounds of Resistance. “Come on, let’s go, charge!

All together!”¹¹

The united democratic opposition of Serbia gathered in the coalition *Zajedno* (“Together”) won the local elections on the federal and municipal level in November 1996. The regime refused to accept the results, which led to a major outbreak of rallies all over the country. On November 17th 1996, the protest started in Niš, the largest city in Southern Serbia, where thousands of opposition supporters gathered to complain against election fraud. The protests spread throughout most of the cities and towns in the country. Striving for freedom, in an atmosphere of protests, the people of Serbia expressed their creativeness, as will be seen clearly in this sub-chapter. Matthew Collin’s description conjures up the atmosphere from the streets of Belgrade: “The first thing to hit you was the noise. From a mile away, it sounded like a thousand screeching tires – a road race, like the Monte Carlo Grand Prix, circling round and round tight cobbled corners, or a distant football match, with angry fans screaming their displeasure at some poor refereeing decision. Then closer and the shrill silver whinny, a piercing sheet of sound bursting from thousands of whistles, was underpinned by the queasy low moan of cow horns blowing a mournful bass counterpoint in unison. And then the people: too many to count, a rolling surf of faces and bodies, each chanting, whistling, blowing hard until they had to catch their breath – and smiling, positive,

¹¹ During the protest walks, the participants repeated the phrase “Come on, let’s go, charge! All together!” which had the symbolic role of a mantra.

innocent again with a sudden flush of wonder; a lost emotion inexplicably rediscovered”¹² (Collin, 2001: 99-100).

As support, the students from the University of Belgrade started on November 19th 1996 a protest named *Beograd je svet* (“Belgrade is the world”). They gathered at the square in front of the Faculty of Philosophy which was the meeting and finishing point for the 1968 student demonstrations. The students also wanted an acknowledgment of election results. The aim of the protest walks was to encourage people to take part, because it was tremendously important to inspire as many people as possible. Also, the idea of moving (walking, dancing) devolved into the central notion of demonstrations and protests (the idea of changing the political situation) that coloured the atmosphere in Serbia at the turn of the century. Thus, walking became a political act.¹³

¹² In addition to Collin's experience and the description from the streets of Belgrade, it may be worth noting that the song *Buka u modi* (“Noise in fashion”) became the unofficial anthem of the protests (Janjatović 2007: 63), composed and performed by the famous Serbian band Disciplina kičme who followed the Yugoslav New Wave in the early 1980s. *Buka u modi* is a featured song from the album *Nova iznenađenja za nova pokolenja* (“New Surprises for New Generations”) realised in early 1991. The song was proof that noise became not just a fashion, but also a message which proclaimed Serbia as the country of noise in 1996/97, as presented in this sub-chapter.

Hajde, hajde sad pogodi,	Come on, let's guess,
Kakav duh to mene vodi, Šta to mojoj duši godi, Kakav zvuk je sad u modi?	What kind of spirit leads me, What feels good to my soul, What kind of sound is in fashion?
(ref.) <i>Buka, buka mene vodi, Buka mojoj duši godi. Zauvek kod mene biće, Buka, buka u modi...</i>	(ref.) <i>Noise, noise leads me, Noise feels good to my soul. It will be so forever for me, Noise, noise in fashion...</i>
Šta je ovo što ja želim, Šta ja hoću bićem celim, Šta to hladno čini vrelim, Čemu uvek se veselim? (ref.)	What's this that I want, What I want with my whole being, What is that makes cold hot, What always cheers me up? (ref.)

¹³ A city is a contested space, adds Tim Etchells in the foreword to Jen Harvie's book *Theatre and the city*, and therefore it is used at the same time by many people or groups whose interests by no means coincide (Harvie, 2009, xii). On December 24th 1996, a counter-rally named *Za Srbiju* (“For Serbia”) was held in the centre of Belgrade in front of the Terazije Square fountain, the same place where the students had gathered on March 10th 1991. Tens of thousands of Milošević supporters came (actually, they were brought in by the regime organizers) from different, mainly rural, parts of Serbia. This counter-demonstration was different from the oppositional and student protests. The main characteristics were routine, socialist iconography and the submissive behavior of the participants while creative ideas and positive energy were lacking.



Figure 5 | *Šetačka dozvola* (walker licence, private collection).

Among the many witty actions during the protest, students distributed the walker licenses free of charge (Figure 5). Although at first it was meant as a joke, the licenses actually showed the attention and importance the participants put on protest walking. As Figure 5 indicates, in addition to the basic, personal information on the left side of the document (such as the photo, name, family name, date and place of birth, personal identification number, residence and signature), the right side shows five vertical rows. Marking the walker categories, the rows are positioned hierarchically in a humorous way. Namely, while categories A (voyeur), B (walker visitor) and C (walker amateur) relate to those participants who came to the protest figuratively, “just to be seen” or to be more precise, those who had no real belief in the aim of protest walking, categories D and E marked a “walker in progress” and a “professional walker” who supported the protest. Moreover, it was a life-long licence, as it is indicated on the left side under the signature line.

Walkers transformed the city into a “space of resistance,” and their readiness to walk even when faced by police brutality started to shape a new atmospheric wave that enlightened urban Serbia. Students took over the space with their bodies, noise and banners so that everyday walks were followed by various street performances or other activities with ideas borrowed from the vast field of popular culture, film, theatre and music (Figure 6). In fact, this was a situation whereupon every day brought a presentation of new meaning.¹⁴ Considered from this angle, it can be emphasised that *performative spaces* (understood as

¹⁴ *Protest na točkovima* (“Protest on Wheels”), for example, was a street performance in which a significant number of protesters and students took part. People drove their cars into the city centre and then pretended to have engine problems. With the act of “traffic disturbance,” they showed that not only could the police control movement in the capital, but protestors could do so as well.

events), were being created every day on the streets of Belgrade during the 1996/97 protests. In that light, as already indicated in introduction, Fischer-Lichte elaborates that a performative space opens exceptional possibilities which focus on the relationship between the actors and spectators, as well as on movement and perception. Whatever the ways are in which these possibilities are realised or neglected, they affect performance space. It illuminates the fact that every movement of people, objects, even noise had the power to transform and create atmospheric space (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 107). Furthermore, the spaces shed light on spatiality that was continually constructed as a result of a successful connection between play – moving – participants and the audience’s perception. Through spatial stories, as will be seen more clearly soon, students shaped and created recognisable and striking images of resistance. Thus, Belgrade became “a walking ambient theatre,” where the street was transformed into an extension of the theatre, the stage, and space for forming opinions, expressions of judgments and tastes, and the “rhetoric of collective irony” (Vujović, 2000: 138). The students’ intention was clear: the democratisation of political and social life in the country.



Figure 6 | Student protest under the slogan *Beograd je svet* (“Belgrade is The World”) (available from http://www.vreme.com/g/images/1020865_beograd%20je%20svet.jpg).

As the longest youth rebellion in recent European history and an urban civic movement that lasted from November 1996 until February 1997, the student protest brought a variety in its presentation. Students added creativeness to demonstration and

elevated the protest from political rallies to carnivals of resistance. Not only did the slogan *Beograd je svet* refer to the students' desire to once more be included in the world's contents, and a comment on isolation, war, politics, but it also paraphrased Shakespeare's verse "All the world is a stage." The message was that Belgrade is the stage while protest participants are equally performers and the audience (Jovićević 2000: 157). The students, as well as the opposition protests, were indications how different methods, forms of action and symbols could be used in the construction of resistance. Every participant carried flags and bore slogans, which gave the protest the specific dynamics. Graffiti and banners contained diverse images of cartoon heroes, popular music lyrics, witty and private messages. The flags, not only of Serbia but of other countries as well, mainly evoked a feeling of being in the world, or being a part of the world. The protesters tried to re-claim their place in the world, giving the events an international quality. The act of using flags during student walks also referred to the idea of creating the world on the streets of Belgrade.

What is significant for this study is that, by redefining the space of resistance through the noise, protesters used whistles which created a direct link to EDM. Namely, Belgrade's clubbers in that period used whistles as musical instruments to accompany DJ performances. Rhythmical whistling gave EDM performances a special, signal tone, while, similarly as in other EDM parties worldwide, EDM beats and rhythm could be made out and sensed in the bodies of the dancers (Butler 2006: 3). Whistling contributed in creating sound energy during the EDM performances. Thus, blowing whistles during protests and filling the air with sound was important for several reasons. Firstly, it was a system of recognition relating parties to protests. Secondly, it was community building and defining who is *inside* and who *outside* the group. Thirdly, it was also a political act that related to specific social practices, musical genres and politics. In other words, re-defining streets with a whistling sound was storming into the regime-controlled space on the one hand, while, on the other – the "moving" sound helped EDM party participants to connect and achieve a strong "unification" with the DJ and the music performed.

Repeating the basic rhythmic fragments that were reminiscent of military signals, the whistle blowers on the streets communicated and created noise models with the intention to clear the air, eliminate evil forces and give a warning as they occupied space. In that way, the noise marked the possession of the space while loud sounds dramatised spatial experience. The whistle became the instrument of youth rebellion, and the intense sound of

whistles became the hallmark of these protests, while rhythm and energy exuded from the EDM club spaces onto the streets. Moreover, loud sounds influenced the concept of experiencing and interpreting sound through the body, which at the same time liberated bodies. It should be pointed out that an atmospheric attuning between EDM and the performative spaces on the streets was achieved. As Stewart explains: “Every attuning is a tuning up to something... A sentience to a world’s work, bodies, rhythms, ways of being in noise and light and space. It depends on the first feel of an atmosphere as you enter, and the angle of arrival. And yet an atmospheric attunement also arrives already weighted with what it’s living through, already abuzz with sensory imperatives that jump” (Stewart 2011: 448). In addition, it may be worth noting that in 1995, when EDM spread in Serbia, and afterwards by developing and shaping the 1996/97 student protest, the phase of *redressive action* began, according to Victor Turner’s determination of *social drama* (Turner 1989: 143). Therefore, in Chapter 3, attention was drawn to Turner’s concept in order to direct analytical focus to the interpretation of two significant EDM performances: Techno Therapy 1994, mentioned before – which, as we will see, anticipated the redressive phase, and the Back to the people Festival (within the EDM performance conducted at the festival), which took place immediately before the 1996 student protest.

The second important element of the student protest was the group *Beogradski bubnjari* (Belgrade’s drummers) (Figure 7). They became one of the most influential symbols of the time. Placing themselves at the head of the protest columns while walking, *Beogradski bubnjari*, metaphorically speaking, cleared the street air by drumming and allowed students and other protesters to freely pass through the streets cleansed from “evil spirits.” Shortly, the noise and the rhythm became significant elements of resistance. It can be said that the participants created a unique community in which all were part of the same rhythm and sound, whether they were dancing, whistling, or drumming. Similarly, it was at EDM parties when the DJ and the audience created one collective, pulsing body. The energy created by the rhythm and sound from the club spaces, therefore, attained a social role.



Figure 7 | *Beogradski bubnjari*

(taken from *XZ magazine*, February/March 1997: 70).

A repetitive rhythmical whistling created the magical effects of a public trance and shaped the social performance. The aim was to incorporate performance practices to achieve transforming effects. Therefore, the model of temporary communities formed within the auditorium rendered the possibility of its being reflected on the temporary communities outside. Dejan Sretenović gave an interesting interpretation: “The noise was a synthesis of various musical and other cultural codes, the individual identity of each lost in a fusion which became the genuine voice of the protest. This gradually became more and more articulated in the form of a sound happening or event, which brought a cultural impact to the political protest, an impact which earlier street protests did not have... Moreover, the political and cultural resonance of the protest became so intertwined that neither of them could be explained without the other. However, it should be emphasised that it was the political actions which were parasites on the provocative and subversive character of the cultural actions. These included, in addition to the noise, happenings, actions, performances, concerts, etc.” (Sretenović 1997: 86).

The point I would like to stress here is that descriptions of the student protest are important as I wish to convey how the creative energy primarily shaped by EDM and bodily movements in clubs began to spread, transpose itself and be incorporated into the protests and the entire process which Serbia faced during the 1990s, precisely before the moment when the political system changed in 2000. The concepts of transformation and

performativity of space in relation to a constant production of meanings will be in focus during the analysis in Chapter 3.

Further, *Diskoteka Plavi Kordon* (The Discotheque Blue Cordon) in Kolarčeva Street¹⁵ opened one night during the protest, when both the students and the police were loathe to go home (Figure 8). As the regime was trying to find a way to fight against the protest, the police made cordons aiming to disable student walks, which the students refused to accept. Students named this activity “cordon against cordon.” Namely, both of these transformed a short street in the centre of Belgrade: the police with their limitations for walking and the students with the intervention by filling the space with meanings. With the sound equipment provided by the students, Kolarčeva Street became a stage for dancing, performing, communicating, with the intention to specialise in techniques of non-violent resistance. Furthermore, the police had the role of a passive audience who could not participate but only watch the show, as the following images illustrate:



Figure 8 | *Performances in Kolarčeva Street* (taken from Radosavljević 1997: 43, 44).

As the images in Figure 8 show, policemen were positioned in the street space to form a cordon. Students and performers tried to elicit their reactions using mirrors, communicating and provocation. However, the policemen refused to react. Their passivity, in this context, incites me to mark them as a *passive audience*. If we consider the limited street transformed into a Discotheque as *liminal space*, we will undoubtedly find that the policemen were displaced. Nevertheless, they were the body that limits movement, freedom

¹⁵ Kolarčeva Street is positioned in the centre of Belgrade, close to the Republic Square where the *Miting protiv petokrake* took place on March 9th 1991.

and energy spreading. Using the prison metaphor, policemen in this context played the roles of prison walls. On the one hand, as the images show, the performance took place in an enclosed space and the students were the performers and the audience at the same time, while the policemen had the passive role of the walls that did not allow expansion. On the other hand, their passive role contributed to energy accumulation and the final *perforation* of the cordon on January 27th 1997. It is important to emphasise that the creative energy which was being shaped and spread in that period did not topple the regime, but had an input to public space and changed the way previous demonstrations were conducted. Moreover, *Diskoteka Plavi Kordon* presents an example of “creative irony” and, according to personal experience, the participants had no fear entering it. One of the reasons for the absence of fear lies in the fact that the students had a great wish for change which can be linked to their desire to be a part of the change. Seen through this perspective, as Yi-Fu Tuan noted, “Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other” (Tuan 2001: 3).

As a contrast, the image of Serbia was entirely different in the state media, as already indicated. The opposition and student protests were not even mentioned, and the media ignored the events on the streets. In their view, Serbia was growing with the help of glorified political decisions made by Milošević, bringing peace and prosperity to the country. The media “reality” opened another level for resistance. Namely, daily at 7.30 pm, the prime time of the evening news on state television, hundreds of thousands of citizens started drumming on improvised percussion instruments, such as pans, pots, cutlery, and tin or garbage containers. On the other hand, most of rural Serbia relied on state-controlled media for their information. The drumming gave the resistance a personal tone with the intention to be louder than the state media, or, symbolically, to block out the regime news. It was a real tumult of sounds and rhythms which helped purify the air. The atmosphere of creating the collective sound energy reached its peak and Serbs began to realise that something momentous was happening. The noise was not only directed against injustice and annulments of the election results, it was a “collective redemption, a strong community confession, a kind of catharsis” (Vujović, 2000: 145). [Jacques] Attali wrote that when man creates noise with specific tools and turns it into music, “... noise becomes the source of overcoming and freedom, transcendence and dreams, demands and rebellion” (Atali 2007: 10). He further noted: “Noise is a weapon, and music is its shaping, its domestication and

conversion into a simulacrum of ritual murder” (Atali 2007: 34).

The Assembly of the City of Belgrade was constituted on February 21st 1997 when the newly formed democratic council pronounced [Zoran] Đinđić the first democratic mayor of Belgrade (Figure 9). One of the most impressive media events during the beginning of his mandate as mayor was the star-stripping from the City Assembly building and removing the statue of the double headed eagle which was carried out by a group of mountain climbers (the double-headed eagle being a symbol of power and representing old Serbia), which inherited this symbol from the Byzantine tradition.



Figure 9 | Zoran Đinđić and the removing of the five-pointed star from the dome of Belgrade’s Parliament
(available from the Virtual Museum of Zoran Đinđić <http://www.zorandjindjic.org/en/photographs>).

However, large fluctuations in oppositional politics had their ups and downs in the developing civil society. During the protests, there were moments showing that the undermining of the system was quite serious. In June 1997, a disagreement separated the opposition coalition. The main reason was “the opposition politically evolved in the difficult process, when the other side of the Milošević coin was formed” (Mašić, 2006: 109). In fact, Serbia would be faced with this fact after the political changes. People wanted to change the regime, they fought according to the democratic principles and the freedom of expression,

namely protest and rebellion, but in the end they failed. The period of increased repression, resignation, apathy and quiet discontent began. The active and mobile Serbian civil society withdrew in itself, waiting for new chances. A month after a major disagreement with the opposition coalition in July 1997, Milošević further strengthened his position. The atmosphere changed again.

On March 24th 1999, air raid sirens marked the beginning of the bombing of Serbia as a result of ineffective dialogues between Milošević and NATO – Operation “Allied Force,” the largest military operation in Europe since 1945, aimed to force Milošević to withdraw and stop the offensives in Kosovo. That night Belgrade was creepily quiet and in total darkness: “There is no street light, no blinking neon banners, no light in houses and apartments. Darkness is everywhere... No clouds, no lights, only a half-moon is shining over the city,” wrote young computer programmer Slobodan Marković in a log circulated over the Internet. “Totally amazing, a scary and claustrophobic decoration... Too bad you need to have a bloody war situation to experience such a view...” (cf. Collin 2001: 144). In addition to re-closing the independent media, the silence was the proof that it was difficult to maintain an opposition. The only option was to wait until the bombing ended. The atmosphere in Serbia was unreal, and people felt punished for the transgressions of the regime. The image of a demoralising everyday life reverberating with air raid sirens and the misinformation broadcast by the state media represented Serbia in the months that followed. On June 10th 1999, the bombing ended and Serbia found itself in a difficult situation, impoverished and exhausted.

1.1.5 | Act III. Climate change. “He’s finished!”¹⁶

According to Julien Knebusch: “The perception of climate is the perception of an arrangement, a configuration of the real by the subject; this perception is a certain presentation (and presentification) of an ensemble of natural atmospheric facts embraced and expressed by a sensitive being” (Knebusch 2008: 5). Climate reveals itself only in time and space considerations and has a local character, while climate experience refers to larger temporalities, the feeling of a larger reality. In order to make a distinction, Knebusch highlights: “Weather refers to a temporary state of the atmosphere in opposition to ‘climate’ which [...] refers to the summary description of meteorological conditions over a series of years” (Knebusch 2008: 5).

Knebusch’s determination of ‘climate’ is important for the next level of considering the socio-political situation in Serbia at the turn of the 21st century, due to the fact that during mid 2000, the events in the country started to accelerate: namely, the opposition parties, with international financial support and united under the name *Demokratska opozicija Srbije* (“Democratic Opposition of Serbia”). Also, the movement *Otpor!* as a symbol of insurgency with a black fist as the recognisable sign, began to gather more and more people. The movement “took on its shoulders the repressive forces of the regime, and opened the possibility for releasing the citizens of fear” (Jakšić 2004: 177). Nonetheless, it became the political cult of the youth, and its success was unstoppable. After the presidential elections on September 24th 2000, everyone knew that a change was starting.

¹⁶ The slogan of *Otpor!* (“Resistance!”): *Gotov je!* (“He’s Finished!”) is a quotation taken from one of the opening scenes of the film *Maratonci trče počasni krug* (“The Marathon Family”). The story takes place in an unspecified small Serbian city in 1935, six months after the Marseilles assassination of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević, the unifier of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (the film begins with a fragment taken from documentary material), and focuses on the Topalović family whose members (only male!) consist of six generations of undertakers. Sitting in a tree and observing the house from a monocular, Mirko, the youngest Topalović, is waiting for the moment of his neighbour’s death. Focusing, he sees two women opening the windows as a symbolic act which would help the “soul of the dead” to leave the house, although he is unsure that this had really happened. Filling up time by leafing through a booklet, at the moment when the church bell started ringing, Mirko sees an Orthodox priest approaching the house, and quickly peers to see what is going on inside the house: women lamenting and a fragment from the Orthodox Requiem were the obvious signs that the neighbour had died. In the moment of confirmation, Mirko exclaims *Gotov je!* (“He’s finished!”) which means fresh work for the family. In the context of the transformation of Serbian society, the quotation “He’s finished!” emphasised not only the fact that the atmosphere of political change could be felt in the air, but also that Serbia had begun a new chapter in history in which considerable work had to be done. A detailed review of the film fragments will be given in Chapter 2, analysing the example *Laki je malo nervozan* created from the sound and video samples taken from this film.

Since the Federal Election Commission refused to accept the results, in the days that followed, civil disobedience erupted all over the country. The supporters of Milošević were gradually realising the failures of the regime's politics. Tension could be felt not only in the air, but at the same time the atmosphere also started to change. Namely, from September 29th 2000, schools closed down, theatrical performances were cancelled as well as cinema showings, and roads were blocked all over the country. Because of the feeling that something vital was going to happen, almost everyone in Serbia wanted to take part in the transformation process.

Thousands of miners in Kolubara, a town about 60 kilometres from Belgrade, laid down their tools, threatening to turn the power off in the whole country. Miners proclaimed Kolubara a "Serbian Gdańsk" alluding to the shipyard strikers who initiated the fall of communism in Poland (Collin 2001: 218). No matter how high-risk strategy it was, the miner undertaking encouraged the Serbian opposition to organise a new protest against the regime and the election results. The protest took place on October 5th 2000 in front of the Federal Parliament in Belgrade. The organisers invited citizens from the whole country to come to the capital and take part in creating a new chapter of history. During that time, the opposition decided to preclude their daily walks and demonstrations and to focus on strikes and other ways to bring the entire country to a standstill. Not only could Milošević engage paramilitary police forces to turn the protest into bloodshed, but an extremely powerful energy was being created as well. People were focusing their attention on the expressivity of something coming into existence. Nonetheless, it was not only the energy of the 1996/97 carnival of resistance, as I elaborated in the previous sub-chapter – this had the strength of a revolution (Collin 2001).

The feeling of autumn in the month of October was dominated by one aspect of the weather, which then resonated with people's feelings linked to the climate change. Everyone knew that something was going to happen then. In fact, people knew that they were *within* a climate change. It is quite important to emphasise that the overturn on October 5th 2000 happened within only 24 hours. Namely, at midday, hundreds of thousands of protesters from the entire country gathered in front of the Parliament in Belgrade. Although the police initially used large amounts of tear gas, throwing it at the protesters to defend the Federal Parliament, they relented after a while. The protesters entered the Parliament and soon after that the state television building. They proceeded to haul furniture and anything that

could be carried out of the Parliament building, which was in truth a metaphor for *the fortress* of the Milošević regime, as trophies of victory, preserving them for the generations to come. That night on the streets of Belgrade, people were celebrating, partying, singing, and making photos of the artefacts of the former Communist system. It was “a cacophonous fiesta of liberation to mark the long-awaited triumph of people power” (Collin 2001: 224).

As one of the most representative examples, the front page of the magazine *Vreme* depicted a new image of Serbia from the independent media perspective (Figure 10). The framed photo taken from the real event on October 5th 2000 in front of the Federal Parliament in Belgrade referred to freedom of speech, objectivity indispensable in informing the public, but also emphasised the end of the Milošević regime. Teasers such as *Kraj, Beograd, Srbija, 5. oktobar 2000* (“The End, Belgrade, Serbia, October 5th 2000”), *24 sata sa MUP-om Srbije* (“24 hours with the Serbian police”) and *Gde će deda čuvati unuka?* (“Where will grandpa look after his grandson?”)¹⁷ – were also comments on the situation and signs of a climate change.



Figure 10 | *The front page of Vreme No. 510, October 12th 2000*
(available from http://www.vreme.com/arhiva_html/510/index.html).

¹⁷ After the recognition of the election results, Milošević officially stated to the state television that he was looking forward to finally having time for his grandson.

In addition, in the first Serbian animated feature film *Technotise: Edit & I* made in 2009, director Aleksa Gajić presented Belgrade in the year 2074. Inspired by Japanese anime films, he connected the current image of the city with futuristic elements. The story takes place around the main character Edit Stefanović, a young psychology student and her problems which focused on the issues of identity, personality, relationships, philosophy and living in a nanotechnology environment. As a representative historical example, Gajić picks out October 5th 2000, seen through the lenses of Edit's grandfather, a participant in the revolution. Connecting memory through the chair taken as a trophy from the Parliament, the grandfather remembers that, while entering the Parliament and walking through the halls, he saw Milošević sitting on the chair. After a short time, during which they were peering at each other, Edit's grandfather noticed that an eight-leg creature emerged from the forehead of Milošević. It was an incarnation of devil forces which hit the walls and stormed into the coat of arms of the Republic of Serbia. As soon as he realised what was happening, Milošević left the room through a secret door, while the grandfather took the chair and ran out. Gajić's idea refers to several indispensable facts presented from a futuristic perspective. Firstly, it marks Milošević's "enchanted" political figure and the impossibility to accept defeat. Secondly, it relates to a split and change at the level of politics, the replacing of an authoritarian regime. Thirdly, it relates a sense that the country will be in a post-traumatic state while becoming accustomed to a new life. Finally, referring to the coat of arms, Gajić highlighted a situation of reconciliation with the ghosts of the political past that will always hover over the country.

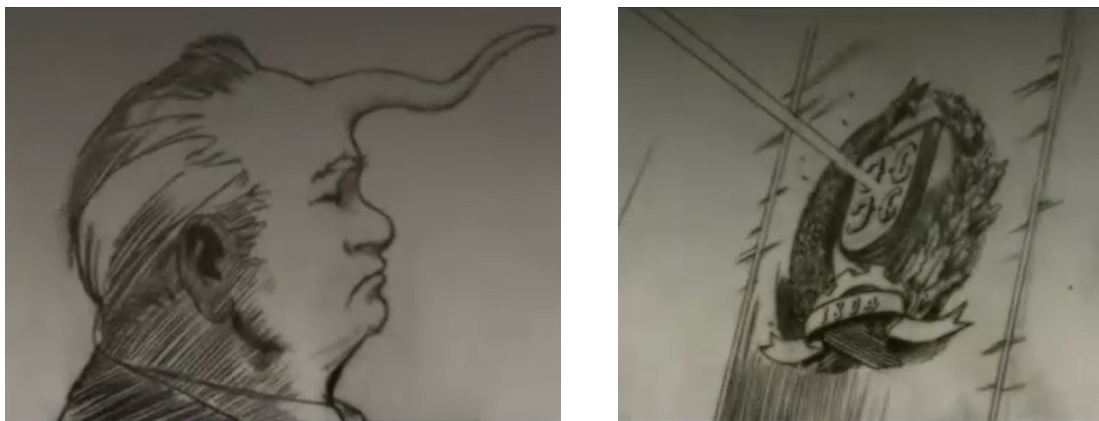


Figure 11 | Screenshots from Aleksa Gajić's movie *Technotise: Edit & I*.

Lastly, looking at the concept of the Berlin Wall as an ideological construction which symbolises the divide between the two social systems that affected the image of the world in the 20th century, it can be stressed that October 5th 2000 was the day when the “Serbian Berlin Wall” fell (Mašić 2006: 15). The regime change was a beginning of the transition from an incomplete, non-modern statehood to a constitutional, democratic statehood. The next day, October 6th 2000, a new chapter for Serbia began. Looking into the future and into an inevitably painful period of transition that was awaiting, the feeling of no longer living in the regime imposed by Milošević slowly began to spread. The post-traumatic sentiment gradually began to spread in Serbia and slowly to flow through the veins of society (Collin 2001).

1.2.1 | Setting the base for EDM development in Serbia.

“Close your eyes. Welcome to the Seventh Republic.”

Ante Perković

As already indicated in the previous sub-chapters, EDM began its developing and shaping in Serbia at the moment of the most intense darkness and isolation of the country. Although it followed the achievements of pop, rock’n’roll and New Wave – as traditions of urban culture developed within the Yugoslav cultural space, as will be seen more clearly in a moment – EDM was significantly different. Namely, it seemed as if, metaphorically, in the dark, rainy sky during the 1990s there appeared a hole which spawned a ray of light and pointed it in the way of the urban city clubs. Soon, EDM records began to reveal, circulate among and inspire young people to create unique body movements through dance. As *moving* became the deciding factor in the socio-political changes during the 1990s, it reflected a change at the level of music. Namely, narrative structures of pop and rock’n’roll gradually began converting the performative structures shaped within EDM. This significant shift in popular culture shed light on the dance activities and bodily movements of party participants, while stimulation for creating their movements came from the core of EDM: from the rhythm. Therefore, the audience did not identify (only) with the texts of popular songs, but also with creating body movements and finding meanings *in* and *through* them.

In order to understand this change in the field of popular culture and EDM roots in Serbia, it is important to shed light on several facts. Firstly, to set the base for EDM development which had already begun within the Yugoslav cultural space, where different cultural, language and religious traditions interfered and communicated inside the mono-ideological model. Therefore, I illuminate the localisation of EDM within the popular culture that existed in the system of Yugoslavia. My aim is to emphasise the fact that popular culture in Yugoslavia was different and specific compared to the other Eastern European communist countries. Secondly, popular culture in Yugoslavia could be shaped and developed because of the dissimilar socio-political circumstances. Namely, until the country disintegrated in 1991, to live in Yugoslavia meant to know the works of the authors from the other Yugoslav republics: to live, for example, in Belgrade, and release albums for a record label in Zagreb, and have numerous performances and fans in Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Skopje and Priština. [Ante] Perković coined the term “The Seventh Republic” which in the best way presents the importance of popular music within the Yugoslav cultural space, and it is the key reference to popular culture in the former country (Perković 2011).

Further, Yugoslavia was true evidence that large cities almost naturally affect and influence each other and that their powers collide. Not only did the Yugoslav cultural space allow the freedom of thinking and expression, but it also possessed the availability of appearance and presentation in the media, which was not the case in other countries of the Eastern Block. During the 1950s and 1960s, Yugoslavia began to open up to the West through music, sport, film and fashion. Moreover, Communist Yugoslavia was a major destination for tourists from Western Europe and the USA. Perković remarks that Yugoslavia was “pure pop-formation” (Perković 2011: 27) where musicians were free to play jazz, film was the most prominent state art while rock’n’roll, Elvis Presley and other influential artists attracted the attention of young people in the 1950s. The Beatles received their counterparts during the 1960s in the music of Yugoslav bands such as Bele Strele (White arrows), Crni biseri (Black pearls), Crveni koralji (Red corals) and others.

Modelled on the “Top Ten” or “Top Twenty” US charts in the 1950s, Western Europe adopted the practice of best-selling records. On Radio Luxemburg, disk jockeys had special promotional shows devoted to the best records and songs. As an exceptionally popular media station in the Yugoslav cultural space, Radio Luxemburg strongly influenced listeners and local musicians. Radio Luxemburg and several popular films, such as *The Young Ones*, a

British musical released in 1961 featuring singer Cliff Richards and the band Shadows, encouraged young people to start forming bands in the early 1960s (Dječaci, Sjene, Atomi, Iskre, Siluete, Elipse, Roboti, etc.) (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 34). Nonetheless, Radio Luxemburg began developing the concept of (radio and club) disk-jockeys. Usually it was a person, mostly a man with a pleasant voice, a sense for improvisation, a good turntable and plenty of records. In the 1970s, the first Yugoslav DJ competition was held in the Josip Kulušić Youth Club in Zagreb¹⁸ (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 97) while Belgrade clubs celebrated the names of Sava Radosavljević and Zoran Modli as the founders of disk jockeying in Serbia.

Besides, during the 1960s and the 1970s, Yugoslavia was not only opened up to the West, but there was also a good market for a records exchange. The geographic position of the country, as already reviewed in the chapter, enabled an interchange of music material between the East and the West which was not possible in other Eastern European countries. Records were indirectly arriving in Yugoslav centres from Western Europe and the USA via air stewards and athletes who defended the colours of the country in international sports competitions. For instance, Radivoje Korać, not only a famous basketball player but also an all-round personality who had a strong interest in art and popular culture, brought from England the first LP of the band The Beatles only a several days after it was released in 1963. For the first time, Radio Belgrade had an opportunity to promote The Beatles from Korać's LP.¹⁹ Also, there was a strong Western influence during the 1970s when Belgrade received Kraftwerk records that shortly afterwards (indirectly) spread around the country. Namely, Kraftwerk's electronic music and the whole techno concept was immediately recognised in Yugoslavia as superior music and popular art which soon attracted the attention of a significant number of "new sound lovers," audiophiles passionately attached to HiFi, as well as Yugoslav composers mostly influential in the field of applied music for film, theatre and television (e.g. Kornelije Kovač, Zoran Simjanović, Laza Ristovski, Alfi Kabiljo, Tomislav Simović and others).

Finally, establishing good cultural relations and exchange between Yugoslav centres,

¹⁸ At the competition that lasted several nights, 23 DJs took part. Each got the same time for his performance, two turntables, numerous records, light effects and go-go dancers (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 97).

¹⁹ The information is taken from the semi-documentary *Žučko, priča o Radivoju Koraću* ("Blondie, a story about Radivoj Korać") by Gordan Matić (2011) about Radivoj Korać, one of the best basketball players in the former Yugoslavia.

starting from two main labels (Jugoton, as the largest record label and chain record store in 1947 in Zagreb, and PGP RTB in 1959 in Belgrade²⁰), the appearing of international records during the 1960s and 1970s, as well as chart lists at local radio stations contributed to the direction of popular music development. During that time, the Seventh Republic became progressive on the levels of authorship, interpretations and productions. It can be pointed out that the scene of popular music in Yugoslavia developed confidently and openly with “a gaze across the borders” (Perković 2011: 46).

1.2.2 | Re-thinking the Yugoslav New Wave.

Emerging in the late 1970s as a counterpart of the British and USA scenes, the New Wave had a significant impact on Yugoslav popular culture.²¹ The doors for an incursion of a new aesthetics were wide open for all artists, and the aesthetics gave not only a musical component, but a visual one as well. The period of the late 1970s and 1980s in the former Yugoslavia provided space for shaping creative ideas as well as for reviewing what lies behind the political system.²² Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana were never closer than in the New Wave atmosphere. People lived with each other and influenced one another. In the field of popular music, this meant that musicians created sound spaces as a reflection and recognition of the global music scene, always adding the image of self in the world contents. However, New Wave was seen as a movement mainly oriented towards punk and rock’n’roll although a significant number of artists based their works on electronic music.

Moreover, the classification in the Seventh Republic’s pop-music labels recognised three groups: pop, rock’n’roll and folk music. Furthermore, the classification covers and also

²⁰ PGP RTB is an acronym for the Vinyl Records Production of Radio Television of Belgrade which was a major state-owned record label and chain record store in former Yugoslavia. Around 1993, PGP RTB changed its name to PGP RTS which is today the music branch of Radio Television of Serbia.

²¹ The lack of relevant literature has induced me to make a reconstruction in relation to TV shows dedicated to the New Wave movement and the interviews I conducted for the purposes of the study.

²² Namely, artists felt they were citizens who lived in a political system that seemed never-changing. Through their work, they tried to find the system's limits, or how far an artist could remain free. Asking “delicate” questions, New Wave bands in Yugoslavia defended the right to disagree, the right of detachment from socialist collectivism, the right to break taboos and the right to challenge. Moreover, not only was there a spirit of the Yugoslav New Wave in music, but also in novels, comic, television, film, etc.

refers to musicians and bands which extended the limits of the genres willingly researching sub-genres and using in their works synthesizers and rhythm machines as the main sound creating tools. Although international discography made a distinction between popular electronic music and *synth pop*, *electro pop*, and *techno pop* as a part of the New Wave movement, its determination as *a genre* within the post Yugoslav cultural space has appeared in recent times. Not only did the movement in former Yugoslavia marginalise the classification of electro pop, but it was, in a certain way, ignored regardless of this, as will be seen shortly, and electro pop was an important base for EDM development which took place in Serbia during the 1990s. For this reason, it is significantly important to emphasise the following: when EDM entered into the field of popular culture in Serbia, the sounds of popular electronic music as well as the existing tradition of DJs were not unknown. Namely, the electronic sound of popular music was in a certain way recognisable although live EDM performances in clubs or alternative spaces were an innovation. Nevertheless, electro pop in the former Yugoslavia had an almost parallel development with the one in Western Europe. The expansion of electronic beats during the 1990s and the further development of DJs established popular electronic music as a separate genre.²³

Although popular electronic music in the Yugoslav cultural space began creating the basis for development during the late 1970s, it actually “flirted” with electronic music. For instance, constructed entirely out of synthesised sounds without words, just vocals, the song “Elektra” (1978), performed by Croatian singer Zdenka Kovačićek and composed by Igor Savin, was actually an echo of Moroder’s Euro-disco hit “I feel love” (1977) performed by Donna Summer. Moroder’s creation of purely EDM sounds, an innovative production of the song with an entirely synthesized backing track, was influential in the development of EDM. Further, the single *Ponoćni ekspres* (“Midnight Express”) performed by Milka Lenac in 1980 presented a connection between the post-disco and minimal exotic synth pop sound. Another two albums from the 1978, *Elektrika* by Croatian composer and performer Igor Savin and *Šuma* (“The forest”) by Serbian musician Oliver Mandić, are good examples of the

²³ Croatian film and music critic Željko Luketić and producer and DJ Višeslav Laboš started the project on genre classification of popular music developed in the former Yugoslavia and entitled it “Anthology of ex YU genre music.” At first, they realised an edition of seven double albums classified by genre. Soon after, they began planning a documentary about examining the development of popular electronic music in the Yugoslav cultural space from the late 1950s until the 1990s (available from <http://www.tportal.hr/showtime/glazba/196084/Kolektivni-zaborav-velikana-domace-elektro-scene.html>).

use of popular electronic sound.

The Belgrade band Kozmetika was among the first who linked the techniques of sampling (important for EDM, as it will be seen in Chapter 2) and the inspiration for Brian Eno's music which they presented on the eponymous album (1983). The electro pop style was followed by artists and bands from the whole country, such as Beograd, Max & Intro, Laki pingvini from Belgrade; Bastion²⁴ and Anastasia from Skopje; Denis & Denis²⁵ from Rijeka, Videosex from Ljubljana, and others.

Drawing on this general view, it is worth mentioning that one of the most prolific educated artists and composers, Mitar Subotić Suba during the 1980s and 1990s worked as one of the pioneers in the field of popular electronic music.²⁶ Exploring alternative musical ways, Subotić was influenced by the music of Erik Satie, John Cage and minimal composers, as well as by the music of Brian Eno. Not only was Subotić from the beginning interested in electronic music (he attended courses in the Electronic Studio in Radio Belgrade, and the IRCAM Institute in Paris), but he also added in his work the influences of Balkan traditional music (*In the Mooncage*²⁷) and the music of distant lands that inspired him (Africa, India, Brasil). Subotić composed self-reflections inspired by the music of other composers (*Thank you Mister Rorschach*,²⁸ dedicated to Erik Satie), he created ambient sound installations

²⁴ As an internationally acclaimed DJ, musician and composer whose primary focus is on theatre, film and documentaries, the Macedonian artist Kiril Džajkovski began his musical career in the band Bastion, discovering the possibilities provided by the popular electronic sound. Today, Džajkovski is recognised as one of the pioneers in musical combinations which can be classified in the developing genre of Balkans electronic music.

²⁵ Marina Perazić, a member of the electro pop duo Denis & Denis which was popular in the former Yugoslavia during the 1980s, performed as a DJ in 2012 at the EXIT Festival in Novi Sad.

²⁶ As he wanted to be an author from the shadow, Subotić at the beginning of his career worked under the name *Rex Illusivii* (Lat. The King of Illusions).

²⁷ In the work *In the Mooncage*, Subotić developed the idea to relocate dreams into music. His aim was to return the listeners to the time of childhood. As the basis for the work, he used Yugoslav traditional music – lullabies that mothers sang to their children, a practice which would be continued. In 1988, for the composition *In the Mooncage*, Subotić won the UNESCO award for promotion in the field of culture.

²⁸ The composition *Thank you Mister Rorschach* originated from the idea that Satie's compositions could be used in the same manner as the Rorschach test in psychology. Like ink smudges that could cause certain reactions in viewers, Subotić added his electronic interventions-associations with Satie's 10 selected piano pieces. He used recorded material, and put in different effects to change the recorded piano sound. He built a super-structure of various sound levels and brought in elements of Japanese and Arabic folklore. In the last segment, Subotić surrounded and supplemented Satie's sound by fragments of the Orthodox liturgy, Catholic Gregorian Corals and Muslim Prayers. The surrounding in which he positioned Satie's music had an artistic and philosophical significance: it was the religious world that was part of Subotić's life in Yugoslavia during the 1980s.

realised in different spaces (*The Dreambird*²⁹), and extended the limits of popular music sounds (*Angel's Breath*³⁰) (Janjatović 2007). The research process, new findings and experiences, became more prominent in Subotić's work than the research result. As a pioneer in the field of popular electronic music in the former Yugoslavia, Subotić mixed and produced a number of celebrated albums of the Yugoslav New Wave artists, such as Ekatarina Velika, Haustor, Marina Perazić, etc. His ideas of inputting the organic and the spiritualistic in music by using instruments as tools for achieving different effects had a remarkable influence on the authors, who continued to shape popular electronic (dance) music sound in Serbia during the 1990s.

Finally, one of the most influential musicians from the former Yugoslavia, the Slovene band Laibach, had from the beginning of its formation in 1982 a wholly intermedial concept, which had an influence on EDM development. Namely, taking three decades to traverse the way from a music band to a socio-artistic movement, Laibach researched the links between art and ideology. In their idea of universality, Laibach combined extreme values in order to neutralise them through confrontation. As a result, their work became "a poison for ideology." It also consisted of sound images of decaying heavy industry in their hometown, Trbovlje in Slovenia, mixed with para-military and ideological elements (political speech samples, military uniforms, etc.) (Janjatović 2007). In addition, they toyed with exotic symbols alluding to Slavic paganism, exorcism and occultism. Not only did the members of Laibach see themselves as artists, but also as engineers of the human spirit. Their work, which has had a significant influence on the development of EDM and today has a cult status in the post Yugoslav cultural space, was based on ready-made principles and established by the 1983 Laibach Manifesto: "Industrial production is rationally developmental, but if we extract from this process the element of the moment and emphasise it, we also assign to it a

²⁹ In *The Dreambird*, the base was birds chirping and it was recorded in Madagascar, while Subotić also created some ambient interventions. The final result of his sound experiment realised in Paris in cooperation with Goran Vejvoda was the idea for creating ambient music for the city, performed through sound speakers positioned in different parts. *The Dreambird* was music created in the bird world, but also in the sound world where the artists lived. In the period from 1986 to 1992, this sound installation was realised several times in different places (Yugoslavia, Italy, and Brasil).

³⁰ In the band *Angel's Breath*, Subotić collaborated with Milan Mladenović (the frontman of the band Ekatarina Velika) and Brazilian musicians Joao Parahyba (percussions) and Fabio Golfeti (guitar). Their aim was to create a musical world in which they would live. Using the principle of *Angel's Breath*, they wanted to transpose to the listeners their musical world and to disclose how they had created it. On the eponymous album, beside the alternative sound, they intertwined Brazilian and Balkan folklore motifs and created a sound space for a cross-cultural dialogue.

mystical dimension of alienation, which reveals the magical component of the industrial process. Repression over the industrial ritual is transformed into a compositional dictate and the politicisation of sound can become absolute sonority” (*The 10 Items of Covenant*, Principle no. 6; available from: <http://www.laibach.org/data/10-items-of-the-covenant>).

1.2.3 | Popular music promotion in Yugoslav media spaces.

Although the media was more liberal, accessible and available for popular culture in Yugoslavia than after the country’s disintegration into separate states,³¹ popular electronic music was mainly used in the editorial concepts of the radio and television broadcasting services of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana for jingles, announcements and musical soundtracks used for cultural television programs. Thus, musical fragments of works by Jean Michel Jarre, Mike Oldfield, Andreas Vollenweider or Deutsch-Amerikanische Freundschaft could be heard. In the early 1970s, the Television Zagreb program *Zdravo mladi* (“Hello youth”) broadcast mainly Yugoslav pop and rock music, while popular electronic music appeared to a lesser extent only through the works of composers from the field of applied music. The reason for this may lie in the fact that popular electronic music was not recognised as a separate genre.

During the early 1980s, several programs showed basic steps in the recognition of popular electronic sound, such as *Noćni program* (“Night program”) exchanged monthly between the televisions of Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo, and *More, ljudi, obale* (“Sea, people, coasts”) on Croatian television. In the early 1980s, the program *Videovizija* (“Videovision”) later renamed as *Stereovizija* (“Stereovision”), by TV Ljubljana and Zagreb, presented for the first time the songs that would soon after become disco hits (e.g. *You spin me right round* by the British New Wave band Dead or Alive). Macedonian television had the program *Kva kva top* that also promoted the popular electronic sound and bands such as a British synth pop band Frankie Goes to Hollywood. In 1981, Television Belgrade started the show *Hit meseca* (“The hit of the month”) in which broadcasting music videos became the

³¹ Namely, the Milošević regime succeeded from its Communist predecessor the vast empire of the press, radio and television, which immediately showed the intent to use the media as a political tool far more than their predecessors.

main building block of the program. During its three cycles, young, urban screenwriters and directors from the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade participated in creating the show. Beside the official music videos released in partnership with international media companies, for the first time the *Hit meseca* show promoted its own videos and presented electro pop bands, both foreign (Jazoo, The Art of Noise, A-ha, etc.) and domestic (Beograd, Kozmetika, Denis & Denis).

The *Hit meseca* show was followed by the culture magazine *Petkom u 22* (“Fridays at 22”), broadcast by Television Belgrade to the whole country. The team, gathered together by editor Zora Korać (the directors were Predrag Nikolić and Stanko Crnobrnja) created the first magazine which enabled the media of television to become an area for new ideas. Numerous young artists were eager to show their creativity while video-art became a new tool for expression. Electro pop songs were promoted, and a significant number of demo-bands had the chance to present their work. The magazine successfully linked traditional, avant-garde and alternative culture while the emphasis was on minimal scenography; in other words – the essence was not shape but content.

Besides the local radio stations in the Yugoslav republics, Radio Belgrade, especially the Beograd 202 program (“Belgrade 202”) had a significant role in developing clubbing music. In his show *Disko susreti* (“Disco meetings”) from the early 1980s, Dragan Kozlica presented examples of disco music from the late 1970s and 1980s. Also, Belgrade’s popular Studio B radio station broadcast the *Ritam srca* show (“The rhythm of the heart”) from the mid 1980s whereupon the editors promoted alternative music. From the musical aspect, it was an exceedingly anarchic and disparate group of young people, from post-dankers to those who had a keen interest in German Krautrock. During the 1980s, around the same time when music stages worldwide discovered *new* music (e.g. hip-hop [at that time still called “rap”], and acid house) the editors of the program realised the importance of broadcasting such music. Although the whole music-creating process could be democratised to the level of “working at home” rather than in expensive studios, very simple electronic music found its way to the radio and soon after to television.

1.3.1 | This is a tale of two cities.

In the third part of the chapter, attention is focused on EDM development in the two largest cities in Serbia: Belgrade and Novi Sad. The overview was made in regards to interviews with DJs and EDM promoters, as well as the documentation found during the research. My wish was incurred by the idea to examine EDM development in Belgrade and Novi Sad as much as possible, as the examples analysed in Chapters 2 and 3 of the study relate to these cities. Nonetheless, it is significantly important to emphasise that Niš, the third largest city in Serbia, positioned in the southern part of the country, has a rich tradition of popular culture. Namely, during the 1990s, Niš had its own EDM development, similarly with Belgrade and Novi Sad. However, because of a shortage of material during my survey and the fact that the scene not only of EDM but the entire popular culture in this city deserves a detailed examination, for the purposes of this study I signified it as *excursus*.

Marking the existence of the EDM scene in Niš, I wish only to shed light on the importance of the EDM phenomenon not only in Belgrade and Novi Sad, but also in other cities in Serbia. This insight and short outline is important for several reasons. Firstly, in its basic frames, it can give an idea how the EDM scene developed in Serbia and upon which foundation. Secondly, not only does it emphasize the importance of this pop-culture phenomenon, but it also creates a connection between the position of the cities: in the Centre (Belgrade) – North (Novi Sad) – and South (Niš) which perhaps may open up another level for examining the specificities, influences and differences of EDM. Thirdly, it may open up a space for exploring several issues, such as the role of the DJ which, for example, dictated the audience's taste in Niš and initiated performances, parties and festivals, while, at the very beginning, the DJs in Novi Sad were assistants in discotheques, etc. Finally, I would like to point out the potential of popular culture in Niš, which may open up new perspectives and contribute in completing the review of EDM development in Serbia.

1.3.2 | Belgrade. A spread of energy: the Temple of EDM, clubs and alternative spaces.

As the key metropolis of South-eastern Europe, Belgrade has always been a meeting place for art, culture and a city open for new influences. It can be said that electronic beats evolved indirectly, as it usually happens, in order to establish a trend through its more commercial elements and, as time passed by, to begin to be stratified more deeply in the analysis of the whole phenomenon, and, finally, to reach the level of the existing core, essential values. After the effective beginning of contemporary clubbing in the late 1980s, the use of pre-existing elements of urban culture and the New Wave movement developed within the Yugoslav cultural space, Belgrade began building the basis for a development of the EDM scene at the beginning of the 1990s in the Club of the Faculty of Fine Arts named Akademija (Academia). The club's "Dark and Gothic nights" were already part of the weekly program, but Akademija DJ residents Oki (Damir Omrčen) and Gavra (Milan Gavrilović) expanded their musical horizons not only to the sound of industrial techno, dark and gothic, but also supplementing with it some of the most popular rave tracks from the period. Not only were they the first DJs who promoted the DJ status from club assistant to the *DJ as a performer*, but with live performances they also opened up new possibilities for musical expression, which would soon begin to spread to other city clubs.

In a series of ups and downs, the Akademija Club managed to select two party nights (Tuesdays and Sundays) dedicated only to EDM. It is interesting to highlight that the audience in Akademija was the most diverse: young people who were listening to pop, alternative rock music, as well as those whose musical tastes inclined towards dark and gothic music. Using costumes and preparing for clubbing, both DJs and the audience gradually started to change the atmosphere in the club, and soon attracted more clubbers. In mid 1993, Akademija became a resident club space for younger and perspective Belgrade DJs who had a keen interest in EDM, such as DJ 245/1 (Bojan [family name missing]), and DJ Avalanche (Slavoljub Šulejić). A year later, on April 5th 1994, the influential DJ duo-team Mark Wee (Marko Vajagić) and S.T.R.O.B (Dejan Mirković) presented in Akademija their skills at a party named Trance Europe Express aiming to shed a light on the fact that, despite its isolation, Serbia should be involved in current world music trends. In addition, DJ Mark Wee

and S.T.R.O.B tended to make trance sound familiar to Belgrade's audience, wriggling it with recognisable and similar sound blocs that were played in popular German and other Western European clubs. Emphasising the importance of such a sub-genre of EDM, they actually adapted tracks in a local context. It means that they, in a similar way to other DJs in Serbia, performed music mainly from the records purchased from abroad. During this time, several new DJs joined their group, as will be seen more clearly in the next sub-chapter, who gradually began enhancing and expanding their repertoire. In other words, it can be pointed out that at the turn of the 1990s, when the illegal rave scene was taking over deserted warehouses and open fields all over the Europe, DJs, promoters and organisers saw the importance of *bringing in* a new culture that was growing and implement it in the local environment.

Besides, in the early 1990s in the lobby of the children's theatre Boško Buha, transformed for clubbing purposes and named Buha, the first EDM parties were organised on Saturdays, and soon after on Thursdays as well. The first tracks, performed by DJ Mark Wee and DJ Eye (Vladimir Ilievski) ranged from house to the beginning of rave sounds, respectively, to the alternative British EDM scene. Moreover, DJ Eye extended the repertoire, adding in the mix segments of German trance, which was, as already mentioned, very popular in that period. Around the same time, with the support of DJ Eye, the Soul Food Caffè Club included house music in its repertoire; actually it was a club for "black" sound such as acid jazz, funk, disco, and r'n'b tracks were promoted by DJs such as Coba (Slobodan Jovanović), Čile (Vladimir Đelić), and Aćim (Milija Aćimović).

Without doubt, when talking about the development of the EDM scene in Serbia in the first half of the 1990s, it should be mentioned that all the tracks performed by DJs were more commercial and widely known singles. The fact is that Belgrade's EDM pioneers wanted, through the recognisability of sound material, to develop an entirely new concept in order to gain more fans. It is also important to point out that they mostly got inspiration for implementing the whole new concept of EDM while participating at the turn of the 1990s at numerous parties in Western Europe. Paunović recollects: "I went to London in 1993 to purchase material for Radio B92 and my performances. My friend, who lived there, invited me to go with him to a party and experience something which was absolutely new for me at that time. It was a party named "Lost" which took place on several levels in a large warehouse in South Brixton. Techno parties were deployed in three spaces. In the first – it

was techno (the main performer was Derrick May, Detroit's DJ pioneer); in the second – avant-garde house (Mr. C from the group The Shamen), in the third – ambient music performed by Mix Master Morris, one of the most prominent figures in Germany in the field of ambient music. This industrial ambient, deafening noise, a great number of people, smoke machines, light effects... to access the warehouse you had to enter a large freight elevator which fit about 100 people... It was like descending into another world, literally, something similar to the scenes from Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*. I immediately realised I wanted something like that to exist in Belgrade" (Paunović, interview, June 12th 2012).

The year 1994 brought several new facts that signified a strong EDM development. Besides the mentioned clubs where initially Belgrade DJs played, tending to provide an educational level in their performances (they gradually created the audience's taste!), *Industria* (Industry) became a special, almost institutionalised place for EDM. Located in the city centre, in the period from 1992 until 2000, *Industria* was often considered the Temple of EDM. Its importance also lies in the fact that the club was located at the intersection point of urban energy, in the basement of Plato's Pub, the club of the Belgrade University Faculty of Philosophy, and as already mentioned, the square in front of the Faculty was the meeting and finishing point for the 1968 student demonstrations, but in 1996/97. *Industria* was little more than a cellar. Actually, it was the boiler room of the Faculty, with heating pipes in the ceiling. Its décor was modelled on the industrial design of the Manchester-based *Haçienda* club, and it would shape EDM trends in Belgrade for the next few years. In addition to this, the club's name, as an industrial and transformative activity, as well as its visual identity with metal bars, pipes, foil stairs – refer to something dissimilar from ordinary life. Considered from this angle, it can be said that the EDM pioneers rescued from the seriously conflicting time a piece of the city and turned it into their creative oasis, doing so with spontaneity and enthusiasm.

When the *Industria* Club opened in 1994, it looked superior and different to anything that existed in Belgrade. The descent down the stairs into the club created a sense of tumbling down into an abyss, as well as depicting a unique atmosphere, which was an effect created by the large number of people who were dancing in phenomenal lightning and a piercing, energetic EDM sound (Figure 12, and CD examples 1 and 2).



Figure 12 | *Dancing crowd in Industria*

(available from <http://www.facebook.com/groups/7643956007/photos/>).

Entering a unique dance experience, the audience used their bodies as a part of the EDM performance. They expressed creativity through dance movements, as well as sporting a specific fashion style worn for parties in Industria. Sun glasses and whistles were important clubber props while, to reiterate, whistles had the role of important (musical) instruments for accompanying DJ performances. Viewed thus, it can be said that, considering the effect of music on body movements and the interaction with other dancers, enhanced by a fashion style which contributed to the transformation of their dancing personae, the audience experienced a journey through sound structures, as well as an investigation of space and connections with others. In that way, the audience experienced a fusion which was significant in establishing a collective voice. Nonetheless, creativeness was individually experienced and collectively expressed while at the same time it was contrasted with the image of an isolated Belgrade. As already noted in this chapter, it would soon after be reflected on the streets. In addition, the audience in Industria was a mix of young urban people, students, artists and longstanding clubbers. Some of them had their first experience of connecting with others and achieving collectivity in that sense in the club.

Considered from this angle, it can be pointed out that *Industria*, like a theatre space, was disconnected from the outside world and denoted as specific. Gaston Bachelard convincingly emphasised in his book *Poetics of Space* that a cellar is the dark being of the house, the being that has influence and a specific role in underground powers (Bašlar 2005: 39). His idea invokes the possibilities of transposing creative energy shaped within underground EDM spaces on the ground. This creates a direct link to the previously discussed student protest that took place in 1996/97. Lastly, EDM was also promoted in other clubs (Prostor, Magna House, Omen, Pećina, Lagum, Zvezda, Sara, Underground), as well as the official Cultural Centres (Dom omladine, SKC), but none gained such popularity as *Industria*.

Trailing the ideas from Western European and American cities, Belgrade DJs, organisers and audiences began discovering new spaces for parties. The focus of EDM events shortly moved to alternative spaces where EDM performances were upgraded to another level, connecting live musical (DJ) and video (VJ) performances. The aim was to organise the space for a performance as a staged event. As a result, DJ performances received a new meaning. Actually, discovering new spaces meant making the audience unleash their will in looking for new sources, motivation and strength, going back to the roots, or to nature as well as the places that refer to technology. During the 1990s, the following alternative places were suitable for EDM parties: the Kalemegdan fortress,³² the summer stage at Topčider Hill, the old airport hangar, the Industry of Motors and Tractors warehouse, unfinished buildings, the old sugar refinery, the park-forest Košutnjak, open spaces in nature, as well as spaces that helped build up modern civilization, such as the Tašmajdan caves, which will be considered in Chapter 2 (CD examples 3 – 5).

³² Named by the Turks, “the hill for thinking” - Kalemegdan - is the heart and the oldest section of urban Belgrade. Kalemegdan fortress was built at the beginning of the 1st century as a palisade with earthen walls and during the centuries developed into a Roman Castrum (2nd century), a Byzantine castle, and an established medieval capital of the Serbian Despotate and an Austrian/Ottoman artillery fort during the 17th and 18th centuries.

1.3.3 | Belgrade. DJ associations and performances.

Recognising the potential of EDM, in the early 1990s the pioneers of Belgrade's EDM started organising themselves in associations, aiming to create the performances of their members, to connect with acclaimed international DJs, to promote a new concept of music and to strengthen and improve the quality of club parties. It was the second important step for EDM development in Serbia. Not only did EDM pioneers create a good platform to express ideas and opinions in music through such associations, as well as representing certain sub-genres of EDM, but they also built a reputation in the local community. As I myself witnessed, DJs had a very good reputation in Belgrade, they were the initiators of EDM development. Soon enough, actualising the new popular culture in Serbia resulted in the creation of the EDM scene.

The United DJs of Trance (Figure 13) was the first such association. The DJs [from left to right] S.T.R.O.B. (Dejan Mirković), Invision (Velja Mijanović), Mark Wee (Marko Vajagić), and Eye (Vladimir Ilievski) presented their skills at Sunday performances in Industria.



Figure 13 | *United DJs of Trance*

(available from <http://www.facebook.com/groups/7643956007/photos/>).

Due to the discontent with the music played in Belgrade clubs, soon after, the association Kozmik Communications (DJ Manic, DJ Terminator & DJ Superfly: Gordan Paunović, Vladimir Janjić, Boža Podunavac) was formed. Kozmik Communications put an emphasis on harder underground production which they presented through performances in Industria on Thursdays. The clubbing nights in Industria, organised by United DJs of Trance and Kozmik Communication gained cult status, creating the core of Belgrade's EDM scene. Vajagić recalls: "These two associations played a certain kind of EDM sub-genre. We all knew what to expect, there were really great parties, many people attended and an excellent atmosphere was created. Unfortunately, there are no parties like that today. We all somehow mourn for those times. These beginnings were something that truly forced us to work and we had lots of fun" (Vajagić, interview, June 28th 2012).

After DJ Invision left the United DJs of Trance, this association was transformed into Integra Productions which, working parallel with Kozmik Communications, opened the doors to the world's house and techno scene. During this period, not only did Belgrade DJs reach a high artistic and technical level at their live performances, but there was also great interest in creating music videos which reflected the basic ideas taken from the core of EDM: repetition of fragments, movement, travelling, connection, etc.³³ Gradually, following further EDM development, other DJ associations appeared: Space Art (Jakov, Mikica, Buca), UMUB, X-perimenT (as the first association that promotes psychedelic trance music), Happy People – United Youth of Belgrade (Aleksandar Pavić/DJ Lale, Goran Zmix Kovačević, Nikola Paunović came to the stage from the audience and became DJs, later opening a DJ shop in Belgrade), Teenage Techno Punks (Marko Nastić i Dejan Milićević), and others. Also, these associations interlinked, performing together, and some of the DJs were guests at parties of other associations, etc. In effect, this made the EDM scene quite colourful.

³³ Music videos such as *Mali čovek* ("A little man") by Akropola, *Demented* by Cyanide, *Phuse* by Dominator, etc. In addition, the music video titled *Ho Ho* and realised by Velja Mijanović (music) and Dušan Kaličanin (video) indirectly explained the socio-political situation in Serbia during the 1990s. Namely, the authors used fragments from a computer game and combined them with an authentic video recorded at the main railway station in Belgrade, as well as in trains. The scenes emphasise the movement of creating and erasing borders (taken from a computer game) while faces show uncertainty. Images of slow trains, crowded wagons, people waiting, and children refer to a time of changes.



Figure 14 | Flyers for EDM performances in Belgrade during the 1990s (available from <http://www.facebook.com/groups/7643956007/photos/>).

Moreover, from 1994, Belgrade DJs gave titles to their performances referring to the uncovering and questioning about new spaces as well as inducing altered states of musical consciousness (Figure 14). Parties appeared with titles such as Star trek, Zero G, Sonic virus – linked with SF characters and movies; Dance Adventure, Accelerate, The Outer Limits, Temple of Mind, Spirituality, Psychedelic Trance Experience – highlighting the effects that are supposed to be experienced by the audience and transitions into Other Worlds; Techno tribe, Techno pagans – linking performances to rituals, or entire projects such as Trans Serbia (Figure 15) referring to travelling through time and reminiscent of national culture, places with special energy of great importance, such as fortresses, caves, etc.



Figure 15 | Flyers for the project Trans Serbia (courtesy of Technokratia).

The global EDM phenomenon took root in Belgrade and established its specific, local character and style. Although, as we have seen in previous sub-chapters, the year 1994 was significant for developing EDM in Industra as well as organising DJ associations, and it is important to reiterate that EDM was a trans-territorial phenomenon of popular culture which was shaped as a compound of various influences and elements that cancelled out any

domination of origin. Therefore, it should be highlighted that influences presented in Belgrade DJs performances have to be understood as multidimensional voices which distinguish EDM as an open phenomena. Therefore, I have determined EDM in Serbia at the turn of the century as being authentic, bearing in mind two concepts: *a way of performing music* and the *development of the EDM scene* in a particular socio-political context. This will be seen more clearly in Chapters 2 and 3 through the analysis of selected examples.

1.3.4 | Belgrade. Technokratia and media spaces.

Established in Belgrade in 1993, the organisation Technokratia also had a significant influence on EDM promotion and development, and therefore I allocated it a separate segment with the intention to show how it contributed to the promotion of new trends. The founders of Technokratia became familiar with the ways and systems of related organisations (such as Low Spirit in Germany) during their visits and travels across Western Europe in the late 1980s, where they had a chance to be a part of the increasing development of the new culture.³⁴ Nonetheless, they were guided by the idea of providing young people with a space in which, regardless of the ambience of darkness in Serbia during the 1990s, they could interact with world trends, artists and all the features they were isolated from. Thus, it created a good platform for the rising level of awareness that led young people to turn towards the concepts of peace, tolerance, elimination of hatred and violence, to understand the differences, as well as to focus on their creative potentials.

Ideas about the name of the organisation came from the ancient Greek meaning of technocracy: τέχνη (tekhne) meaning *skill* and κράτος (kratos) meaning *power*. Applying the name at the level of culture, it means *the rule of culture*. Considered from this angle, it can be noted that in the early 1990s giving such a name to an organisation was an artistic prediction of events in the world and new civilisational developments in the field of communication, science, technology as well as everyday life. Moreover, the basic motto of the organization - “using high technology in creative purposes” refers not only to music, but also to the entire field of techno culture (art, video, design, fashion, etc).

³⁴ Technokratia was founded by Dušan Kaličanin, Goran Bjelcanović, Dragan Kaličanin, Miloš Civrić, Predrag Ristić and Miloš Jež.

Working beyond the student protests as well as the authorities, the organisation fluctuated through a separate, *third* space. Namely, conceived as an applicable management system that was defined as an analogue social network enabled an entry into state media, as the founders realised that media space in Serbia in the early 1990s was not as closed as the situation. Kaličanin explains: “It was a very liberal milieu in Serbia, meaning that the media were not blocked, and all was not saturated regardless of how it seemed. We came up with the idea to penetrate the TV and radio, to reach the top and from there to start promoting concepts of techno culture, precisely, a whole new vision of music and culture. On one hand, we gradually began organising the training of DJs, explaining the meaning of the concept of the flyer and after-hour party, the concept of promotions, and what is necessary for a successful EDM performance. On the other hand, we started our own projects, such as *Trans Serbia*, aiming to promote Serbian medieval fortresses and cities, to present national history through EDM as well as to give stimulus to young people to begin shaping their ideas” (Kaličanin, interview, June 23rd 2012).³⁵



Figure 16 | *The official symbol of Technokratia (courtesy of Technokratia).*

As Figure 16 shows, the organisation’s symbol is devised as a key and presented on a white background, in the shape of a red cross which contains a square-shaped window. Actually, the picture, taken from the traditional rug of town Sjenica in South-Western Serbia,

³⁵ In addition to Kaličanin's explanation, it may be worth noting that Technokratia DJs at live EDM performances in clubs or alternative spaces usually wore black T-shirts with the symbol of the organisation printed on the mid front and a white DJ sign on the back. In that way, and in specific lightning and stroboscopic effects during the live performance, they emphasised the important role of the DJ as the creator of the atmosphere and the person responsible for the success or failure of the party (CD example 5).

was digitally stylised. The founders of Technokratia wished the symbol to be recognisable, but also open for questions about spirituality and materiality in a culture which went beyond all ideologies. Thus, the symbol represented a channel, a solution, the possibility to use material (technology) creatively only if it followed spirit, an idea, knowledge, the sense of the one managing it. Without it, technology is useless or it is useful in/by itself. Nonetheless, the entire Technokratia brand created during the 1990s,³⁶ supported the fact that there was no separate spiritual and material culture. It propagated the position that it is not possible to be focused only at spiritual high pursuits without contact with reality and materiality and vice versa: that it is not possible to build a system of living only on the basis of the material, on acquisition, competition and conflicts. The solution is in the middle, in the balance between the spiritual and the material.

Figuratively speaking, after occupying media space in the Third Channel of the state television, clearing the media air and providing space for promoting pop cultural values, Technokratia started the Ultra Music and Ultra Fashion shows. They began promoting the official symbol of Technokratia through the opening segment of the shows and spreading information about techno culture using the state media, prevalent across the country. Shortly afterwards, in October of 1994 Technokratia began its own, populist show for techno culture fans named VJ Techno, broadcast weekly during prime time (Fridays from 7.30 pm to 8 pm). The first Serbian TV show dedicated to EDM gradually became one of the most watched programs on television among the younger generation, until the channel was closed in 2003.

Through VJ Techno, Technokratia promoted a whole new concept of EDM, educated the audience, commented on numerous video recordings from parties in Serbia and Europe (such as the Street Parade in Vienna and Zurich), presented domestic and international DJs, conducted interviews, live performances in studios, discussed EDM magazines (such as Groove and Rave line) and also cooperated with editors and producers from other Western European media stations such as MTV, Viva and MCM International. Moreover, in 1996 Technokratia initiated the weekly Fractal techno show, which took place on Thursdays at 10 pm and lasted until midnight on Radio Politika, also state media. They established official national and international dance charts, live DJs studio performances, listeners' inclusion

³⁶ Drawing on this view, it is important to highlight that over time, Technokratia was recognised as the first digital brand from Serbia.

into the show, and influenced other stations to begin thinking about the possibilities of such a program. Soon afterwards, Technokratia began a second TV show called Supernova on The Third Channel of the state television with live DJs performances. As it will be seen more clearly throughout the study, even though it used ideas of underground culture shaped in Western European countries and in the USA, EDM in Serbia existed in an *in-between* space via its promotion in the state media.

Along with numerous parties, Technokratia organised in the official clubs in Belgrade and soon after in other Serbian cities (until the year 2000, the number of realised projects, parties, exhibitions, and other events reached more than 4,500!), they discovered the already mentioned alternative spaces such as the Tašmajdan caves, Serbian fortresses, garages, tennis court bubbles and old rafts.³⁷ What is intriguing is that the organisation of parties was innovative not only for the music, but also due to the locations. The audience would feel special, which may be associated with travelling into another time and space and to depths of rhythm and sound. In this light, Kaličanin clarifies the following: “All events organised by Technokratia had managers and producers. We were working in the same way as people from the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade, which means in a kind of school mood, but we tended to be absolutely creative. Our concept was to find a deserted space with good energy, which was creative and inspiring for decorating, to set the place up for sound and light, as well as setting up entrances, and to make a story about the space by way of a flyer and a poster” (Kaličanin, interview, June 23rd 2012).

³⁷ Also, Technokratia began a humanitarian art project titled Trance for Peace during the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999, aiming to fight the war with culture and art, rejecting any political involvement. They organised several events, of which the EDM performance Sounds Against the Bombs that took place on April 18th 1999 in the Square of Freedom in the city of Zrenjanin in Vojvodina, the northern part of the country, was the most significant. Not only was the aim to help all the people of Serbia to have a space for dancing, but also to inform people worldwide about the ongoing events in Serbia, about the culture, art, music, as well as to maintain a developed EDM scene. For the project, Technokratia had supporters from Japan, USA, Israel, France, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Greece, the UK, and Holland.

1.3.5 | Belgrade. Other media spaces.

EDM had already occupied radio space and began its expansion shortly before the aforementioned shows VJ Techno and Fractal. Since Radio Yugoslavia³⁸ broadcast a program on short-waves throughout the world, in the early 1990s there appeared the need to expand the related content throughout the country. Namely, immediately after the demonstrations which took place in Belgrade on March 9th 1991, as discussed in the first part of the chapter, the editors saw the importance of establishing a branch of Radio Yugoslavia: a new program on FM waves. Their aim was to distribute the content in the country, similarly with Radio Yugoslavia. Correspondingly, the editors were inspired by the idea of informing the audience in the country (both international and domestic) about the upcoming events in former Yugoslavia (as much as objectively possible and without censorship). Named YU Radio and aired on FM 100.4, the station contained a comprehensive program which from the very beginning attracted a large number of listeners. The free media space allowed the editors a creativity which resulted in a program rich in content, covering shows about the theatre, films, festivals, popular culture and popular music, all accompanied by the daily news. It is significant to note that in the period of substantial socio-political changes during the 1990s, YU Radio sounded different from the other programs in the Serbian media space.

The Marketing Union company with bases in the UK and owned by Belgrader Dejan Radonjić hired night shifts at YU Radio at the end of 1992. The aim was to present some international and acclaimed DJs to listeners in Serbia. During the night live performances, listeners had the opportunity to become familiar with the interpretations of artists such as Barney York and Lindsay Edwards, among the many who presented their DJ skills. Every hour, in the block breaks, the news was broadcast on YU Radio, both in Serbian and English. This concept of live DJ performances on the radio soon attracted a large number of urban, young listeners. Therefore, during the mid 1990s, YU radio was considered as one of the most important stations for promoting popular culture. It should be pointed out that YU radio was

³⁸ Radio Yugoslavia became International Radio Serbia, the only short-wave radio station in the country which broadcast programs to all parts of the world in twelve languages – in Serbian for the Diaspora, as well as in English, French, German, Russian, Spanish, Arabic, Albanian, Greek, Italian, Hungarian, and Chinese. International Radio Serbia was one of the oldest short-wave radio stations, founded six years before the Voice of America. The broadcasting of an international program from this region had started in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on March 8th 1936. Unfortunately, by a decision of the Serbian government, International Radio Serbia ceased to exist on July 31st 2015, without any reasons given.

a pertinent media at the beginning of EDM development in Serbia.³⁹

In 1994, after their contract expired, Marketing Union left YU Radio and live performances were continued by Belgrade DJs. Velja Mijanović and Boža Podunavac were among the first who joined the shows on YU radio, and who equally well conducted live radio performances with their foreign colleagues. Not only did Mijanović and Podunavac gradually begin to promote their aspirations on the Western European EDM scene through their radio shows, but they also extended it to live performances in Belgrade clubs, mainly in Industria. Similarly, like VJ Techno on television, their radio shows informed the audience about live DJ performances, commenting on the international EDM scene and making contact with listeners. Shortly after, DJs from the United DJs of Trance association joined them and began their own radio show on Sundays at 8 pm. United DJs of Trance announced performances in Belgrade clubs and performed live sets, which gained popularity among listeners and became one of the most influential shows. Thereafter, other shows also followed on YU Radio, such as Liquid and Generator, while EDM slowly began to establish itself on local radio stations throughout Serbia (for example: Radio Pančevo – Alter Ego, Radio Zaječar – Get Up In Techno, Radio Trstenik – Accelerator, Radio Inđija – Techno Magazin, etc.).

Radio Politika was another prominent state media outlet, which made a significant contribution to EDM development. Namely, before Technokratia's Fractal show, Politika in 1992 broadcast the show Ultra zona ritma ("Ultra Spirit Zone") edited by DJ Avalanche (Slavoljub Šulejić). As a state media outlet, Radio Politika had a large coverage in Serbia. Promoting and making a positive commercialisation of EDM, DJ Avalanche with his show Ultra zona ritma quickly gained great popularity which also affected the attendance of live DJs performances in the clubs. Consequently, radio shows were most responsible for the success of DJ performances in Belgrade clubs, mainly in Akademija and Industria.

Furthermore, the media that were independent in Serbia during the 1990s also promoted EDM. At Radio B92, Gordan Paunović and Vladimir Janjić (DJ association Kozmik Communications) continued to improve EDM from their editorial positions. Not only did they want to achieve an instructive level in the shows, but they also wanted to follow up the international EDM scene. They purchased musical material from abroad and followed

³⁹ YU radio lost its frequency and stopped broadcasting its program on October 16th 2006, according to the decision of the Republic Broadcasting Agency of Serbia.

reviews in magazines such as the *New Musical Express* and *Melody Maker*. Selected materials, purchased from abroad, were broadcast in the Dance List show on Radio B92 while they published reviews in the magazine *Ritam* (Rhythm). Also, shows such as *Relaksacija*, *DJ Sat*, *BPM*, *Club Chart* followed soon. Paunović explains: “We presented labels such as *Strictly Rhythm*, *Broken Records*, *MK Records*. All this sounded to us like the very distant future of music, created in a futuristic way by minimal notes, numerous repetitions, and new harmonies... however, EDM was coded. It was precisely known which instruments were used for the bass lines, which for harmonic levels, and finally which are in rhythm” (Paunović, interview, June 12th 2012). The editors of Radio B92 had a good theoretical base and a profound knowledge of popular music, and therefore, their shows also gained a wider audience and contributed to the further strengthening of EDM in the Serbian media space.

As a part of the weekly magazine *Vreme*, the newspaper *Vreme Zabave* (Entertainment time) had a column dedicated to EDM from 1994 until 1996 (Figure 17).⁴⁰ The column contained information about EDM events in Serbia and interviews with DJs, while correspondents reported from the international scene. Moreover, editors informed about top DJs, they presented the best EDM chart lists and gave the latest record reviews. It should be pointed out that during the first half of the 1990s, the whole concept of EDM in Serbia obtained a deeper meaning, while the media contributed to an educational role, aiming to explain the entire EDM phenomenon.

⁴⁰ The paper, renamed *XZ* in 1996 and existing until 1999, also promoted EDM in Serbia.

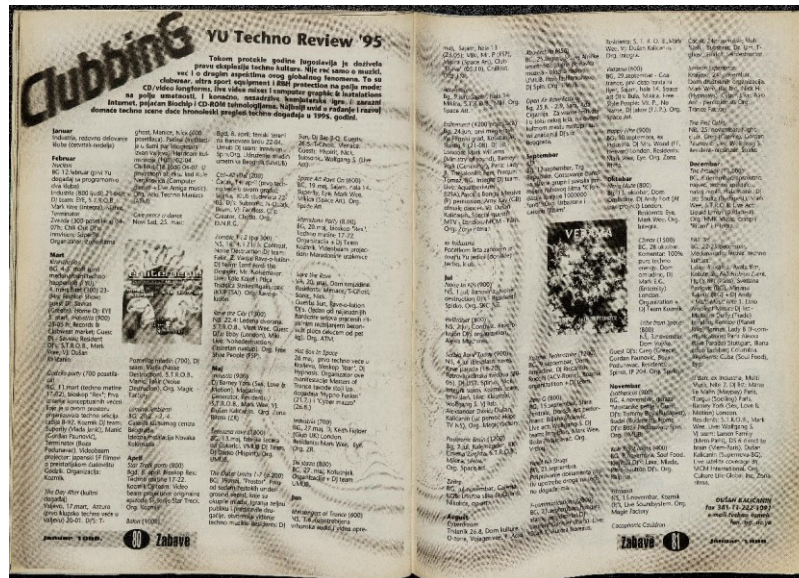


Figure 17 | Retrospective of EDM events in 1995 by Dušan Kaličanin (taken from *Vreme zabave*, January 1996: 80, 81).

Lastly, as a tribute to the early years of EDM in Belgrade and Serbia, the Internet still contains a website about the EDM scene, covering the years from 1994 until 1999.⁴¹ Aiming to build a platform for information exchange, website authors developed the first mailing list as an open forum for discussions on EDM culture in Serbia, naming it *Insomnia*. The list was followed by different people: from those whose only connection with the EDM scene was an occasional visit to a party, to those with professional interest in the matter. The website actually represented a bond between the local EDM community, the organisers, promoters and the DJs. Also, in 1996, the website promoted the first e-magazine named *Toxic*, as a digest of catchy messages from EDM parties. That was the first attempt to establish a global information system about the EDM scene in Serbia. Today the website, *Insomnia* mailing list, as well as *Toxic* e-magazine, exist only as a small archive of memory and as a proof of the time when EDM began to develop and be shaped in Serbia.

⁴¹ The web-site is available at <http://www.vacic.org/yutechno/about.html> (accessed March 28th 2013).

1.3.6 | Novi Sad. Clubs. EDM promotion. Media spaces. DJ store.

The club culture tradition started to develop in Novi Sad at the turn of the 1980s and the clubs were significantly different from those of today. Namely, disco clubs, commonly a part of larger restaurants held by the Varadin Company, had their own equipment as well as records purchased from abroad monthly and resident disk jockeys. Employed by the company, disk jockeys worked the entire night, playing the club's records by previously determined music blocks that were repeated nightly. The show *Disco rendez-vous* with music contributed to the promotion of popular music. It was edited by Bora Otić (also a disk jockey) and broadcast from the late 1970s on Radio Novi Sad on Tuesdays. Moreover, when the first video recorders appeared in Novi Sad in the early 1980s, the Putnik Hotel opened two disco clubs and called them *video-discos*. It was an attraction for people to listen and dance to music while the official video was presented on the screen. During the 1980s, Novi Sad had several clubs such as Točak, Linea club and the discotheque in the Spens Sports Centre. Soon after, more clubs started to open, such as Dendi, Madonna, Luna, Queen, Area and the club in an alternative space – in the tunnels of Petrovaradin fortress. With the incursion of EDM during the 1990s, the Kontrast and Paradiso clubs began promoting this pop culture phenomenon.

Željko Joahimstal (DJ Fakir), Zoran Nikolić (DJ Z) and Bogdan Banović (DJ Bobby) are regarded as the founders of the EDM scene in Novi Sad. Performing in the clubs from the mid 1980s and continuing the tradition of electronic music that was conceptualised in the artistic work of Mitar Subotić Suba, which was presented in the second part of the chapter, they established the link between disk jockey tradition practiced in clubs and promoted the previously established role of the DJ as an assistant in a discotheque to a *performer*. Namely, in 1992 they decided to establish an EDM trio and named it Noise Destruction, aiming to promote EDM not only in Novi Sad, but also throughout all of Vojvodina.⁴² Joahimstal recalls: "It was interesting in the early 1990s when we performed for friends in our private space. In that period, we used unusual electronic tracks of records brought from Western Europe. At the moment when the audience, which mostly consisted of our friends, began expanding gradually, we realised that this model should be transposed in clubs. We invested great

⁴² After the track and music video *Laki je malo nervozan* enjoyed great success in 1992, analysed in Chapter 2, Noise Destruction perform as the DJ duo Željko Joahimstal – Zoran Nikolić.

energy and effort to explain to the managers that this shift should be done. Luckily, they gave us an unappealing clubbing day (e.g. Sunday), and we began playing. The whole idea began to develop step by step. We received flyers for EDM parties from friends who lived abroad and realised that the line up had several DJs during the night. Therefore, we decided to follow the model, but also to train managers” (Noise Destruction/Joahimstal, interview, October 25th 2012).

What is intriguing is that the members of Noise Destruction changed the model rooted within the space of popular culture in Novi Sad for many years. They also began to impose a freelance status of DJs, changing the club monopoly. As Nikolić highlights: “By that time, the Kontrast club became the place for new clubbers from the region while other spaces soon began to open. In that way, we created a shift” (Noise Destruction/Nikolić, interview, October 25th 2012). Nonetheless, three parties which took place in 1994 and in 1995 had a significant impact on EDM development: Techno Therapy, previously mentioned, with Noise Destruction as the main DJs, as well as the Rave the City and Serbia rave today Party where DJ Pleta (Zoran Pletel), also one of the EDM pioneers in Novi Sad, performed. These were the first, decisive parties where young people could experience EDM and a new way of clubbing (CD examples 6 and 7).

At the turn of the 1990s, Television Novi Sad opened a music channel named NS plus. During six hours (from 6 pm until midnight) NS plus promoted popular culture. Namely, until 1999 when the channel was closed and submerged within the second channel of Television Novi Sad, NS plus broadcast shows about heavy metal, pop, rock and alternative music. In 1993, Noise Destruction, together with Dragan Davović and Ferid Abbasher, began the show Rave-O-Lution, aiming to focus on EDM. At the beginning, they presented only music videos from MTV, from the shows Simone Party Zone and Chill Out Zone. Shortly after that, they started developing the concept and creating an educational EDM show for presenting DJs, performances, EDM sub-genres, chart lists, and interviews with performers. Nikolić points out the following: “We started to edit Rave-O-Lution in regards to the fact that each show must convey a message” (Noise Destruction/Nikolić, interview, October 25th 2012).

During the mid 1990s, several shows began to appear on radio stations (namely at Radio Spin, which was renamed In Radio) where DJs started to perform live sets. Gathered in the group Boomerang fish, DJs from Novi Sad (Zlatan Žilić (DJ Zlatan), Danilo Radaković (DJ Dacha), and others) gradually began promoting and organising parties, and providing

accurate information about EDM performances. The emphasis shifted from a spontaneous organisation of parties to a successive, real production of DJ performances. It is important to highlight that the idea about EDM was created by a group of DJs from Novi Sad who would continue to shape it as a part of the EXIT production, one of the most prominent popular music festivals in Europe. The festival started in 2000, conceptualised as a significant creative cultural space in which the young people of Serbia, liberated from the Milošević regime, renewed their connections with the world.⁴³

Lastly, it should not be overlooked that one of the most influential persons for the development of the modern DJ scene in Novi Sad was Antol Šandor Šanjika (DJ Slow Hand) who opened the first record store and DJ equipment shop in Serbia. Although the DJ association Happy People opened a similar store in Belgrade (the Happy People Shop existed from 1995 until 1997), this had a far greater impact. Namely, as one of the renowned DJs of the older generation in Novi Sad, Šanjika realised the importance of a place where it was possible to find everything needed for a DJ, as well as for all those interested to become better acquainted with EDM trends. The store shelves contained magazines such as Music Week, Mix Mag, Billboard, DJ, and Groove. Not only was this the first of its kind in the whole country, but the store was also the meeting place for DJ socialising, an exchange of materials and ideas.

1.3.7 | *Excursus Niš*. Clubs and DJs.

At the turn of the 1970s, clubbing in Niš started to change the previously established scene of popular music. Namely, shortly after the first disco club with DJs was opened in 1968 on the premises of the Faculty of Law, some other similar clubs appeared, such as Hendrix, Mad, Creedence, Medicinar, Dom mladih, Ting Tang, etc. In the shift, significantly notable was Diskoteka 13 (“Discotheque 13”) and its resident DJs trio: DJ Bane (Branislav Miljković), DJ Miki (Miroljub Lazić), and DJ Dinja (Veroljub Dinić). They researched musical genres and applied the knowledge in their sets, emphasising in the live performances important

⁴³ The Exit Festival is an annual music festival held in the Petrovaradin Fortress of Novi Sad, and it has run every summer since 2000, lasting four days (since 2003). As well as having strong social and political messages at the beginning, the festival does not adhere to one genre only, and EDM has a significant place in the Festival.

concepts such as the *DJ as a leader of the program and as an educator* and the person who needs to be in the *centre of attention*. Selecting records and choosing what was to be played at the right moment at the party influenced the flow not only of their musical performances but also the audience. Considered from this angle, it is important to note that these were mostly radio disk jockeys who created the music taste of the city, mediating between record labels and listeners.

At the turn of the 1980s, the music trends of the European Golden 1980s came to Niš. Namely, DJs brought records from Western Europe, followed word chart lists and the popular music press. Opened in 1981, Muzički klub 81 (“Music Club 81”) promoted German Krautrock as one of the important popular music genres of the time. DJ Brkica (Zoran Brkić), DJ Biško (Ljubiša Dabić) and DJ Ivča (Ivan Milosavljević) also began to promote sub-genres such as Italo-disco, electro pop, and electro disco, aiming to familiarise the audience with new tendencies in popular music. For the audience, the club was a unique place during the 1980s, where they could hear new music production as well as experience it on the dance floor, which is significant. This is one of the reasons why Muzički klub 81, today the Cultural Centre of Niš, is usually compared to New York-based Paradise Garage. Besides, the year after, in 1992, the Simfonijski club (“Symphonic”) was opened in the cellar of the Symphony Orchestra Hall. The resident DJs (Drakče (Dragan Mišćević), Talijan (Nenad Mitić), Milentija (Saša Milentijević), Jovan Gavrilović and Dejan Gavrilović (Funky Junkie)) presented live popular electronic music following the model established in the club Muzički klub 81.

Since the basis of the clubbing culture was a good platform for further development, it is not surprising that the audience had already constructed musical tastes when EDM officially came to the stage of popular music in Niš. They also had knowledge about the DJ, not only as the person responsible for selecting and playing records at parties, but also as one who through a specific approach could educate the audience and help them create their own musical tastes. As a result, it should be noted that DJs in Niš obtained respect at parties and a good reputation in the local community exceptionally early.

The explosion of EDM started in the first half of the 1990s, shortly after it began in Belgrade and Novi Sad (CD example 8). Niš-based DJs, inspired by the development of the genre, as well as those who had the opportunity to travel abroad, tended to include their impressions about the phenomenon and to transpose it onto the local environment. As Dejan Gavrilović explains: “In 1989, I went with my girlfriend to England. We were in

Manchester and I told her it would be great if we went to the famous Haçienda Club. I don't recall whether it was a Friday or a Saturday, but I know Mike Pickering and Graeme Park were playing that night. It was my first contact with *live* house music. I had in mind the bands of New Order, Happy Mondays and the whole story about Manchester's rave, and from the very first moment when we entered the club, I had a real revelation. When I heard house music, video, lights, people dancing – I had the feeling that I was on another planet. That night really changed my life" (Gavrilović, interview, August 2nd 2012).

The Čair club continued to promote EDM and the clubbing tradition established in Muzički klub 81 from 1993. Except for Gavrilović, who had already gained a DJ reputation in Niš, there appeared a new generation of DJs: DJ Vukadin (Nenad Vukadinović), DJ Pedja (Predrag Vukadinović), DJ Zaza Stamenković and others. They gradually began to add a new concept into the club program, aiming not only to promote house music, but also to shed a light on techno sound and rave production, as well as to illuminate the importance of thematising clubbing nights. In the first half of the 1990s, EDM fans and DJs together began discovering other clubs (such as Lucifer, which soon after was renamed Kinki) and alternative spaces (such as a picnic area on the slopes of the Svrljig mountains named Kamenički vis, and the Fortress of Niš built by the Turks during the 18th century, etc.). In addition to this, it should be noted that from the mid 1990s, DJs from Niš began collaborating with DJs from Belgrade and Novi Sad, inviting international artists and creating a popular music space in Niš to be focused not only on pop and rock'n'roll as the dominant tendencies, but also on EDM.

Finally, EDM was not particularly present in the local media in Niš. Namely, the show Tripovanje ("Tripping") started in 1991 on the local Radio Belami, where Gavrilović promoted EDM and he presented the DJs who performed live sets in the studio as his guests. Nonetheless, besides several short TV shows in the form of chart lists at local stations such as TV Belami and TV 5, in the media space of Niš, only the aforementioned TV show VJ Techno was influential, as well as the program edited by MTV and broadcast on satellite channels.

Conclusion

After the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991 and until 2000 when the Milošević regime was toppled, Serbia on one hand, was in a difficult socio-political situation, while on the other – the very same situation enabled an energy incursion of the young, urban generation. Namely, following the international EDM scene from the early 1990s, the youth began developing and shaping the setting of the local environment. As it was indicated at the beginning of the chapter, unknown within international academic circles, even in the Serbian academic community, EDM was at the turn of the 21st century a strong source for presenting identity and belonging as well as interconnecting among young people in Serbia. Therefore, aiming to create a contextual framework for a better understanding of how EDM was shaped in the country and why the development of this pop cultural phenomenon was important, a reconstruction was created, examining all possible sources used to create the basis of popular electronic music within the Yugoslav cultural space, and, finally, focusing attention on the spreading of the EDM phenomenon until 2000. Since EDM was shaped in specific socio-political circumstances, the period of the country's most isolated phases in recent history, the focus was on highlighting situations notable for their growth and shaping.

As seen in Chapter 1, the energy accumulated during the 1990s in the Serbian cities of Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš materialised itself in a certain extent through EDM in the official clubs as well as in alternative spaces. During the mid 1990s, in Belgrade, going out clubbing, on one hand, was a way of showing unspoken opposition to the dominant order. It may be supposed that it was the young people's social-meta-comment which symbolised their refusal to accept isolation and live in it. On the other hand, going out and following EDM trends showed the importance of fun which infused clubbing among participants. Nonetheless, EDM and dances practiced in the clubs or alternative spaces actually presented a vehicle for young people to enter into new sound and performative spaces, unburdened of politics and darkness caused by war and isolation of the country. They filled spaces with creative ideas which sought *unification*, as will be seen more clearly through an analysis of selected examples in Chapters 2 and 3 of the study.

Similarly, as the audience obtained a significant role at EDM parties and became an indispensable bearer in shaping an atmosphere of clubbing, the participants at protests,

demonstrations and rallies which took place in Serbia during the 1990s, received the role of *performing participants*. As it was indicated in the first part of the chapter, with their performative actions, *performing participants* contributed in creating and producing an atmosphere of *change* on the socio-political level. Along with this, not merely did a change from narrative structures of popular music develop within the Yugoslav cultural space to performative in EDM in Serbia after the disintegration of the country, highlighting a *performative turn* in the field of popular culture, but it also found its way to the streets. It can be noted that the energy shaped within the EDM phenomenon was one of the elements for shaping ideas about a transfiguration of society. Lastly, as elaborated, the media (radio, TV, press and Internet) obtained an important role in the development and promotion of EDM in Serbia.

In the following chapter, the focus of attention is concentrated on the analysis of three selected music examples which present EDM in Serbia within three periods. Namely, the first example refers to the beginning of EDM development, while the second and the third example explain the further development and visibility of the genre in a world framework. A detailed analysis of the selected examples will shed light on a variety of representations.

Chapter 2 | Sampling, remixing, musical spaces and spatiality in EDM.

Research in Chapter 2, where I consider EDM from the ethnomusicological perspective, will consist of a detailed analysis of three select examples through which I discuss how the musical characteristics of the tracks can be conceptualised within the cultural context they relate to. My central hypothesis in this chapter sheds light on the fact that using samples from different, diverse sources (which do not necessarily need to be musical), or remixing songs (which also can belong to genres other than EDM), the authors, respectively DJs, create new, particular musical spaces. Considering these spaces, we can find out that a global phenomenon of popular culture, such as EDM, can have its distinctive local character and style.

By understanding that music-making takes place in a complex and dynamic world, my ethnomusicological investigation is expanded. Namely, not only does it focus on music and the music characteristics of selected tracks, but examples become the point of departure for theorising *through* music. Therefore, in the search for meaning, interpretation and “thick description”⁴⁴ of the three selected examples, I deal with the concepts of sample/sampling, remix/remixing and musical space/spatiality in music which are regarded as significant for understanding EDM as a specific genre of popular culture. I would like to indicate that creating musical spaces and spatiality in music opens up a new potentiality for understanding EDM. Moreover, the question how the EDM track can be considered as an auditory experience sheds light on the possibilities of creating spatial stories in auditory consciousness perception.

The track *Laki je malo nervozan*, which I present as the first example, is a unique multimedia representative of a cultural/geographic/and historically determined space. I aim to point out the relationship between EDM, as a popular musical genre that began developing and shaping in Serbia as the achievements of Yugoslav (pop) cultural space in the

⁴⁴ The concept of “thick description” was borrowed from Clifford Geertz who introduced it in anthropology and presented it in his significant study *The Interpretation of Cultures*. The concepts involve facts as well as commentary, interpretations and interpretations of those comments and interpretations. It is defined by intellectual effort, or in other words, it prudently engages in thick description (Gerc 1998: 12).

1990s and the specific socio-political situation the country was facing in the same period, which I elaborated in Chapter 1. During the analysis, my focus is directed towards the creative use of samples and cultural motivation of sampling. The analysis will take place on three levels. Namely, on the first level, I illuminate the specificities of the track from the perspective of the architectonics of music flow. On the second level, I examine the correlation between music and video image in the official music video of the track, and answer the question how the video refers to the context of the time when it was created. On the third level, I reveal ways in which using samples produces new dramaturgy, and how it relates to the time and context of a track's creation.

The track *Why Don't You*, as the second example, presents a remix. I hypothesise that by repeating the pre-existing material, the difference which occurs between the original material and its remixed version becomes a significant element in discussing the uniqueness of the "new work." Also, the basic ideas of the remix, which in its broadest sense I understand as *performing the old in the new*, can be reshaped and extended beyond music – entering into music video and live EDM performance. To prove my thesis, I conduct an analysis of the three levels where I consider the creation of the formal musical structure of the track in relation to the original material, examine how ideas of music remix are presented in the official music video, and how a music remix reflects itself on a live EDM performance.

The track *Folkstep*, as the third example, reveals that using samples from opposite musical genres to EDM, such as folk music, and blending them in EDM contributes to extending EDM and creating particular spatial stories in the consciousness of a listener's perception. The analysis of the example will take place on two levels. Namely, after presenting the musical characteristics of the track from the perspective of the architectonics of musical flow, I focus on examining ways in which a local folk melody and EDM create the unique musical space of the track, how we experience it and what is embodied in the track when we transpose it into mental images and imagine a story.

An analysis of the three selected examples is necessary because I wish to observe the important elements in creating a musical flow in EDM, as well as to show the different phenomena which characterise EDM as a specific genre. In that light, each selected example will focus on one concept in EDM, which was not discussed in ethnomusicology in detail and to a large extent. Moreover, through the analysis of the aforementioned select examples, I

point to the correlation between music and a socio-political context, and music and world contents, but the internationalisation of the EDM genre using local materials and meanings is highlighted as well.

Select examples are tracks, music videos and a short fragment taken from a live EDM performance. Only during the examination of the second example is the fragment from the live performance taken into consideration in order to demonstrate how a music remix becomes a part of a bigger structure. It is important to note that I avoided an analysis of entire DJ sets because I understand them as a part of a complex performance where the music is significant, albeit not the only element. As will be seen more clearly in the following sub-chapters, individual tracks are important in both musical and social ways. Even though they are always the starting points for DJ sets, “we cannot understand the buildings unless we also understand the blocks” (Butler 2006: 21).

Lastly, it can be emphasised that I consider examples twofold. Namely, tracks are objects in which “I” – the subject, analyses and discusses, but also shifts the roles and lets the tracks as subjects question me. In a certain sense, metaphorically speaking, I will be moving positions and trying to transpose my analytical subject onto the world of the authors/DJs, as well as the time and space of the tracks creation.

2.1.1 | *Laki je malo nervozan* as a paradigm for sampling: the view from an ethnomusicological perspective.

Commonly understood as an activity that arose in the late 20th century, sampling takes place in any form of recording which emphasises “the act of taking, not from the world, but an archive of representations of the world” (Navas 2012:12); for example, taking one copy or cuts from a photograph. However, it is frequently a matter of knowing *what* to sample and *the ways* of its quality realisation. According to this determination, the sample becomes an inspiring fragment, the basic constructive unit or the seed from which a new form grows and is shaped. In addition to this, the sample’s meaning is given only when represented within the new whole.

Nowadays, ideas of sampling are becoming widespread amongst artists from almost all fields. “From musical references to literary allusions to visual puns,” as Henry Self points out, “the humanities bear innumerable examples of authors building on the foundations of their predecessors” (Self 2002: 351). Because of the revolutionary implications in EDM, [Simon] Reynolds named the process of sampling – *sampladelia*. He explains: “Sampladelia can be seen as a new kind of realism that reflects the fact that the late twentieth-century mediascape has become our new Nature; it can be diagnosed as a symptom of, but also an attempt to master and reintegrate the promiscuous chaos and babbling heteroglossia of the information society” (Reynolds 1998: 45).

Although a wide variety of views on sampling have been presented over the past decade, they focused mainly on the aspect of the process as a “crisis of authorship” highlighting sampling-as-theft. Rarely was it concentrated on cultural motivations of sampling (Self 2002), the aesthetics of sampling (Rodgers 2003), illuminating it in specific genres (such as hip hop (Rose 1994)) or focusing on sampled gender voices of EDM (Bradby 1993). Tara Rodgers asserts that “the so-called tactics of ‘stealing’ and ‘pastiche’ are musically and politically constructive, capable of encompassing a complex web of historical references and contesting the dominant system of intellectual property and musical ownership” (Rodgers 2003: 314).

More inclined towards creative purposes of using samples, my starting point during the analysis of the example *Laki je malo nervozan* concentrates on the music and video aspects of sampling. Moreover, I examine the cultural motivation of sampling and

illuminating the specificities of the example. Namely, as will be seen more clearly in the following sub-chapters, sampling in the example of *Laki je malo nervozan* exceeds the musical aspect; it enters into the field of music video and creates a meaning not only as the authors' comment but also a spreading of the message. Also, the cultural motivation of sampling will shed light on the function that EDM had in Serbia during the 1990s, in the period of the aforementioned cultural and socio-political changes. In addition to this, my focus concentrates on the aspects of the example's production and the purposes of its creation.

The term sampling in music refers to the act of taking a fragment from one sound recording and re-using it as a part or base for another song or composition. Figuratively speaking, it means capturing a sound or acoustic moment and reliving it later. This process in EDM includes selecting, recording, editing and processing sound pieces to be incorporated into other tracks or larger and longer DJ sets (Rodgers 2003: 313). Actually, EDM tracks and DJ sets are basically created from various samples, ranging from diverse drum beats, segments of vocal melodies to samples of full sound sections. Thus, EDM is created in a linear-vertical order in which sampling merely highlights the prominence of this artistic creation.

Even though in the field of popular music during the early 1980s, hip hop artists were among the first ones who began using samples in a studio to combine different recordings, aiming to produce fresh and altered sonic creations, sampling is not a new musical practice. Namely, the conceptual roots of sampling, as Self asserts, should be sought in the musical tradition of Jamaica. This was a folk tradition that arose from the shared experiences of economically underdeveloped communities. After independence from the colonial rule of Britain during the 1960s, the music in Jamaica was distributed by "sound systems" (Self 2002: 348). As Jamaican inhabitants, mostly descendants of West African slaves, were not able to afford records and to hear live performances due to extreme poverty, they entertained at public, open parties listening and dancing to music performed by the sound system's "selector." Not only were the "selectors" choosing the music material, but they also began experimenting with talking over their records, such as "chatting" and "toasting," whereby they incorporated the 'jive' slang of Black Americans with a West Indian dialect of English named 'patois'.

As the practice of "talk-overs" immediately captivated the audience, owners of sound

systems began to organise competitions by commissioning local musicians to record Jamaican-styled instrumental versions of popular American Southern soul songs. These “versions” crystallised a new perspective of indigenous music, which soon after began to appear, fusing the vocal styling of Jamaican selectors with revised rhythms taken from already existing hits. As Self claims, owing to the popularity of “voice-overs,” deeply embedded in African American and Afro-Caribbean culture which descended from the traditionally oral societies of Africa, influenced the development of various music genres such as rap, hip hop, reggae, and also had an impact on EDM. According to this interpretation, it can be noted that, since folk music originated as an oral culture where the emphasis was on transmitting the messages from one generation to another, the practice of sampling is, in a certain way “a contemporary demonstration of the folk music tradition” (Self 2002: 354).

Nonetheless, it may be worth reminding that the idea and techniques of sampling arrived on the artistic stage with the music of Pierre Schaeffer. While working with phonograph discs in Paris during the late 1940s, he created a method which strove to explore musical possibilities of sampled sounds on 78rpm records and soon after on tape. The “Godfather of sampling composition,” as Schaeffer was also known, aimed to shift the focus onto the vast possibilities provided by the use of sampled sounds as the basic compositional material. Named during the late 1950s as “research into noises,” the method soon grew into “musique concrete,” a procedure for producing, recording and transforming sounds, disconnected from the perception of their original sources. Such sounds existed only at the level of the material (Palombini 1993: 18). Schaeffer’s method also had a significant influence on the further development of sampling in the field of popular music.

The process of sampling today is done with a device named sampler. As Butler accurately elaborates, it is “a process in which analogue sounds are converted to digital information (series of binary numbers) through periodic ‘snapshots’ of the electrical signal of the source sound. The information recorded can then be used to generate new electric signals, which – when presented in very rapid succession – collectively outline the shape of the wave form” (Butler 2006: 327). In its early days, the sampler was used as a quote machine, a device for copying a segment of pre-recorded music and replaying it on a keyboard at any pitch and tempo (Reynolds 1998: 41). Today, reconfiguring recorded sound within a sampler, or sampler-sequencers (in which sampling is one of two main functions),

“digital information” can be easily re-combined, reversed, sliced into sections, looped, equalized and effects added in varying degrees, all within the “virtual” space of the computer. In other words, digital technology allows the separation of sounds, meaning the sample by itself may be almost impossible to isolate in the finished version. It signifies that the identity of the sample is usually masked or disguised.

Looking through the perspective of contemporary time, digital instruments may be recognised as “a new ‘family’ of instruments, like woodwinds or strings, with a particular set of musical possibilities to be learned and explored” (Rodgers 2003: 313). The fact opens up a new perspective. Namely, as Don Ihde emphasises, “...by living with electronic instruments, our experience of listening itself is being transformed, and included in this transformation are the ideas we have about the world and ourselves” (Ihde 2007: 5). Besides, more than other instruments today, samplers give the opportunity to integrate a personalized ‘aural’ history. In other words, they provide the possibility to articulate “an archive of sounds that can be employed to express specific musical and political statements” (Rodgers 2003: 315). In this light, Self makes a good link when he compares digital sampling in music with Pop Art works and renewed artists such as Andy Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein, who were “focused on the utilization and re-contextualization of familiar images, messages and objects from the mass media and consumer society” (Self 2002: 351). Hence, in contemporary society filled with numerable media samples, sampling becomes a particular artistic skill and talent of selecting and representing the most intriguing fragments taken over from the others. Moreover, the two most important concepts in EDM sampling and remixing – as will be seen more clearly during the analysis, not only of the first, but also of the second example in this chapter – are associated with the concepts of *intermediality* as well as *intertextuality*. The analysis of the first and the second examples will show how sample and remix exceed their basic medium, structure and spread the idea of using pre-existing material to the other forms for presentation (e.g. music – video – live EDM performance).

Accepting the standpoint that sampling is the post-modernist artistic process *par excellence*, as Reynolds notes “sampladelia mostly falls somewhere between two poles of postmodern, referentiality and music concrete re-creation” (Reynolds 1998: 43), my analysis of the track *Laki je malo nervozan* by Noise Destruction⁴⁵ shapes within three levels. The main methodological tool is a close reading conceptualised by Adam Krims as “an

⁴⁵ Information about Noise Destruction can be found in Chapter 1, precisely in the sub-chapter about the development of the EDM scene in Novi Sad.

interpretation based on some conception of the musical piece as an object” (Krims 2000: 17). Through the example, I consider how samples function as polysemic sound fragments useful for explaining, according to their qualities and for thinking in a wider socio-political context in which they correlate, in particular, to the socio-political situation in Serbia during the 1990s. It will answer the question how samples resonate with other forms of music-making and offer ways of organising sound. Revealing how used samples are added to a track will offer an insight into how they are connected with particular musical functions and cultural meanings.

On the first level of analysis, I present the track’s specificities through the perspective of the architectonics of music flow. During the analysis on the first level, I mark how used samples correlate to a broader socio-political context in Serbia during the 1990s. Uncovering ways in which Noise Destruction used samples sheds light on the cultural motivations of sampling, which is important for understanding the function which EDM had in this period, marked as a period of cultural, political and social changes. It should be pointed out that a formal musical analysis of the three selected examples in Chapter 2 of the study presents the basic point of my research.

The second level of analysis will examine an official music video of the track and elucidate how music and video correlate with each other. The use of both a sound and video analysis provides concrete evidence of the aspects of audio-visual organisation. I show how samples exceed their basic medium and structure and expand the idea of using pre-existing material to the other forms for presentation, binding itself to the tradition of intermediality. Finally, on the third level of analysis, there will be a focus on the broader cultural references of used samples and an examination of their meanings and implications in the context when the track was created. On the third level, the ways in which used samples create *new dramaturgy* are revealed. Looking through Krims’ close reading conceptions, the first two levels of analysis will be centred on *inter-musical* while the third will be presented through an *extra-musical* analysis. The aim is to show the correlation between the popular music genre that began shaping and developing during the 1990s and the specific socio-political situation. The results of the analysis will illuminate why the track and music video *Laki je malo nervozan* became a unique representation of a cultural/geographic/and historically determined space. However, before the analysis, I would like to shed light on several methodological facts important for this study.

2.1.2 | Sampling and the questions of methodology.

In the text “Toward an Ethnomusicology of Sound Experience,” Martin Clayton indicates that ethnomusicologists should shift the focus of consideration from a meta-discursive level to the understanding of sound as a phenomenon (Clayton 2008). What he suggests is to avoid treating musical sound as a “text” and to focus on all the events gathered around sonic forms, musical experience and making a sense of sound. Noting the importance of opening a new perspective in the field and placing sound experience as one of ethnomusicology’s central issues, which he named “sound centred ethnomusicology,” Clayton asserted that the discipline “could benefit from taking more account of the ways in which human beings experience and interpret sound” (Clayton 2008: 135).

If we take Clayton’s attitude as the guiding principle in analysing EDM, we will soon be faced with the problem of transcriptions. As Clayton highlights, “To transcribe music and then to relate ethnographic data to the analysis of these representations does not bridge the gap to sound experience” (Clayton 2008: 136). Namely, no matter how they tend to define musical context, the transcriptions inevitably make a limit of expressing and discussing sonic forms and experiences in the description of musical events and contexts. When the object of the study is EDM, shadows in the field become even more voluminous. The questions appear: how precisely are we to analyse EDM from the aspect of music? Which starting position is to be taken when EDM fails to exist as noted in the traditional sense, as pre- or post- written music? And it is the general rule that EDM is not noted either before or after its creation, as it occurs with other genres of popular music? “Although the ‘oral’ aspects of EDM creation should not be overemphasised,” highlights Butler, “it is unclear whether the typical familiarity with and/or use of notation is within EDM as a whole” (Butler 2006: 21, 22). Moreover, is EDM only related to music or does it go beyond the concept of music? Should the analysis include all appearances that are associated with EDM (e.g. music videos, live DJ performances, etc.)?

Besides, even if transcription is taken as the starting point, it would not be possible to transcribe in exceptional detail because EDM is based on loop repetitions of numerous layers (which usually contain various sound effects) in multilevel linear order. Therefore, “classical” transcriptions would seem confusing, unreadable and create the illusion of simplicity. It might be the reason why EDM is still shrouded in darkness in the field of

popular music studies while most musical analyses focus only on one aspect of sound creation (e.g. rhythm (Butler 2006)).

The proposed formal analysis (Chart 1 in Appendix, page 269) includes a presentation of the *Laki je malo nervozan* track at the level of marked and coloured layers (taken from the original track) and added samples and scratching elements (coloured in green and yellow).⁴⁶ My intention is guided by the idea that the system should be understandable and transparent. The primary function is *analytical* in order to show what happens in the track. Also, the system should facilitate a clearer viewing of the concept of samples and development of dramatic action on the track. Besides, through focusing on formal musical analysis and concepts of music flow as the base, much insight can be gained in discovering the ways in which the samples, as newly added layers create a new track. It illuminates how samples operate with new meanings.

As Chart 1 shows, the image of the proposed formal analysis reminds of a multilayered Lego structure where numerous coloured plastic building blocks create various configurations. Music blocks in EDM are indeed formed similarly with Lego shapes. Namely, phrases build from 4 bars can, for example, signify the main beat and can be continually repeated at the first, basic level of the track or the whole DJ set. Furthermore, the bass line can be added on the next level, and on the following – the melody. The basic architectonic sound structure can be built up by other layers such as vocals, as well as various effects. Even though the principle seems easy and understandable, not all tracks and sets are the same. The principle opens up the field for creative, numerable combinations just like children's Lego blocks. Nonetheless, the emphasis in EDM creation is the same as in other music genres: to achieve a sound, dynamic and thematic crescendo and decrescendo. Finally, the system should not be taken as a closed structure as it has the possibility to be coloured with new layers (various instrumental or vocal effects) as well as re-shaped to gain different meanings.

Aiming to present a framework for discovering ways in which Noise Destruction, by using samples, created *Laki je malo nervozan* and how this was implemented in music video, making a unique artistic form, my point of departure will be centred on the phenomenology of auditory experience. The model Ihde created shaped the correlation of Human – World:

⁴⁶ Scratching is a technique which DJs use to produce characteristic sounds by moving a vinyl record back and forth while optionally manipulating the crossfader on a DJ mixer. They play tiny chunks of records and use the mixer to cut these sounds up even smaller. Therefore, during scratching not only can DJs play records, but also sounds, such as drum beats, spoken word samples, lines from other songs, etc.



Figure 18 | Don Ihde's model.

As Figure 18 shows, according to this model, *the subject* (a) is related in (b) intense *involvement* with (c) the *surrounding world*, while (b') is the *reflection* (experience of experience) as a special mode of (b) self-awareness of the primary experience (Ihde 2007: 36). Ihde's model, as a tool for analysis, will illuminate ways in which Noise Destruction is embodied in music living experience using the samples from two important cultural texts, which will be discussed in the following sub-chapter.

2.1.3 | Samples sources: *Maratonci trče počasni krug* and *Radovan Treći*.

The point I would like to stress here is the description or the summaries of two works: the film *Maratonci trče počasni krug* ("The Marathon Family") and the play *Radovan Treći* ("Radovan the Third"). Namely, as these pieces are marked as the main cultural texts in the track and music video *Laki je malo nervozan*, realising their essence is the key for a better understanding of the content of the track. Namely, a comedy written by Dušan Kovačević in 1972 primarily for the theatre, the film *Maratonci trče počasni krug* was directed in 1982 by Slobodan Šijan.⁴⁷ Marked as one of the classics in Serbian cinematography and with a cult status in other countries from the former Yugoslavia,⁴⁸ the film shows how sometimes

⁴⁷ The film sidestepped the fact that Kovačević's comedy was originally written for the theatre. The premiere took place in February 1973 in the Belgrade theatre Atelje 212. However, the film scenes and famous actor creations and dialogues gained generations of fans.

⁴⁸ *Maratonci trče počasni krug* won two awards in 1982: the Jury Prize at the Montreal World Film Festival as well as at the Pula Film Festival in the Best Actress category which went to Jelisaveta Seka Sablić for the role of Kristina.

It is important to indicate that the play inspired Serbian composer Isidora Žebeljan to write an opera titled *Maratonci* ("The Marathon Family") following the motifs of the play. The premiere took place in October 14th 2008 in the Yugoslav Drama Theatre in Belgrade, as a part of the Belgrade Music Festival (BEMUS). In

managing the dead can be almost as difficult as managing the living, according to the Topalović family and its six male generations of undertakers.

The story takes place in a small and unnamed Serbian city in 1935. The main protagonists are the deathly ill Pantelija, the mute and almost deaf Maksimilijan who is also wheelchair-bound, the rheumatic Aksentije, the shrewd Milutin, hasty and egocentric Laki, and the immature Mirko. Constantly squabbling with each other, the strongest conflict arises from Mirko who has no desire to continue the family tradition of coffin-making. He is in love with Kristina, a local girl and the daughter of Bili Piton, one of the increasingly wealthy partners in the Topalović business. Kristina works as a pianist in a cinema at a time when silent films are on the way out.

The foundation of dramatic action presents the family's professional and private ambience, namely, their *inner world*. The family is tightly connected and interwoven with their professional engagement. Although they own an above-board funeral shop,⁴⁹ the Topalović business is mainly oriented towards illegal activities. The fact that the funeral shop is located in the Topalović house additionally clarifies the isolation of their world (Kuzmić 2012: 55). Instead of making new coffins, they recycle already used ones with the help of Bili Piton. However, business relationships become closer by the day as the Topalović family owe Bili Piton a large sum of money for services rendered but display no desire of paying him. In parallel with this, the Topalović family built a modern crematorium which they are hoping to be the future source of income. One day, Pantelija, the oldest member, dies and leaves a testament, in which he leaves everything to himself as he has no trust in his successors. This leads to the fact that, devoid of humour and comedy, Topalović's view of the world is based on the struggle for power, money and sexual domination (every woman in the house "withers like a flower").⁵⁰ Also, it highlights the internal enemy, respectively, the male competition in which the son is always treated as a menace to his father (Kuzmić 2012: 15).

The Topalović family disengage with Bili Piton and he warns them that he would report them to the police for killing a man in a car accident. Meanwhile, Kristina wishes to

addition to this, a film scenario was staged for the eponymous musical directed by Kokan Mladenović in 2008 and performed in Belgrade's Pozorište na Terazijama (Terazije Theatre).

⁴⁹ The funeral shop, both comically and ironically named *Dugo konačište*, has a double meaning when translated from Serbian to English. Namely, it can be understood as "The long over-night stay" or "The Final Destination."

⁵⁰ The maid Olja is the only female in the Topalović house. As Laki's mistress from the past, she attracts the attention of all the family members.

become an actress in a film directed by Djenka, Mirko's best friend and cinema owner. When Mirko starts to help out in the project, he comes to realise that Kristina is cheating on him with Djenka. In fact, Laki engaged Djenka and paid him to seduce Kristina and turn her away from Mirko. Rabid, Mirko kills Kristina. He returns to the family and positions himself as a leader by force while Djenka is accidentally burned alive in the crematorium by the deaf Maksimilijan. The film ends with the clash between the Topalovićs and Bili Piton in which the latter is killed, and a chase between the Topalovićs and the police occurs. The ending scene puts an emphasis on trampling everything and everyone who is different, and who does not share the vision of the world of Mirko and the Topalović family. Thus, Mirko releases his dark and murderous impulses, transposing them from the family house onto the street. On one hand, he ends the family business while, on the other hand – he breaks the vicious circle "After Pantelija, Pantelija" and becomes the new leader.

The second source from which Noise Destruction took a sample for *Laki je malo nervozan* is the theatrical play *Radovan Treći*. Also with a cult status within the (post) Yugoslav cultural space, the play was written by Dušan Kovačević in 1973 and soon after staged in Belgrade's Atelje 212 theatre by Ljubomir Draškić. Theatre critic Muharem Pervić elaborated: "As there are some 'higher' common places of one culture or mentality, spiritual state or Epoch, there are also their general 'lower' places. In the consignment of agricultural consciousness, from a general type of provincial man without a firm stance and an inner life, a slicker and Epigonus who repeats as a parrot 'folk singer' or mimics TV models, from the 'traditions' of a small city sentiment, Dušan Kovačević has constructed Radovan the Third" (Pervić 1974: 156). Also, theatre critic Milosav Mirković emphasised that Kovačević applied a humorous and satirical course of action, whose main principle is to magnify, ridicule and play almost to the level of absurdity, with some features of the temperament and mentality of the Balkans. Kovačević successfully highlights the characteristics from "the roots" and trend, bagpipes and television, and sheds light on "the sorrow for the homeland," "heated blood" and "hardheads" (Mirković 1979).

Radovan presents the Balkan rural men who inhabit the city. Namely, Radovan is the father of a broken family. From a large village farm, the family is forced to live in a small flat in Belgrade. Radovan's older daughter has been pregnant for five years and he forbids her to give birth until she is married. The younger daughter, a tomboy, loves boxing while Radovan's wife is a self-important fashion designer who designs coats with three sleeves.

They live in a skyscraper, a typical place for newcomers in Belgrade. Radovan is in constant conflict with the family members as well as with his neighbours, the Vilotić family. Although he is forced to live in Belgrade, he has nostalgia for the native soil. In the distasteful, ludicrous chaos of skyscraper living, Radovan is bored, watching television and bitterly making allusions to his former position on the farm. He is prone to be influenced by television and its most banal contents. Radovan identifies himself with the gangster George, imitating him and starting to believe in George's presence in the apartment.⁵¹

2.1.4 | Perform domestic: analysis of the music form.

Using various sound sources, Noise Destruction created *Laki je malo nervozan* in 1992 as a personal statement about the upcoming crisis in the former Yugoslavia. It is a representative example of how from audio (and video) fragments a new piece can be successfully shaped and can show the atmosphere of the 1990s in Serbia, as well as EDM development, as I discussed in Chapter 1. For the track, Noise Destruction first used a fragment (4 min 17 sec) from the track *Don't give a fuck* by Techno line and positioned it as the basis for the new work. Furthermore, they added 11 samples for the second layer, as shown in Figure 19, taken from the film *Maratonci trče počasni krug* and one from a video recording of *Radovan Treći*.⁵² Developing the musical taste of the late 1980s, mainly through hip hop and the scratching technique, Noise Destruction coloured the track by scratching on two turntables songs - *Jack to the Sound of the Underground* by Hithouse as well as *Bang Zoom (Let's Go Go)* by The Real Roxanne with Hitman Howie Tee. The way of binding the tracks showed that the distinctive music sensibility of Noise Destruction was expressed chiefly through linking diverse, nearly opposite elements.

⁵¹ Until 1985, when *Radovan Treći* was last performed, the giant of Serbian acting, Zoran Radmilović (who also played the role of Bili Piton in *Maratonci trče počasni krug*) gradually built the role of Radovan. Not only did he add in every performance random improvisations, variations, comments, shifting Radovan's perspective of the world, but he also had an amazing communication with the audience.

⁵² The recording was made in 1983 in Belgrade's Atelje 212. The occasion was the 250th anniversary of the performance.

Sample's number	Original	English translation	Source
1	<i>Laki je malo nervozan.</i>	<i>Lucky is a little nervous.</i>	The Marathon Family
2	<i>Zapaliću je!</i>	<i>I will burn it!</i>	The Marathon Family
3	<i>Šta će biti s' kućom?</i>	<i>What will happen to the house?</i>	The Marathon Family
4	<i>Nemojte ljudi k'o Boga vas molim.</i>	<i>People don't, I beg you as God.</i>	The Marathon Family
5	<i>Pa, krvi ću ti se napiti!</i>	<i>I will get drunk by drinking your blood!</i>	The Marathon Family
6	<i>E, tako se to radi.</i>	<i>That's the way to do it.</i>	The Marathon Family
7	<i>Hoću svoj deo, nećete da me prevarite!</i>	<i>I want my part. You will not trick me!</i>	The Marathon Family
8	<i>Đubre matoro, imaš sto godina a lažeš!</i>	<i>You old trash, you are a hundred years old and you lie and cheat!</i>	The Marathon Family
9	<i>Da pobijem govna i gotova stvar!</i>	<i>Shoot the bastards, and we are done!</i>	Radovan the Third
10	<i>Budalo!</i>	<i>You fool!</i>	The Marathon Family
11	<i>Alal vera Đenka.</i>	<i>Oh, nice work, Djenka.</i>	The Marathon Family
12	<i>Ako još jednom pomeneš našu kuću, pa krvi ću ti se napiti!</i>	<i>If you mention our house again, I will get drunk by drinking your blood!</i>	The Marathon Family

Figure 19 | List of samples taken from *Maratonci trče počasni krug* and *Radovan Treći*.

Noise Destruction shaped *Laki je malo nervozan* within three thematic parts (A, B, C), deploying it through five macro segments (A, B, C, A1, A2) and adding an *Intro* and *Outro* as relevant for framing.⁵³ The musical form gained a shape, as shown in Figure 20, where the upper case letter relates to macro segments while the lower case letters are micro segments:

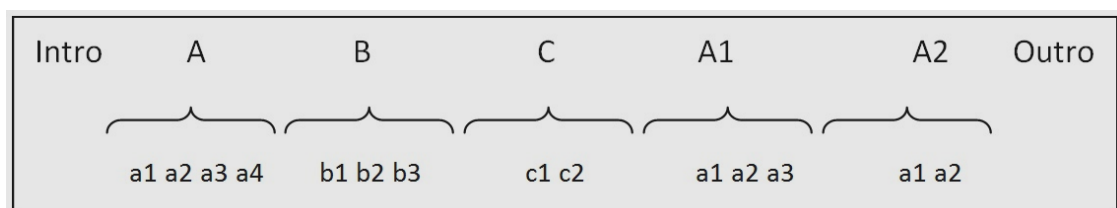


Figure 20 | Scheme of the formal musical structure of *Laki je malo nervozan*.

⁵³ *Intro* and *Outro* segments in EDM have the same function as *Introduction* and *Coda* in classical musical forms.

Moreover, taken from the film and theatre, the samples got a new representation on the track. In addition, not only did the scratching technique show DJ skills in turntable manipulation, but it also became an important surface element of the track for highlighting and stressing sample(s) representation as well as helping to achieve dramatic action. Looking through Ihde's eyes, it seemed that samples (strengthened by scratching) became the surface of the track, or the existential possibilities of listening (Ihde 2007: 70). Ihde asserts, "Less strange than the notion of hearing shapes, we also hear surfaces. This auditory experience is involved with our ordinary experiences of things" (Ihde 2007: 68).

On the first level, the formal musical analysis reveals that the film samples are almost equally arranged in macro parts of the auditory field (see Chart 1). In *Intro*, the listener gets twofold directions through the samples: on one side, the information about the main narrative flow of the track ("Laki is a little nervous") while on the other – its deeper meaning ("What will happen to the house?" – "I will burn it!"). Also, the request that action should not be taken is already set in *Intro* ("People don't, I beg you as God"). Furthermore, macro part A begins the action both on the sound level (by adding more layers such as the bass line, effects, melody, etc.) as well as by a repetition of the samples and introducing new ones ("People don't, I beg you as God", "Laki is a little nervous", "I will get drunk by drinking your blood", "I want my part. You will not trick me"). This is continued further in macro part B ("That's the way to do it", "You old trash, you are a hundred years old and you lie and cheat") where there is a noticeable lack of samples (micro part b3).

The reason for the absence of samples in the micro segment might lie in the fact that following macro part C presents the "key sound image"⁵⁴ of the track. Namely, in part C, the sample from the new, theatrical source is implemented into the track ("Shoot the bastards, and we are done") and placed in relation to the repeated film samples ("People don't, I beg you as God", "Laki is a little nervous"). Also, the sound image reaches its peak of sonority by a multilayered sound, highlighting rhythmic pulse of the original track, as well as by playing the samples – scratching. The repetition, macro parts A1 and A2, presents recognisable samples ("What will happen to the house?", "I will burn it!", "Laki is a little nervous", "That's

⁵⁴ The idea to emphasise the key sound image of the track(s), to understand it as the essence and core of tracks which leads to deeper meanings, came to my mind from the theoretical concept of a theater key image. The concept, as a tool for analysis, was introduced and developed by Alexandra Portmann in her PhD study focusing on Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, in the former Yugoslavia from 1945 to date. Inspired by the concept of image in the work of Aby Warburg who describes an image as a crystallisation of culture in a certain historical moment, she develops a framework which links theatrology, performance and memory studies (Portmann 2012: 63, 64).

the way to do it”) and only one new (“You fool!”). The sound level in repetition is reduced only to the level of samples and basic layers. Finally, the *Outro* presents the samples without an EDM background aiming to illustrate the original ambience of the film and to point to the conclusion of the narration (“Oh, nice work, Djenka”, “If you mention our house again, I’ll get drunk by drinking your blood”).

The second level of analysis uncovers that Noise Destruction used several ways for shaping the dramatics of music flow and emphasised the place of the sample in the track:

- A combination of signal effects of the original track and sample (*Intro*, A/a1);
- A combination of signal effects of the original track, sample and scratching (A/a4);
- A repetition of samples in the same macro/micro part (*Intro*, A/a4, B/b2, C/c1);
- A scratching that introduces and links samples (A/a2, A1/a1);
- A layering of samples to the melody of the original track (A/a3, A2/a2);
- A layering of samples and scratching (A1/a2);
- Moving samples to the unstressed bar part (B/b2, A1/a1, A1/a3);
- Making a dialogue between the vocal effects from the original track and sample (*Intro*, A1/a3);
- Layering a dialogue between the vocal effects from the original track, sample and scratching (B/b2);
- Layering the melody from the original track, sample, scratching with/without stressing the rhythm (C/c1, A2/a1, C/c2);
- Reducing EDM components to the sound of the original samples source (*Outro*).

Nonetheless, the auditory experience of *Laki je malo nervozan* affirms the presence of “the third voice.” Not only the music flow as the first and the added samples as the second voice, but also the vocal effects of the original track gain a special meaning when listened to from the position of the new track. Namely, the third voice has the function to make a vocal link, even dialogues, with the added samples. Thus, the samples understood as voices in the track not only focus our attention, but also become the key to audio-visual structuring and guide other elements around them, as will be seen more clearly in the next sub-chapter during the analysis of the music video. Voice-centring is explained by Michel Chion as “... the process by which, in a sound environment, the voice attracts and focuses our attention, in the same way as the human face in an image or a film” (Chion 2000: 207).

Even though voice-centring should not be limited only to the human vocal apparatus (because pure instrumental music can be considered as a surrogate voice of voices), in *Laki je malo nervozan* it becomes a *real* voice since the spoken samples became the main protagonists. Voice-centring between the vocal effects of the original track and the added samples take place in the *Intro* as well as in segments A/a1, B/b1, B/b2, A1/a3. Viewed through this perspective, it can be noted that the new space is open for communication as well as linking music and outside the music contents as well.

An analysis of the music form confirms that, creating a surface level of the track and following its own logic in positioning samples into sound blocks, Noise Destruction achieved a sound crescendo and decrescendo. Gradually introducing the dynamics of the sonic flow and in the ending segments a decreasing sound and reducing the layers to the level of samples, they clearly emphasised the middle part of the track (key sound image). Not only did the achieved dramatic action have its own line *introduction – development – central part – ending segment – conclusion* both at the level of sound form, but it is also reflected in creating a new dramaturgy, which will be discussed shortly.

Since sampling permeates through all the sub-genres of EDM, artists usually use it to cover the source of the sample. Not only did Noise Destruction use original samples and not re-shape them, but they also emphasised the samples origin. Namely, the act of selecting samples and their transposition into an EDM sound environment became the essence of their artistic creation. In addition, the role of “the past of the sample” was marked while transposing the samples’ “reality” into a new sound framework, and Noise Destruction established a successful intermusical relationship. On one hand, sampling reflected itself in the track through the linking of different musical times (1986/*The Real Roxanne* with Hitman Howie Tee; 1988/*Hithouse*; 1991/*Techno line*). On the other hand, Noise Destruction also linked the sound experience of the track to the timeframe of the film (1982) and the play (1983). This leads to the conclusion that by listening to *Laki je malo nervozan* our experience is not limited only to the moment of listening (or the present) as we also experience within it a trace of past events. This fact sheds light on Ihde’s attitude that “sound embodies the sense of time” (Ihde 2007: 85). In addition to this, it can be important to note that Noise Destruction achieved a connection between different sub-genres of EDM (techno and house) and hip hop (scratching technique) with the film and theatre samples.

As I indicated during the analysis of the music form, *Laki je malo nervozan* is a

multimedia phenomenon. Namely, starting from the music form as the base, I will also continue to consider and examine the track as multimedia in the next sub-chapter during the analysis of music video. As it will be seen clearly, the analysis of the music form as the first step was important to clarify and point to the correlation between sound and a (moving) image.

2.1.5 | Perform domestic: sampling through audio-visual lenses.

Music video or visuals edited together with songs, present images conspicuously attached to some music that is sufficient in itself. Chion agrees that music videos “come in all shapes and sizes, budgets, and degrees of quality. They can be vital and inventive creations – in which the verve of cartoons combines with the carnal presence of real filming. The music video has invented and borrowed an entire arsenal of devices; it’s a joyous rhetoric of images” (Chion 1994: 166). Aiming to examine how Noise Destruction created the official music video for *Laki je malo nervozan*, there is focus on Chion’s proposal for analysing films and motion sequences where the emphasis is on a combination of sound and image. Namely, Chion denotes the combination as *audio-vision* and describes it as “the perceptive process by which sound in cinema, television, and video modifies and influences the perception of what is seen. The audio-visual combination does not work as an addition of similar or opposed components, but as a mixture in which sound is rarely taken into account” (Chion 2000: 202). In other words, *audio-vision* refers to the special type of perception which binds sound and visual space into a unique whole – we fail to see the same thing while at the same time we hear, or not hear the same when watching at the same time.

The following analysis will crystallise the ways in which music and video relate to each other, creating a new form suitable for developing ideas and expressing comments. It will elucidate how two logics (sound and image) can be developed in the same way “toward an absolute point where the two will dissolve together” (Chion 1994: 213). The centre of exploration sheds light on questions important for audio-visual analysis: What do I see of that which I hear? How do these two lines of presentation correlate? Where are the important points of synchronisation? Where is the place of samples in new (music video) form? Focusing on such questions, the aim is to illuminate the ways in which the

combination of sound and image is presented on samples as well, their position in the music video and highlighting their importance in developing a new form. Also, the analysis will try to reveal to which extent linear film narration is applicable to a music video analysis. The previously presented analysis of a formal musical structure which pointed to the music form and marked the samples' position in *Laki je malo nervozan*, will be the base for considering the ways to make an audio-visual encounter.

The track *Laki je malo nervozan*, created as a multilayered music structure, reflects its multilayeredness on the level of the music video as well. The montage of the video attains the meaning of moving through action while fast frame shifts create a feeling of visual polyphony that gains an almost stroboscopic effect. Music contributes to the acceleration of the video flow, achieving a certain convergence, a common order of sound and image. For creating the music video, Noise Destruction used pre-recorded video material from numerous sources. Not only fragments from *Maratonci trče počasni krug* and *Radovan Treći*, but they also took archive material from television (mainly scenes that refer to destruction and conflicts, such as bombing, fires, floods, fights, etc.), cartoon animations (such as fishes and dolphins), computerised fractals, graphically processed shapes, recordings from parties as well as the original material they recorded for the purposes of the music video. This practice is unusual for popular music videos. Namely, in popular music the videos are generally based on simpler structure, and, in most cases, serve only as a visual accompaniment to music. The video images in *Laki je malo nervozan* follow the music while sound punctuation, achieved at the borders between the macro parts of music form (*Intro*, *A*, *B*, *C*, *A1*, *A2*, *Outro*), are reflected in video creating audio-visual segments. Examining the segments separated according to music will clarify the main scenes that are specific for each part, as well as the logic of their layout (CD example 9).

The base of the whole track and plan for the course of events is already presented in *Intro* (00.00-00.49). Through the images of the Topalović undertakers shop, ploughing the land, the fool Moon, the shelling and bombing, scenes of the city in the mist, animated cartoon fragments, images of floods and a bursting dam – the action is conveyed as expectation. On one hand, the preparation is highlighted through the use of scenes that refer to the bombing of Hiroshima, protests around the world with an emphasis on the peace sign which leads to scenes of skulls falling and detonation. On the other hand, the image of the young man with sunglasses in which turntables are reflected can be considered

as a symbol of clubbing in the 1990s.

The next segment (A: 00.49-01.48) points to scenes of travelling, moving and driving while the city is presented through various perspectives. Suddenly, scenes of punching and smashing the wall interrupt this setting. The fragment from *Maratonci trče počasni krug* with the image of the maid Olja with a tray in her hands signifies that Pantelija had died. The focus moves to the club, emphasising movement through dance as well as on the verbal conflict outside. The idea of moving shifts to the scenes of conflicts is taken from old movies, *Maratonci trče počasni krug*, video recordings of detonations, rotating lights to DJ preparation.

Also, segment B (01.48-02.33) develops video action marking the scenes of dancing in the club and juxtaposing it to the material taken from *Maratonci trče počasni krug* where the stress is on the conflict in the Topalović family. A further video flow presents the images of a pilot, bombing, animated dolphins and sea waves which refer to disorder. As the key image on the music level, as already highlighted during the formal music analysis of the example, the segment C (02.33-03.02) presents the dominant fragment from *Radovan Treći* and juxtaposes it to the scene from *Maratonci trče počasni krug* where the old man rises from a well. It is significant to emphasise that for the first time the sample taken from the play appears in the track as well as in the music video. Moreover, in this segment there is a dialogue between the film and theatre sample. Correspondingly, when raised to the higher level of interpretation and viewed through the perspective of the time-frame when the track and music video were created, the key image sheds light on the reflection of two voices, which will be seen more clearly in the next sub-chapter during the discussion of creating new dramaturgy. The club scenes, turntables, and DJs playing music make the segment more dynamic. In addition to repeating the material, segment A1 (03.02-03.32) highlights the images of bombing, Pantelija's portrait in a close-up, a pale map of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the sound of the gong. Nonetheless, after presenting images of flying aeroplanes, the Destruction signal and the fire, segment A2 (03.32-04.10) decreases the tempo of visual, dramatic action by using more tranquil images that lead to the end of the music video where the closing credits are presented through the typed word "Techno." Lastly, *Outro* (04.10-04.17) denotes the video fragments from *Maratonci trče počasni krug* with the emphasis that the story is concluded.

Parallel with the music flow, the samples and video images emphasise the most

striking points of synchronisation which Chion calls “the harmonic framework of the audiovisual system” (Chion 1994: 37). The points of synchronisation which give the music video sense and effect present an exact match of the sound and visual elements. Through an audio-visual analysis, we can face various types of synchronisation. Sound and video are processed as two horizontal and parallel levels with a simultaneous appearance of the peaks, albeit in the vertical section the isolated moments come into the foreground, only particular ones being important. As Chion notes, “the ones whose placement defines what we might call the audiovisual phrasing of the sequence” (Chion 1994: 190).

Through the dominant points of synchronisation presented through the use of the same video and audio samples (marked as visible, as it will be discussed below), the official video *Laki je malo nervozan* project synchronisation highlights the scratching technique. Through the featuring of important DJs skill, on one hand, the emphasis is on the scenes with turntables which the DJs cleverly operate, and focusing the camera on the swift movements of their hands (even legs!) while scratching, or the record turning on the record player and lifting reglers for sound. Also, on the level of music, it is used for phrasing and emphasising samples. On the other hand, scratching is underscored in the scene from *Maratonci trče počasni krug* (in which Laki, Milutin and Aksentije argue) and it is presented as accelerated and recurring, creating an effect in the same way as during the video montage. The vocal effects of the scratched song (Bang Zoom (Let's Go Go)) by The Real Roxanne with Hitman Howie Tee) coincide with the exact movement in the scene (“Hit me!” – the slap). In addition, the signal effect of the original track is presented through several video images: the changing of the colour of the Moon, the music device that shows the volume level, the movement of a graphically created ball, etc.

As the following segment will show, the example of *Laki je malo nervozan* examined through the perspective of the music video, distinguishes two levels of interpretation. Namely, as presented in this sub-chapter, on the first level light is shed on the correlation between music and image. On the second level of interpretation, the aim is to point at dramatic action as a result of the correlation between music and image. In order to come to the second level of interpretation, I found that the samples in the music video are presented in four different ways, marked as such:

1). *Visible* – in which sound and image are congruent (“I will burn it!”, “What will happen to the house?”, “I will get drunk by drinking your blood”, “I want my part. You will not trick

me!", "Shoot the bastards and we are done!", "Oh, nice work, Djenka", "If you mention our house again, I will get drunk by drinking your blood");

2). *Invisible* – presented only as sound samples that have non synchronisations with video material ("That's the way to do it!", "You old trash, you are a hundred years old and you lie and cheat!", "You fool!");

3). *Hidden* is the sample "People don't, I beg you as God." It is covered by the images which refer to the meaning of the sample (a crowd in the club, skull masks, hands in prayer, etc). Constantly present through the segments of audio-visual flow as *hidden* (*Intro*, *A/a1*, *C/c1*, *C/c2*), the sample finally comes into the foreground in the repetition (*A1/a3*: 03.02). It becomes visible by using the original film fragment (the scene when the Topalović family try to slip into the well the body of the man whom Laki had run over by car);

4). *Fluctuating* sample – "Laki is a little nervous" – constantly changes the ways of its representations. Combining the fluctuating sample, Noise Destruction achieved a basic, linear narration of a music video. Since the samples such as the fluctuating ones might be interpreted as textual speech, Chion highlights: "Textual speech – generally that of voiceover commentaries – inherits certain attributes of the intertitles of silent films, since unlike theatrical speech, it acts upon the images. Textual speech has the power to make visible the images that it evokes through sound – that is, to change the setting, to call up a thing, moment, place, or characters at will" (Chion 1994: 172).

In the music video, the fluctuating sample is presented seven times. Firstly (*Intro*) through the movie fragment where the actor sits at the piano and sings. The sample, layered to the film image, is highlighted by words in a strip cloud and in an English translation (Figure 21). Thus, on one hand *synchresis*, understood as the initiator of synchronization, is achieved.⁵⁵ According to Chion, "... for a single body and a single face on the screen, thanks to synchresis, there are dozens of allowable voices – just as, for a shot of a hammer, any one of a hundred sounds will do" (Chion 1994: 63). In addition, the text of the fluctuating sample, which we can see and hear, indicates the fact that the sample moves freely and vividly between the visual and sound, contributing in achieving the liveliness of the music

⁵⁵ The term *synchresis*, coined by Chion, combines *synchronism* and *synthesis*, and "permits effects based on contradiction and discrepancy (like the disproportion between the voice and the body in cartoons, or a gender inversion in certain comic or fantastical stories), and without it the 'audio' would purely and simply break away from the 'visual.' In brief, without synchresis, sound would have to mimic reality and its range of possibilities of expression would be much smaller" (Chion 2000: 205). Achieving synchresis, the sound and image represent something that exists beyond them, like a projected shadow.

video.



Figure 21 | Fluctuating samples 1 and 2 (screenshots from the official music video).

Secondly (repetition in the *Intro*), the sample is presented through an old war-movie scene in which a soldier (with a moustache, alluding to Laki's character) gives a fire alarm (Figure 21). Thirdly (A/a2), the sound image of the sample highlights anxiety expressed through movement (throwing floppy disks) as well as pointing out the portrait of Pantelija (Figure 22). Furthermore (A/a3), the sample is positioned in the club space where the sound image shows a clubber (also with a moustache) with sunglasses and head in close-up. Behind him on the screen, there is visualisation moving, emphasising the clubbing atmosphere with the added text of the sample located in front of him (Figure 22). Thus, the scene reaches a subjective "point of audition." Chion observes that in the point "... we find the same phenomenon as that which operates for vision. It is the visual representation of a character in a close-up that, in simultaneous association with the hearing of sound, identifies this sound as being heard by the character shown" (Chion 1994: 91). This leads to the hypothesis that the clubber presented in the scene can hear the voice of the sample.



Figure 22 | Fluctuating samples 3 and 4 (screenshots from the official music video).

The key sound image (C/c2) underlines the sample by using scenes of detonations and explosions, as well as the text (Figure 23). Lastly, in the closing segments, the sample is presented through the scene of a barber's sharp knife (Figure 23), also emphasised by text (A2/a1), as well as through the scene of the closing credits coming out of the typewriter and pointing to the word "techno" (A2/a2) (Figure 23). As Chion argues, "since textual speech does invalidate the notion of an audiovisual scene, the cinema tends to impose a strict quota on its use. This great power is generally reserved for certain privileged characters and is only granted for a limited time" (Chion 1994: 172). In this light, it can be pointed out that the fluctuating sample obtains the role of an invisible narrator. The appearance of the sample through segments of audio-visual flow (*Intro*, A/a1/a2, C/c2) provides a framework, a decor, and then disappears in order to allow the spectators to enter into the main action of the music video. Finally, it appears in repetition (A2/a1/a2) as a reminder that the music and video had created a narration of dramatic action, although in the meantime the action became independent and shaped its own dramatics from the text speech. This shed light on Chion's idea that "textual speech in the film is doubly powerful. Not only does it cause things

to appear in the mind, but also before our eyes and ears” (Chion 1994: 174).



Figure 23 | Fluctuating samples 5, 6 and 7 (screenshots from the official music video).

As we can see, the *Laki je malo nervozan* music video reached an achieved internal logic of audio-visual connection and flow. As the methods of Chion’s audio-visual analysis open up another level of possibilities, we will enter into the second level of interpretation of the music video which will illuminate the dramatic action as a result of the correlation between sound and image. Namely, the music video contains several video spaces where dramatic action took place while the whole audio-visual form points to the presence of *film* in the music video (Figure 24). As first, *the cinema space* focuses on the main characters (Mirko and Kristina) who are sitting and waiting for the film to begin. In the first scene of the music video, placing the needle onto the gramophone and then, in the second, highlighting the main characters in the cinema leads to the conclusion that the upcoming action will be positioned in different visual spaces. Besides, the presence of the sample “Oh, well done, Djenka” in the *Outro* segment (in the original context of the film, Đenka is a film director and the owner of the cinema!) supports this interpretation. Positioned as a base, the cinema links to *the movie space* as the main place in the music video where, using techniques of assemblage and a collage of video material, narration is achieved, as well as film rhythm,

which greatly follows the music. Parallel to the cinema and movie space, the “story” of the official video also takes place in *the club space* with a focus on the dancers, as well as in *the private space* where the DJs practice and present their skills.

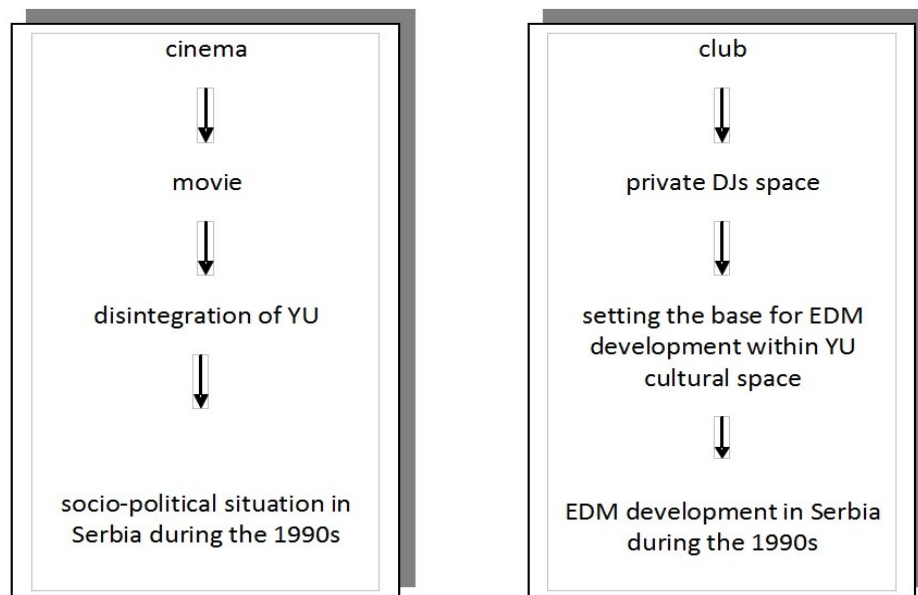


Figure 24 | Identified spaces in the *Laki je malo nervozan* music video.

As Figure 24 indicates, the marked spaces show a reciprocal correlation. Namely, the cinema and movie spaces can be interpreted as a representation of the socio-political situation in Serbia at the turn of the century. As opposed to this, emphasising dance, the dancers and their movements, visualisations and parallel positioning of the club and private DJ space, Noise Destruction marked the development and the shape of EDM as well as the need of young people to keep up with world trends. Adding the club scenes and those taken from the private DJ space to the scenes from the cinema confirms the fact that the EDM in Serbia was shaped within an *in-between space*, as discussed in Chapter 1.

By sampling the material in the frames of the audio-visual space of the music video, Noise Destruction established a crescendo and a decrescendo on both the level of sound and image, as already mentioned. They also showed how sampling contributed in creating a unique audio-visual experience as well as how a sample became an added value. However, upon watching the music video for the first time, the quick movements of the various and

almost unrelated cadres (from animations to the bombing scenes) are difficult to follow and to understand. Created in that way, the music video became not just Noise Destruction's comment on incomprehensible images that appeared in the media space in Serbia after the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, it also embodied the socio-political situation. Therefore, the music video remains as a trace and document of a specific time, which was one of the most difficult periods in the contemporary history of Serbia, as well as one of the most original in the domain of popular culture. Besides, highlighting the *new* movie and *new* music in *Laki je malo nervozan*, Noise Destruction showed how the possibilities of playing with samples, both audio and video, can create new artistic work, at the same time illuminating its specific meaning.

2.1.6 | Perform domestic: creating a new dramaturgy.

The third, final segment of analysis concentrates on the question of how using samples of *Laki je malo nervozan* can create and achieve a new narrative degree and new dramatic arch. At first glance, the realised dramaturgy in the track seems a continuation of the film narrative. The samples, taken as recognisable signs, developed a new structure of relations. Namely, the Topalović family of undertakers becomes a metaphor for the communist system which existed in the former Yugoslavia after Tito's death in 1980. His role is presented in the character of Pantelija, the oldest family member. The Topalović family were trying to maintain family relations (or in transposition to the context of the track: the old system), but they based it on the falsehood of a fallacious testament, as shown in the film. After Pantelija died, the Topalovićaes tried to elect a new family head. However, this was impossible until Mirko did so by force. When transposed to the socio-political context of the former Yugoslavia at the turn to the 1990s, it is evident that the model refers to the end of Tito's time and the correlations with the political scene with an emphasis on Milošević and his supporters. Thus, basing the story on EDM as a platform and with recognisable samples to create and colour another layer, Noise Destruction showed the advent of ending Titoism and the relations within the party that ruled during the decade after Tito's death.

The samples taken from the film and play established two levels of correlations which were developed by specific dramatic characters. The first correlation focuses on family,

developing the characters of Laki, Mirko, Aksentije, and the basis of the relationship between the father and the son (or: the old and the new system). It is clearly marked on the sound level (B/b2) by a dialoguing of vocal fragments from the original track (“Now, I am the master”) and the sample (Laki: “You old trash, you are a hundred years old and you lie and cheat!”). The second level is centred within the characters outside the family: those who are in conflict with the Topalovićes (Bili Piton) or have the role to emphasise the voice of the people (the old man from the well and Radovan the Third). Nonetheless, the role of the narrator (the sample “Laki is a little nervous”) is also presented through the film character of Milutin Topalović. In the original film context, his character is calm and conflicting with the other family members. As Aleksandra Kuzmić observes, in the original text of the play *Maratonci trče počasni krug* as well in the film scenario, Milutin’s character is conceived as an *individual* (Kuzmić 2012: 34). This might be the reason why Milutin comes out of the family circle and takes on the role of the narrator in *Laki je malo nervozan*.

The composition of the dramatic action, mainly based on dialogues, takes place through the five segments which mostly coincide with the musical form:

Exposition (Intro)
Narrator: *Lucky is a little nervous.*
Bili Piton: *I will burn it!*
Laki: *What will happen to the house?*
Man from a well: *People don't, I beg you as God.*

Rising action (A and B)
Laki: *I will get drunk by drinking your blood!*
Mirko: *I want my part. You will not trick me!*
Aksentije: *That's the way to do it.*
Laki: *You old trash, you are a hundred years old and you lie and cheat.*

Climax (C)
Radovan the Third: *Shoot the bastards, and we are done!*
Man from a well: *People don't, I beg you as God.*

Falling action (A1 and A2)
Bili Piton: *I will burn it!*
Laki: *What will happen to the house?*
Man from a well: *People don't, I beg you as God.*
Mirko: *You fool!*
Aksentije: *That's the way to do it.*
Narrator: *Lucky is a little nervous.*

Dénouement (Outro)
Mirko: *Oh, nice work, Djenka.*
Laki: *If you mention our house again, I will get drunk by drinking your blood!*

Figure 25 | Five segments of the dramatic flow of *Laki je malo nervozan*.

As the building blocks in Figure 25 show, the exposition opens up the main flow of dramatic action that marks the dialogue between Laki (“What will happen to the house?” – *What will happen to the country?*) and Bili Piton (“I will burn it!” – *War will begin!*). Also, from the beginning, Noise Destruction allocates the voice of the people (“People don’t, I beg you as God” – *the request to avoid conflicts*). The rising action is based on the main characters’ disputation: Laki (“I will get drunk by drinking your blood” – *critique for something planned to be done*) and his son Mirko (“I want my part. You will not trick me!” – *emphasis on the division of the former Yugoslavia*). The relation between *father* and *son* embodies the old

and the new system. In addition, the character of Aksentije who is more inclined towards the new system (“That’s the way to do it!”) and, therefore, criticised by Laki (“You old trash, you are a hundred years old and you lie and cheat!”). It is evident that there is an emphasis on the attempt to declare a new family leader, or taken out of the context of the original film – to establish a new system.

The climax is reached through two opposed person’s perspectives of the situation. *Radovan Treći* is positioned at the forefront. As the sample taken from “the second source,” the character of Radovan puts an emphasis on the conflict (“Shoot the bastards, and we are done!”). Opposed to *Radovan Treći*, in the second plan there is the voice of the people (or the presentation of the people from the shadow) denoted by the character of the man from a well who sought to avoid conflict by using words that refer to national culture (and a wider religious aspect): people, appeal, God, prayer (“People don’t, I beg you as God”). As dominant in the track, the sample may be understood as a presentation of the nation’s body taken from the film narrative. Moreover, embodying the spirit of the nation through music, the sample and character of the man from the well is intertwined with new meanings that refer to the avoiding of upcoming conflicts. Also, the sample embodies the trauma of the experience of the previous wars that took place in Serbia and the wider Balkan region during history. The visibility of the sample in the climax, as well as the fact that it presents a man who comes out of the underground (the well) can indicate an awakening of the democratic spirit in Serbia, as discussed in Chapter 1. Nonetheless, the dialogue signals a division of society at the turn of the century: the supporters of the Milošević regime and those who opposed it.

The falling action quiets the dramatic tension, repeating the samples and highlighting the main protagonists: Laki, Bili Piton and the man from the well. Finally, except the sample in which Mirko praises his friend Djenka for “the pleasant” movie Djenka had directed (“Oh, nice work, Djenka”), the dénouement unlocks the point of dramatic action by Laki’s aggressive attitude. It is expressed through the sample “If you mention our house again, I will get drunk by drinking your blood!” referring to the prohibition of free speech in the country. Using these words, Laki points out that “the Topalović family is a conservative, egoistic and aggressive group, hostile to everything that can endanger them” (Kuzmić 2012: 21).

With the act of using samples from the original context and sampling them in

another background, the audio-visual environment, Noise Destruction showed their creativity and emphasised one of the possible versions of the situation Serbia was faced with during the 1990s. Commenting on the situation and experience of living in the former Yugoslavia at the turn of the century, *Laki je malo nervozan* also predicted the events of the upcoming crisis. Thus, the track became a mechanism for transmitting messages. During the 1990s, it had a strong resonance in clubs and media spaces that promoted EDM, and became one of the most recognisable EDM tracks which young people identified with. Emphasising how experience of the situation can be embodied through music, it became an interactive phenomenon among the younger generation. Not only did the track passively reflect the socio-political situation, but it also served as a “public sound space” for young people within various models of social life, while family roles were asserted, adopted, contested and negotiated. Finally, the track became a sound creation where music attained the role of accompaniment while the samples established new relations and roles, as well as developing a new dramaturgy. Since the samples held the most important place in the track, they also presented film and theatre voices in music. Compared with the classical music tradition, we might say that the music in the track became a solo instrument that accompanied the sound and image of the film and play.

2.2.1 | Performing sounds of the Past: Peggy Lee's song *Why Don't You Do Right?* as an inspiration for remixing.*

In the following sub-chapters, the song *Why Don't You* remixed by DJ Marko Milićević is examined, and it is demonstrated how materials from the past can create a constructive (musical) dialogue. At the same time, the aim is to explore and shed light on the phenomenon of remix and remixing in EDM. However, the point that needs to be emphasised prior to this is my fascination with the song. Namely, the first time when I heard the remixed song *Why Don't You?* on the radio, I was rather surprised how the DJ accessed the sound/musical material from the past. The song affected me with a sense of the past, although it was skilfully interwoven and reshaped into a new, very danceable sound of electronic music. My listening experience and the fascination with the way the pre-existing material was, metaphorically speaking, *re-lived* in the new context, immediately opened up numerous questions. Viewed from the historical perspective, I am wondering if Kansas Joy McCoy, a Delta blues musician and songwriter, could have imagined what would happen to his autobiographical song titled *The Weed Smoker's Dream* that he performed and recorded in 1936, accompanied by the Harlem Hamfats ensemble. Regardless of the fact that McCoy soon after changed some lyrics and gave the song the new title of *Why Don't You Do Right?*, perhaps he might have found it hard to believe that the song would attract the attention of jazz musicians who wished to become stars during the first half of the 20th century in the USA. However, he could not know that the song would travel through time and diverse musical contexts, linking genres from blues to EDM.

Moreover, when we look back at the history of this song, we discover that it was performed in the manner of a cabaret, among others, by famous soprano Kiri Te Kanawa, accompanied by the trio Andre Previn (piano) – Ray Brown (double-bass) – Mundell Lowe (guitar), and by the band The White Ghost Shives. As well, it was one of the main soundtrack themes for the film *Who Framed Roger Rabbit* in 1988. Finally, two decades later, it arrived into the field of EDM and opened up different perspectives for linking with music material from the past. Namely, Belgrade DJ Marko Milićević, also known as Gramophonedzie, produced a remix of the song.⁵⁶ He used the version with which Peggy Lee, a famous jazz

* In edited and shortened version, this segment of the dissertation (p. 106–122) was published in *Journal Musicology*: "Performing Sound of the Past: Remix in Electronic Dance Music Culture." *Musicology*, number 17,

singer, debuted in New York in 1942, accompanied by Benny Goodman's ensemble.⁵⁷ On March 1st 2010, Positiva Records and Virgin Records released the remix with the shorter title *Why Don't You*. Soon after, the remix reached top positions of world chart lists (e.g. number 1 in the UK Dance Chart) and received good reviews. Gramophonedzie's international success also began in 2010 after gaining an MTV Europe Music Award for the remix, in the Best Adriatic Act category.

On the first level of analysis, the ways in which Gramophonedzie created the track in relation to the original material is explored. I aim to illuminate how jazz song can be skilfully *applied into* and *performed in* EDM. The second level of the analysis directs towards the official music video. I hope to examine and highlight ways in which the basic ideas of musical remixing, which I generally understand as *performing the old in the new*, are embodied *in* and *through* the video image. The results of these two levels of analysis will open up a space for exploring ways in which remix functions at a live performance as a part of a longer DJ set. Also, it will crystallise modes in which remix creates a bigger structure that combines music, video, ambience and dancers. My aim is to show how the repetition of pre-existing material takes place and how it becomes a repetition with a difference. In addition, my goal is also to consider remix and to show how the sound material can be (re)shaped and extended beyond music, entering into a video image and live DJ performance.

2.2.2 | *Different but recognisable: a determination of a remix.*

We are faced with the fact that in contemporary world authors, among which are also DJs, transform different pre-existing material in order to create new works and new ways of representing it. This means that repetition gains significant role of production. Also, a new way of an interdisciplinary research opens up covering the questions of how and what is repeated and represented in a new context and within a performative present. In *Remix*

edited by Jelena Jovanović, Belgrade: Institute of Musicology Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2014. 87-104. [published under the name Irina Cvijanović]

⁵⁶ As one of the most important artists in the field of popular culture in Serbia, Milićević started as a professional DJ in 2000, after participating at the Red Bull Academy project in Dublin. He initially played in several Belgrade clubs under the name Marko Hollywood and later changed his name to Gramophonedzie.

⁵⁷ The song version from 1947 is a part of the compilation album *The Best of Peggy Lee: The Capitol Years* released by Blue Notes Records in 1997.

Theory: The Aesthetics of Sampling, Eduardo Navas elaborates that (principles of) remix circulates between art, media, culture, even everyday life, marking it as one of the most significant contemporary concepts. The concept and principle of remix give authors various opportunities to express their creativeness and understand that using pre-existing material can be inspiring and productive (Navas 2012).

Remix circulates and is positioned in its wider context within the theoretical, interdisciplinary discourse of postmodernism. The development of remix took place from 1960s, the period when critical thinkers began to determine and assess the social developments of the time. Therefore, it is strategically connected with the influences of postmodernism, the globalisation process and new media. Navas asserted that remix is like a virus; it has “mutated into different forms according to the needs of a particular culture” (Navas 2012: 126). Although, by itself, a remix has no form, it creates a parasitical effect that constantly shifts, taking on various shapes (Navas 2012: 126). As I already noted during the discussion of sampling, remixing also relates to other media, genres, arts, literature, and as a term stands in context with other terms that marked the period of the 1990s, such as intertextuality, interdisciplinarity, intermediality, etc. Moreover, through an analysis of the examples of contemporary artists, Nicolas Bourriaud marks a shift from “the art of appropriation” toward a culture of the use of forms, moreover “a culture of constant activity of signs based on a collective ideal: sharing” (Bourriaud 2007: 9). Thus, remix – widely conceptualised as a re-production and re-combination of sources already at play – has become an attitude that illuminates the contemporary age.

The basic ideas of remix and remixing appeared as the outcome of a long process of experimentation with diverse forms of mechanical recording and reproduction. As Navas explains, the ideas started in the 19th century, in capturing sound, complemented with a strong link to capturing images in photography and film and following the primary determination: to document the material and re-live it later on in other contexts. The principles of remixing, therefore, based on the techniques of sampling and, as opposed to sampling, mark the whole over the fragment, recycle content and form and become a re-interpretation of material already known (Navas 2012: 12–15).

In EDM, remix is one of the most frequent occurrences. It is an alternative version or changed re-interpretation of a song/composition/track. In its basic form, remix can be a version of a song where the balance of instruments is different, or where sound layers have

been added or removed from the original version. However, what is the most important and defines remix is the fact that recognisable elements of recorded track have to be dominant and perceived in the remixed version. As Lev Manovich explains: “With each element of a song – vocals, drums, etc. – available for separate manipulation, it became possible to ‘re-mix’ the song: change the volume of some tracks or substitute new tracks for old ones” (Manovich 2007: 2). What is interesting in Manovich’s quotation is that every musician, DJ, or producer working on remixes reflects the attitude on what was before and what is occurring parallel to his or her practice.

According to Navas, remix in music exists in three variants: *extended*, *selective* and *reflexive*. Each of them is attached to the original material as the foundation. The *extended* remix, as a longer version of the original song, contains instrumental sections, making them more danceable. The *selective* remix consists of material from the original, but it can also contain new sections and always sounds, keeping the ‘essence’ of the original song. The *reflexive* remix maximises and combines both strategies; however, the original track must remain recognisable. According to Navas, the fourth type – *regenerative remix* – emerges from the three types, but extends to areas outside of music. The principles of regenerative remix spread throughout a networked culture, social spaces like Facebook and Twitter, the online search engine Google, Wikipedia, etc. (Navas 2012: 168).

All these facts indicate that remix and remixing highlights the practice of choosing one among many materials and modifying it according to personal intention. Not only does the selection of material become important in defining elements, but also the consciousness of how to work with it. More precisely, remixing can be understood as an activity of taking data from pre-existing materials to combine them into new forms according to *personal taste* (Navas 2012: 65). This means taking a pre-existing material and making it different but recognisable, while the act of choosing a material from the past and entering it into a new environment becomes important. Therefore, choice and intention become important defining elements of remix. Unlike sampling, where the emphasis is usually to mask the identity of the sample, remixing, as will be seen clearly through the analysis of the example, tries as much as possible to keep an integral aura (Navas 2012: 79).

Whichever model it takes, a contemplation of the remix depends on the recognition of a pre-existing cultural code. Hence, as Navas observes, the material that carefully defines itself on the authority that something pre-existing has a better chance of success. This trace

of the Past in remix must have its historical significance, something recognisable and important. Therefore, as a second layer, the remix relies on the authority or popularity of the original and it functions on the meta-level. In that light, Navas explains: “The originality of the remix is non-existent, therefore, it must acknowledge its source of validation” (Navas 2012: 67). Depending on the perspective of considering a remix, the experience changes. Observer(s), reader(s), listener(s), and dancer(s) find seeds of a pre-existing history, or something new in what they already know. They define remix and the way it is done and performed becomes significant.

Finally, although remix and remixing relate to a wider field of art, culture and (new) media, their roots are noted in popular music (Navas 2012: 33–61). Namely, Jamaican dub, a sub-genre of reggae that appeared in the 1960s, introduced the *cut* and *paste* technique in popular music as a new media feature. It follows that a *technical vision* indulged in creative competition with the musical. By the designation *technical vision*, I highlight the idea of Jamaican DJs using gramophone records, turntables, sequencers, samplers and other equipment to perform music. Therefore, Jamaican DJs extended the functional limits of the turntable. They recognised the potential of technology in that they had a strong desire to perform through technical apparatus, focusing their attention to *the moment of performing* the pre-existing material as a sound phenomenon. While defined in their profession by the turntable, DJs appropriated *the machine* and turned it into a performing instrument. Moreover, they initiated the transformation process of the DJ from the anonymous assistant of the discotheque to the performer *per se*. As soon as the technology became available, authors recognised not only the opportunity to create alternative song versions by cutting and linking up recordings, but also the great potential of multilayered records. It was the first time in popular music that the record became the predecessor to a whole series of similar but different versions, a basic material of numerous dubs (Brewster and Broughton 2006). In addition, Jamaican dub musicians in their compositions gave credit to the pre-recorded tracks as the starting point of creativity, showing that music is always in a constant state of flux and change.

Lastly, Navas notes three phases of remix development in popular music. The first, mainly related to Jamaican dub, focused on the basic principles of dubbing (versioning) in the 1960s. In the second phase, which lasted during the 1970s and 1980s, it became part of the musical mainstream and style at the stage of American disco music, mainly related to

New York City. Namely, DJs created extended versions of hit songs aiming to inspire the audience at live performance to spend as much time as possible on the dance floor. A simple repetition of fragments of popular songs set the basis for contemporary clubbing remixing. In the third phase, which lasted during the mid 1980s and throughout the 1990s in the USA, remix became a style in the popular music mainstream and it was used to increase record sales. Also, subcultures in England and shortly after in other parts of Europe, following the principles of remixing, started to develop new forms of popular electronic music (e.g. trip-hop, down-tempo, break beat, etc.) based on various styles and sub-genres of EDM (Detroit techno, Chicago house, New York Garage). Moreover, Navas highlights that the fourth phase of remix is taking place from the late 1990s to date, the time when computers gained popularity and remix principles extended, as I already marked, to other areas of culture and the new media (Navas 2012: 20–22).

2.2.3 | Gramophonedzie’s interpretation of the song as a paradigm for remixing.

Actualising the transfer of the song from the past to the present context, Gramophonedzie advanced the status of pre-recorded music. With regard to this, the track *Why Don’t You* became the primary incarnation of the song, marking a repetition of the pre-existing material with the difference as the essence of a remix. Gramophonedzie activated the history of popular music by copying and pasting loops of sound and placed recorded products in relation to each other. With reference to Roland Barthes writings on photography, Navas highlights that “... the loop repeats a moment in time, just like a photograph presents a moment in time” (Navas 2012: 31). Also, when he used samples from Peggy Lee’s interpretation of the song, Gramophonedzie knew that his remix might in turn be taken as the base material of a new track or even a whole DJ set. Gramophonzie explains: “The evolution of music is the question. I think that this should not be prevented. I am truly happy when I hear that some of my DJ colleagues, in their live performances, playing this track, upgrade new ideas and go further” (Milićević, interview, May 11th 2011). The following analysis will shed light on two levels. The first marks the content focusing on the textual characteristics of the song, while the second level illuminates the formal musical structure of

both the original song and its remixed version. I hope to explore the ways of their correlating.

From the textual aspect, the song narrates the story from a female perspective. A woman complains about her partner's apparent financial insolvency. She states that he was wealthy in 1922, but now has nothing and claims it is because he wasted money on other women. Each verse ends with a refrain asking why a man doesn't "do right by her," and then the woman throws him out, insisting that he go earn a living in order to support her. The financial crisis, as the basic motif of the song, was a common theme in the USA following the Great Depression and prohibition. Not only is the text applicable in the contemporary context of global economic crisis, but it also, as a kind of an archetypal model, fits in all close relations between partners when financial resources are limited. Unlike the original interpretation of the song, where the voice of Peggy Lee is positioned as subtle and has the role of commenting on her partner's bankruptcy, in the remix her voice is additionally reinforced and has an almost commanding mode. Besides, the female voice of the young lady from the original song shifts the focus to the voice of the emancipated woman who receives an almost maternal role. It is especially reflected in the official music video of the remix, which will be discussed in the next sub-chapter.

Using samples from the 1947 version and crossing them with multilayer rhythms, adopting the meter "four-on-the-floor," as well as the tempo of the original recording (M.M. 124), in the remix, Gramophonedzie applies the first and second musical and textual verses. His emphasis rests on sound texture and timbre, thus enabling a multilayer composition. The logic of the concept of music is revealed in the organisation of the music flow. Namely, compared to the original track, a change in the formal musical structure of the remix determines it as being *reflexive*. Navas explains that the reflexive remix "challenges the 'spectacular aura' of the original and claims autonomy even when it carries the name of the original" (Navas 2012: 66). Looking through the perspective, it means that recognisable parts of the pre-existing track must remain essential within the remix. Otherwise, the remix will not have the possibility to find cultural acceptance.

Compared to the musical material of the original song (Figure 26), which consists of two macro parts A (instrumental segment), and B (the first and second verse), at the macro level of the remix (Figure 27) this is clearly evident: there is an added, separate part (C, C1, and C2). It is based on materials from the refrain and its fragmentation on the textual,

metro-rhythmical as well as musical level. Besides, the repetition of the refrain is present at the end of each part (B, C, C1, B1, and C2). Part C focuses on the repetitiveness of the pre-used material, its transformation and playing with the fragments, aiming to achieve the peak of the remix. Therefore, it can be pointed out that part C (C1, and repeated C2) attains the characteristics of the key sound image of the remix, which achieves a climax of the dramatic and sound action.

Skilfully playing with the refrain samples taken from the original song, their cutting, formatting and positioning in relation to the original, Gramophonedzie focuses on the second verse in part C and its variants (C1, C2). The words “Get out!,” auditorily emphasised, stand in the foreground in the remix refrain while at the end of each part (C, C1, C2), the refrain exposes the verse as a whole (“Get out of here and get me some money too”). Extracted in this way, highlighted by a rhythm and sound energy which it creates within the remix, part C (C1, C2) supports the hypothesis that the remix transforms the female voice from one which appeals to a voice that commands.

Peggy Lee, <i>Why Don't You Do Right?</i> , version from 1947			
M.M. = 124			
macro	A	B	B1
duration	00.00-00.12	00.12-00.35	00.35-00.58
micro	4+2	4+4+2+2	4+4+2+2
note	instrumental introduction	1 st verse	2 nd verse

Figure 26 | Table of the formal structure of the original song *Why Don't You Do Right?*

Gramophonedzie, <i>Why Don't You</i> , remix from 2010							
M.M. = 124							
macro	A	B	C	C1	B1	C2	A1
duration	00.00-00.39	00.39-00.58	00.58-01.17	01.17-01.40	01.40-02.03	02.03-02.26	02.26-02.35
micro	2+12+4+2	4+4+2	8+2	8+2+2	4+4+2+2	8+2+2	4
note	Samples from A Function of <i>Intro</i>	1 st verse	Samples from refrain	Samples from refrain	2 nd verse	Samples from refrain	Samples from A Function of <i>Outro</i>

	refrain
	instrumental connector 1
	instrumental connector 2
	instrumental connector 3

1 st verse	You had plenty money, 1922 You let other women make fool of you, <i>Why don't you do right, like some other men do?</i> <i>Get out of here and get me some money too.</i>
2 nd verse	You're sittin' there and wanderin' what it's all about, You ain't got no money, they will put you out, <i>Why don't you do right, like some other men do?</i> <i>Get out of here and get me some money too.</i>

Figure 27 | Table of the formal structure of the remix and legend.

As shown in the tables (Figures 26 and 27), the formal and developed structure of the remix consists of seven parts, each of them standing in various relations of dynamic dependence (A, B, C, C1, B1, C2, A1). They are positioned to create a clear sound crescendo and decrescendo, with an achieved emphasis in part C. Also, light is shed on the logic of how the parts are connected. Namely, both verses are exposed purely, with no added elements of EDM. Furthermore, the short instrumental connectors receive a special role within the remix and appear in two ways. When in the music flow the verse has to be presented, the instrumental connector, which comes before it, appears in its original sounding (A-B, C1-B1). However, when the key sound image follows, as well as the ending part A1, instrumental connectors are coloured by a rhythmical strata (B-C, B1-C2, C2-A1). Thus, at the micro level a sounding crescendo (with EDM platform) and decrescendo (without EDM platform) are achieved. The connectors, therefore, are not only useful for linking parts/fragments, they also create a sound platform for the exposure of the following parts. Finally, frame segments

(A and A1) have functions of *Intro* and *Outro*, increasingly to introduce the sound of the remix, or to decrease it to the original sounding of the sample (A1) by reducing layers and shortening structure. The opening part (A) from the beginning of the remix illuminates repetition and sample fragmentation which creates the impression of the new theme interpreted by a clarinet.

The micro level of the structural form organisation confirms that Gamophonedzie placed an emphasis on the fragmentation, a rhythmical repetition based on the multilayer rhythmical and sound strata. His aim was to achieve dance effects. Working with two central concepts – *cut* and *mix*, in order to obtain a *new* remix – Gramophonedzie separates the sonic signifier (the sample) from the original context and places the *floating* sample into a new chain of signification. With these procedures, a remix receives the characteristics of the postmodern. Furthermore, through this example, a new modality of audio memory is present: the history of popular music becomes a network of mobile segments available at any moment for a (re)inscription into new mixes, sound lines and contexts. Finally, not only does the remix show how two different times and musical experiences of the song are intertwined, it also exposes how the new sound space can be shaped as the result of the successful interweaving of two musical genres.

2.2.4 | See the song: remix in the music video.

Aiming to examine the official music video of the remix *Why Don't You* created in EMI production, I focus on Chion's proposal to analyse films and motion sequences where the emphasis is on a combination of sound and image, which was already discussed during the analysis of the first example, the *Laki je malo nervozan* music video. The previously elaborated analysis of the formal musical structure of the remix will be the base for considering the ways of making an audio-visual encounter and an overlapping of sound and image. Namely, the official music video of the *Why Don't You* remix is designed so that the visual level follows the textual narrative (CD example 10). Thereby, a doubling of the video image and sound is achieved. At first glance, the magical power of the gramophone and gramophone record is emphasised. It brings a woman "from television." With commandment-singing, she solves the problem and influences the young man to escape

from an almost bewitched circle and go outside in a search for a job. Looking through Chion's audio-visual lenses, I noticed that the structure of the music video follows the musical form. It means that the music video structure contains seven segments.

The first segment (A: 00.00-00.39) focuses on the living room of a young man while the old gramophone, which he brought into the room, and dusty vinyl marked the first link between past and present. This link implicates Theodor Adorno's view that "the gramophone's social position is that of a border marker between two periods of musical practice" (Adorno 1990: 52). The segment also contains sequences of old television, where the focus is on the woman's body, as well as a young man's dance on music played by gramophone. The sign for ambience change and the creation of a more romantic atmosphere is represented by switching the lamp on. The sequence of the door opening introduces the woman from the television. The door links two times and two realities: the past represented by a woman from television, and the present – the space of the living room in which she enters. The effect of the past is additionally emphasised by the mist on the other side of the door as well as focusing the camera on the woman's face and body. Presented as a ghost and dressed in a black dress as a symbol of the past, this woman, in fact, alludes to Peggy Lee and the performances at the beginning of her career. However, the previously mentioned transformation of the female voice in the remix is present in the music video. The commandment-singing voice gets its visual representation in the form of an emancipated vamp lady.

The segment B (00.39-00.58) marks the woman's entering and discovering a new space. It seems as if she makes the transformation into another time and space with a coquettish walk and a commandment-singing style pointing to the disorder in the room. Her presence in a new time sheds light on the hypothesis that the woman became, compared to the sound level of the remix, the pre-existing material in which the remix is created, or, in other words, the original voice of the song. As the key point at the level of music, segment C (00.58-01.17) (and variant C1: 01.17-01.40) becomes important in the music video. Namely, it is based on the faster image flow which follows the music, as well as solving the disorder in the living room. With finger movements, the woman causes things to be sorted out and tidied up by themselves. Moreover, the compounded musical image of the segment reflects itself into the video. It alludes and refers to the speed of solving the mess in the living room.



Figure 28 | Screenshots from the official music video.

Repetition (segments B1, C2, A1: 01.40-02.26) marks several important sequences. Firstly, blowing air into his nose, the woman creates the purification and enlightenment of the young man. After this action, he starts a transformation and becomes motivated to go out in a search for a job. Secondly, after getting things done, the living room is transformed into a black and white image. It means that the woman, metaphorically speaking, has won over and occupied the present space. The position of two realities and times in the music video (past/woman/media/public space vs. present/young man/living room/private space), compared to the music level, highlights the fact that the pre-existing song got a significant and recognisable role in the remix. Finally, as sound gains its crescendo and reaches its peak in segment C, it accelerates the image flow, achieving a common order between the music and the video.

The music video distinguishes three main points of synchronisation whereupon it gains a total sense and effect. Corresponding to the presence of an emphasis that is both visual and acoustic, the first point of synchronisation is marked by the scene (00.03) where the young man brings the gramophone into the living room. At the level of compounded rhythmical sound, the dashed image is presented, aiming to emphasise the inputting of past elements into the present environment. The sound and the image are cut simultaneously. Compared to the musical remix, it enters the pre-existing song into the field of EDM. The second point of synchronisation is realised by an ambience change (00.27), switching on the lamp and changing the atmosphere of the usual lighter living room into a more romantic and darker one. The change is also followed on the level of music. The moment of the door opening continues changing not only on the visual level, but also on the level of music. For

all that, the compounded rhythmical and sound image from the beginning of the segment gives place to the original instrumental introduction, or instrumental connector. Finally, the third synchronisation point (00.57) also emphasises the importance of the representation of the past: a woman stands in front of the door and she is presented by a dashed image, which follows the musical flow.

If we observe the textual narrative in the music video, the first fact that we can notice are different roles between the male and female parts. Appearing firstly in media space, the woman presents the opinion that the young's man imagination has the power to help him in organising life. The dominant role of the female protagonist clearly positions the base for developing a correlation. After her magical commanding-singing helped things to return to their places by themselves, the woman expects the young man to take an initiative in finding a job and providing financial resources. Altogether, it should be pointed out that the basic idea of the remix is reflected on the level of the music video as the original song is positioned through the role and activities of the woman. After entering a new space and environment, she gains an important role, similar to that of the original song in the remix. She positioned herself in a new environment, as a recognisable sign from the past. The space of the living room may represent the platform for activities done by a person from the past. The hypothesis is additionally strengthened by the woman's visual ghost-like representation, sequences of an old gramophone, a vinyl record, as well as doors opening as a border from the past to the present.

2.2.5 | *Feel the rhythm*: a remix at a live performance.

On the third, final level of analysis, I consider the changes in the remix as part of a DJ set. The fragment under discussion was recorded at Gramphonedzie's live performance in Belgrade on March 5th 2011 (CD example 11). The reason why I discuss the fragment taken from the live performance is to consider what it is that happens exactly when a recognisable remix, performed as a part of a longer DJ set, sets off vigorous ovations on the part of the audience, leaving the music, re-shaping and entering a video remix. It will shed light on how a video remix and a music remix can become remixed at a live EDM performance.

Not only was Gramphonedzie already recognised in the local community, but his

international award for the remix might be one of the reasons why the live performance was so well-attended. As part of a longer set, the communication process in a remix occurs between the following: the idea – the DJ – the remix – the audience – the audience's feedback to the DJ. At the very beginning of the remix (part A, video recording: 00.00-00.41), it seems as if the audience got a sense of which track is to follow. At the moment of recognising the beginning of the remix, the first instrumental connector and following part B (which exposes the first verse of the original song, video recording: 00.42-01.10), the audience started a thunderous applause, ovations, and whistling. Sensing the incoming climax of the song and the atmosphere that was created on the dance floor, some of them began recording the performance and commemorating the moment by mobile phones. In that way, the audience were in a certain way layering a digital reality on the top of the real, live EDM performance. Gramophonedzie left the DJ stand and came to stand in front of the audience. They greeted him with escalating applause and ovations while he gesticulated with arms stretched out, and then moved back. It is important to stress that the audience supported the performance not only by dancing to the music but also singing the verses of the song out loud.

The most emphasised moment in performing the remix live was reached in part C (video recording: 01.11-02.17). As I already emphasised, the key sound image in the analysis of the formal musical structure (as well as during the analysis of the music form of *Laki je malo nervozan*) became the central moment in the live performance of the remix. On the music level, this part was extended and repeated several times. This leads to the conclusion that while performed live, the remix was re-shaped, with the aim of prolonging the dance, keeping the audience on the dance floor as long as possible, and, finally, creating specific dancing effects. Nonetheless, part C gave a lucid experience of the remix, highlighting its importance not only on the track, but also at a live performance.

The rhythm of part C was very well reflected and viewed in the improvised bodily movements of the audience. They created their own meanings through the upgraded rhythm of the remix. At the moment when part C started, the beat was also reflected in Gramophonedzie's body. The audience reacted to the familiar music by dancing to it. Also, they generated the intensification of clubbing energy with whistling, screaming, singing and recording. It was part C with its musical characteristics which excited the dancers on the floor. It was the highlighted multilayered rhythmical images, playing with samples, cutting

and emphasising the fragments from the refrain which created this experience. Not only was this reflected on the bodies of the dancers, but the DJ also accompanied the rhythm by slightly moving his body. Moreover, moving his right hand, Gramophonedzie created the sense that he was conducting DJ players and a track on one side while on the other, he was directing the movements of the audience. Drawing on this view, I would like to point out that the musical remix at the live performance became remixed. In addition, part C sheds light on Gramophonedzie's personal note which became an important moment of his expression.

Consequently, the remix correlates several cultural meanings. Firstly, it points out the connection with the pre-existing musical material and the need for a symbolic communication with musicians from the past. For this reason, the meaning is functionally determined. Secondly, it establishes a close contact between the DJ and the audience to whom Gramophonedzie presents his musical selection and taste putting an emphasis not only on his performing skills, but also the endeavour to gain their trust. It allows the creation of a clubbing experience, whereupon the performance of the DJ becomes an experience. The second meaning highlights the importance of creativity, not only by recognising the material but its importance as well (an international award!), as the audience expresses their confidence in him and his reputation, figuratively speaking, in the wider EDM community.

Nevertheless, the bodies of the dancers and the DJ performing reached a symbolic communication through the atmosphere of creating, as Gramophonedzie described, "a spiritual unification" (Milićević, interview, May 11th 2011). This determination relates to the second level of connection that establishes itself between the DJ and the (performing) audience. Although it is impossible to reach unification at every live performance, the connection can be achieved not only through music, space and time of the party, but also, as already remarked in the introduction of the study, through bodily movements by which the DJ and the audience communicate. Thus, light is shed on the fact that EDM is a specific genre. Namely, unlike other popular music genres, the particular character of a successful DJ party depends on the established level of spiritual unification. In that way, the DJ has several roles: a conductor, a meta-musician (who becomes a composer, performer, producer, sound engineer and collector) with a nomadic strategy, an avant-garde musician in the digital age, but also, as already indicated, a musical (performing) persona, according to [Phillip] Auslander's designation (Auslander 2006a). Sharing the energy with the audience at a live performance (the *here* and *now* of the musical interpretation, or presence of the EDM

party), the DJ erases the boundary between the audience and himself. In addition, as noted in the interview with Gramphonedzie and other DJs, as well as participating in numerous live performances, by movements of the body while performing the music, a DJ also emphasises enjoyment and satisfaction.

The subsequent important elements of a live performance are numerous visuals, projection of images, and graphical visualisations that point out the name of the performer – Gramphonedzie, as well as light and stroboscopic effects rhythmically and thematically coordinated with the music flow (Figure 29). This sheds light on the hypothesis that the performance could be thought of as a simulation of a virtual community where the visuals also play a vital role in the clubbing ambience and create a specific dancing experience. This is confirmed by the fact that the name Gramphonedzie itself refers to an improvisation of identity. Namely, translated from Serbian, it means not only someone who skilfully plays gramophone records, it also marks a profession – literally, persons who work on turntables. Also, by using the artistic name, Gramphonedzie established a kind of distance between his onstage persona and off-stage life.



Figure 29 | Gramphonedzie's live performance in Belgrade, March 5th 2011 (private collection).

During the interpretation of the remix, the audience had the opportunity to watch on three screens remixed fragments taken from the official music video and other materials that followed the music beat. One screen was positioned on the wall behind the DJ while the other two were in the dancing space, in front of Gramophonedzie. The projected video material also contributed to creating and achieving a specific audio-visual-dancing experience and clubbing ambience. Visual images appeared as a remix of the official music video, which, together with the music, made an intermusical relationship. Therefore, remix upgrades to a higher, multimedia level at a live performance. For all these reasons, it can be said that a musical remix at live performances goes beyond music and can relate to the events outside itself after all.

In the moment of a live performance, as the example showed, a remix presents not only a recognisable pre-existing material but also opens another interpretative level. I mark it as the meta level of referentiality. On this level, or rather, at the *here* and *now* of a performance, the DJ interpretation creates and reaches a particular clubbing ambience.⁵⁸ The dance floor, therefore, becomes a space for a musical dialogue between the past and the present, as well as an authentic place of a musical and visual experience whose meanings are created in the performing audience. Butler adds that the dance floor is a space “where the music really happens” and means it (Butler 2006: 15). Besides, *in* and *with* the remix *Why Don't You*, Gramophonedzie lets the ghost out of the ‘apparatus’ back into physical reality. Also, he formed with it a sort of virtual orchestra that included musicians from the past. By remixing realities at the live performance, Gramophonedzie achieved the aim of creating a unique space-time dimension, binding music, the performing audience and visual equipment.

⁵⁸ The *meta-level (of referentiality)* and ways in which a specific ambience is created at a live EDM performances is understood as *the other experience*, and it will be in focus in Chapter 4 in which I consider and explore the idea of *the other authenticity* in EDM.

2.3.1 | *Folkstep*: the experience of musical space in EDM.

It has already been indicated that EDM is to such an extent a powerful genre that it can use various elements and ideas from different repertoires, times and contexts, as it was presented in the two previous analyses – the tracks *Laki je malo nervozan* and *Why Don't You*. It follows that EDM separates *travelling concepts*.⁵⁹ Namely, travelling becomes a metaphor for the transposition, or moving of popular, classical and traditional music(s), as well as non-musical content in the electronic sound, with the desire to create *new* sound spaces which open up the perspective for considering *live* or *recorded* music as a unique experience. Moreover, *travelling* in EDM can refer to the connection between various culturally determined music(s) and style(s), as well as the historical contexts in which they appear.** The experience of music in that sense becomes a concept which represents itself by travelling and exploring the self, as well as the other. Following that idea, through the analysis of the next and at the same time the last example of Chapter 2, the focus is on the relationship between EDM and folk music. As I will demonstrate while considering and examining the *Folkstep* track by the electronic duo Shazalakazoo, by using pre-recorded sound material from different sources such as folk music and implementing it into EDM, the musical space of the track can spread and create a successful relationship between opposite genres.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The idea of *travelling concepts* in EDM came to mind inspired by the concepts of “travelling” between disciplines elaborated by Mieke Bal (Bal 2001).

** For example, see also: “Travelling concepts in Balkan Electronic Dance Music.” *Norient: Network for Local and Global Sounds and Media Culture*, 2012 (Web issue <http://norient.com/en/academic/balkan-electronic-dance-music/>) [published under the name Irina Cvijanović]

⁶⁰ Shazalakazoo, as a two-member electronic band from Belgrade, base their tracks and interpretations on breakbeat rhythms. Milan Đurić plays usb-clarinet, plastic knobs, faders, rubber pads, silicon chips, sings and shouts, while Uroš Petković plays the electric violin, a turntable and silicon chips.

However, performing as a four-member rock'n'roll band in the period 1995-1998, Shazalakazoo was under the strong influence of jazz and folk music, as well as under the influence of an irregular rhythm mainly originating from Southern Serbia and Macedonia, such as 7/8, 5/8, 9/8. “It gave us good energy,” explains Đurić, “but also it seemed exotic to us in the time when we began to play” (Đurić, interview, June 4th 2013).

Transformed into an electronic duo, from 2005 Shazalakazoo began developing ideas in EDM and creating danceable electronic bass music blended with traditional and folk music originating from the Balkans. At the beginning, they used pre-existing samples of traditional music, but soon after they started cooperating with the authentic Roma brass band Romano Durlie from Vladičin Han in Southern Serbia. They explored possibilities on how using folk music samples could be fruitfully transposed and transformed in EDM, without compromising the qualities of the genre, and focused on the sound qualities important for clubbing needs. Besides, Shazalakazoo strived to colour and extend their tracks and live performances with “the tone” of recognisable folk music. Moreover, their interpretations are influenced by African as well as Latin American music creating, together with Balkan melodies, their recognisable style, named “folkstep.” The word “folk”

However, in order to understand the specificities of the *Folkstep* track, it is necessary to focus on the concept of the musical space which I refer to. Namely, it can be summarised that musical space is a segment of sound space which we perceive while listening to music, that is, when music enters within the scope of our auditory space. It uses sensation, experienced by all who listen to music at that moment. The movement of sound blocks of EDM tracks or a whole DJ set is usually not only the inner aspect of the sound in the auditory space of a listener's consciousness, but it also creates a space of illusions, images in the listener's/dancer's consciousness and their reactions to the experienced material. The ways in which tracks or DJ sets create stories or extend experiences through bodily movements at live performances/parties in a listener's/dancer's consciousness, illuminate DJ virtuosity and craftiness when manipulating pre-recorded sound material. Moreover, the distinction of the *sonic space – musical space – auditory space*, understood as different categories, uncovers the complexity and multi-dimensionality of the spatial aspects in music.

The musical space exists when we consider musical sound with all its specificities, such as duration, pitch, intensity, timbre, tempo, as well as the time in which sound spreads through the track or DJ set, always having in mind its contextual determination. In other words, it can be said that musical space is a framework within and through which the actual sequence of musical flow is shaped. Therefore, it occurs as the result of interweaving moving sound blocks which emphasise a rhythmical pulse. The pulse illuminates the most important feature of musical space: its manifestation *in or through* movement, so that the listener can feel specific sections, or segments. It follows that musical motion manifests the interrelationship between musical space and musical time, that is, the spatial and temporal aspects of musical structure are dependent upon one another. Thus, Vincent McDermott stresses, "As we listen to a work, the temporal relation of sounds is, of course, an important element. But we became equally aware of the relations of, for example, height, interval, simultaneity, line, density, range, register, depth, counterpoint, even repetition. These, I suggest, are all spatial relations, frequently and undoubtedly allied with temporal ordering,

refers to a basis in folk music, inspired by the "spice" of folk music, and "step" is a term used in all sub-genres of EDM.

Shazalakazoo released two albums: *Speaking Balkanian* in 2010 and *Karton City Boom* in 2011. While at the first, metaphorically speaking, they played with Balkan stereotypes (track titles, covers, etc.), the second album is directed towards linking the EDM of the poor classes around the world since technology in the 21st century has become accessible to all. In addition, their tracks and remixes appear on various compilations or other artists releases.

The track *Folkstep* was released on the album *Karton City Boom*.

but also spatial” (McDermott 1972: 489).

Since EDM is perceived as a multi-dimensional structure shaped by various layers of sounds that allocate the role of rhythm as the basic signifier for movement, the significance of spatialisation becomes an important aspect in the analysis. The spatial movement of sounds in EDM provides a dynamism that greatly increases our listening, as well as dancing experience. Therefore, a fruitful approach to spatiality in EDM considers not only the “materials” of music, but also the way these materials are shaped to produce a concrete track or a whole DJ set. Spatial organisation is used as an interpretation of the structure of the tracks or DJ sets, of how we understand it, whether we comprehend the released track, a segment taken from the live DJ performance, listen to the recording, etc.⁶¹ As a contribution to this, Robert P. Morgan adds, “... it would be impossible to talk about music at all without invoking spatial notions of one kind or another. Thus, in discussing even the most elementary aspects of pitch organisation – and among the musical elements, only pitch... is uniquely musical – one finds it necessary to rely upon such spatially oriented oppositions as “up and down”, “high and low”, “small and large” (in regard to intervallic “distances,” and so on)” (Morgan 1980: 527).

Lastly, understood as a totality of segments of the track or the DJ set, musical space can also be considered as being similar to physical space. Namely, McDermott emphasises that, “objects are distinct one from another only because they occupy different places in space. Yet musical sounds are similarly individualised... they occupy places, in nothing other than a musical space... We observe certain differences in the sounds of a musical composition that we identify as pitch differences, but then we go on to use our imagination

⁶¹ At this point, I would like to say that musical space is distinguished by three basic forms. Firstly, it relates to a space of transcribed/written music, that is, the score. Understood as the physical embodiment of a work, the score sheds light on the fact that the work becomes a timeless object, considered separately from its temporal sequence. The actual physical shape of the score and the relationship of this shape to the music it embodies are matters of interest to the question of musical space. The emphasis is on the ability of hearing music by looking at the score. Thus, the experience of musical space is formed in the mind of the viewer, in his/her inner ear. Secondly, musical space can relate to the recorded material which unfolds during listening to music. Therefore, musical space is created in the presence of listening to material, while a correlation is established between the recorded sound and an auditory perception of hearing subjects. In addition, at the moment of exploring recorded musical space, all surrounding sounds can be taken into account. Finally, having in mind EDM, musical space, as a part of a broader live DJ performance, also becomes a part of a larger experience and contributes in creating performative spaces, which I already mentioned in the introductory chapter and Chapter 1. The performative spaces in EDM will be in focus in Chapter 3 of the study. Namely, a listener’s/dancer’s consciousness can locate all sounds in space where music is performed, and experience it through body movements. In this case, musical space is also linked with para-musical phenomena which can contribute to creating a new musical spatiality, experiencing not only music, but also a physical space of the party, or it becomes a part of the party atmosphere.

to place these sounds in a spatial field” (McDermott, 490).

Shedding light on the specificities of the *Folkstep* track, the ways in which folk music, using spatial terminology, “walked” or “entered” into EDM are considered. I aim to examine how the track functions as a dynamic interplay of the world Shazalakazoo symbolically transformed into musical sound, creating a recognisable musical space. My point of departure explains EDM as a predominantly auditory, embodied and interactive phenomenon and concentrates on creating the musical space of the *Folkstep* track as well as on the spatiality of the auditory experience. Nonetheless, the method of connecting folk and EDM became an important element in shaping a specific musical sound. Already known in world contents, this structure not only repeats itself in a new culturally determined space, it also follows the trend of internationalising the new EDM.

The analysis of the *Folkstep* track in the following sub-chapters takes place on two levels, whereupon, as already mentioned, two metaphors are used: musical space and spatiality in music. On the first level, there is a focus on the questions of the architectonics of music flow and illuminating the musical experience of the track. Following the idea that formal structure can define musical space, I aim to discover the ways in which the musical space of the track is shaped, and find out its specificities. The results obtained by the analysis of the track will open up a new perspective. Namely, on the second level, using narrative interpretation, I consider how the track is experienced as a specific auditory space in which ‘the voice of the past’ is embodied. I examine ways in which “the local story” is interwoven in the track, linking two different musical spaces. Through personal experience and using the perceived five sound images as a reaction of imagining the musical space of the track, I indicate how it narrates a story of a travelling caravan of sound as a result of a successful linking of different musical genres.

2.3.2 | *Folkstep*: the architectonics of musical space.

The *Folkstep* track is constructed of EDM layers (rhythm machine, rhythmic loop, continuous bass line) and samples of the Svetin čoček song (“Sveta’s dance/čoček”).⁶² Samples of the song, which was primarily interpreted by the famous Roma brass player Fejat Sejdić, were recorded by the Romani brass band Romano duruli in a Belgrade studio in 2010. The band consists of a tuba and one leading and two accompanying trumpets. Also, the track contains samples of the original ambient sound of pedestrian streets which was recorded at Skadarlija, the main bohemian quarter of Belgrade.

The musical space of the *Folkstep* track is built from 13 macro segments, shaped on a breakbeat rhythm by using the procedures of repeating, varying and changing sound material (Figure 30). The 11 macro segments relate to one another in various relations of dynamic dependence, framed by the segments *Intro* and *Outro*.

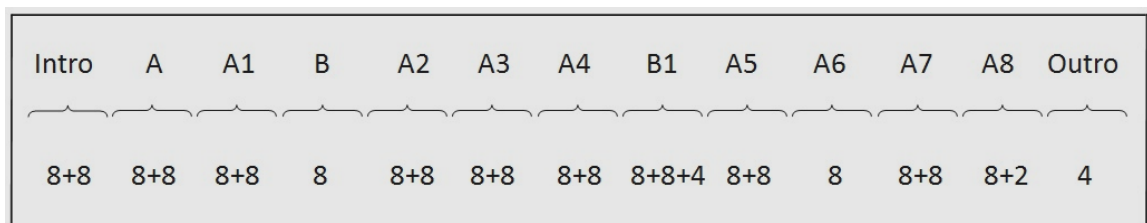


Figure 30 | Scheme of the formal structure of the *Folkstep* track.

The point I would like to stress here is that the criteria by which I made the division of the segments were observed from both perspectives: they relate to the changing of sound in EDM, as well as changes on the level of brass band samples. As Figure 30 shows (as well as

⁶² It should be pointed out that Čoček, originating from Ottoman military bands, emerged in the Balkans during the early 19th century, mostly throughout Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Romania. The round dance was over time epitomised by a wide range of ethnic sub-styles. It is slightly syncopated and performed in different metres. Nonetheless, Čoček also developed into a specific performing brass band style. It became a part of the repertoire of many Romani brass bands, popular at village weddings and other celebrations (Hartong 2006: 100). As Mirjana Zakić asserts, “In the traditional playing of (traditional) round dances (*kolo*) the concept of energy collecting can be recognised through the compact homophonic sound of orchestral sections. Conversely, *čoček dances* reflect individuality and a freer spirit through the clear separation of a first trumpet player as a soloist in relation to a subordinated orchestra. The melodies of Serbian round dances are of a relatively small ambitus within which the trend is organised gradually or in small rises, while the melodies of the *čoček* are more developed and, above all, more ornamented and melismatic” (Zakić 2013: 37). In addition, it is important to emphasise that syncopated rhythm is one of the characteristics of the Čoček dances from Southern Serbia.

Chart 2 in the Appendix, page 275), the dominant repeating of A segments at first glance highlights the fact that the track emphasises the transformation processes realised not only by the decreasing and increasing layers of EDM, but also the importance of using particular samples of a brass band. Nevertheless, as Chart 2 indicates, if we use the perspective of folk music, segments A refer to the first theme of the track, as well as motif core taken from it, while segments B link the second theme of and its visibility in the track.

Further, the rhythmical image of the track also corresponds to the formal division. Namely, while the segments marked with an A base their rhythm mainly on syncopated pulses aiming to create the feeling of an irregular, asymmetrical rhythm, segment B uses equal, symmetrical divided models, as shown in Figure 31:

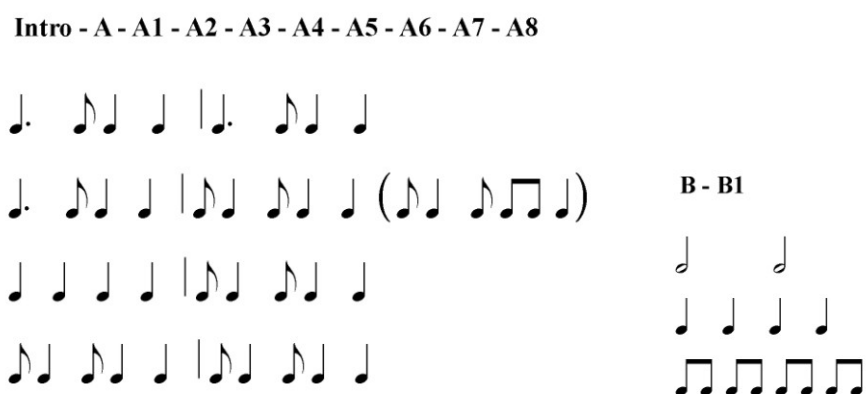


Figure 31 | Rhythmical patterns for segments A and B and their variants.

In addition, the occurrence of both themes is indicated in Chart 2 in a separate column. In this way, the moments when the themes appear in the track can be perceived. Also, a separate column indicates that the material is taken from different musical genres. For understanding the musical space of the track, it is important to mark not only the formal segments of macro-structure, but also to indicate the ways in which they create a whole and to highlight its specificities. Variations on sound texture, as it will soon be seen more clearly, constitute an effect that is spatial in quality. Moreover, a thick description of separate segments that follows provides an insight into ways of creating a musical space, as well as into ways which skilfully introduced folk in EDM. I hope to achieve the levels of understanding the track which will set the basis for a spatial story which is interwoven in it.

The continuous electronic bass line which appears from the beginning of the track

(Intro: 00.00-00.21) defines the sound space where the music flow will take place (CD example 12). Based as one of the key elements of the track, the sound of the bass is presented through the opening and closing frequencies. It refers to one empty space which should be filled with elements and contents. On one hand, the bass line gains the role of a stable architectonic structure where it is possible to set up and build new shapes, whereupon the shapes can create their own spatial stories. On the other – a street sound ambience which highlights voices of the people and their murmur is set up as a pendant to the fragments of the first theme. Namely, the fragments present the motif core of the first theme. The street sound ambience samples open a new possibility: it seems as if they establish the third space in the track and extend the music to non-musical contents. As important elements of the track, the street sound samples have a function not only of *opening – interval/break – closure* music from the street space, they also contribute in the creating of a specific sound atmosphere of the track. Moreover, they also illuminate simultaneous musical/sound events.

An extension of musical space on the sound level is highlighted by the appearing, repeating and disappearing motif core of the first theme (Figure 32). The play of the motif core additionally emphasises the role of the motif in the music flow. Namely, they appear as a small generator and as carriers of sound energy that will gradually spread and affect the music flow in the following segments. These procedures at the beginning of the track illuminate the examining of EDM space where a different music genre has to be placed. It seems as if the motif cores seek a secure place in which to set the themes, or, in other words, it seems they occupy, “fill up” some sort of “available space.” Figuratively speaking, the motif cores present themselves as small, tiny, living organisms which have to investigate the electronic, artificial, and digital space. In the *Intro* segment they prepare a place, eliminate possible obstacles and create a hatch for impulsion and energy flux of the both themes, which in our perception creates a feeling of moving through something.

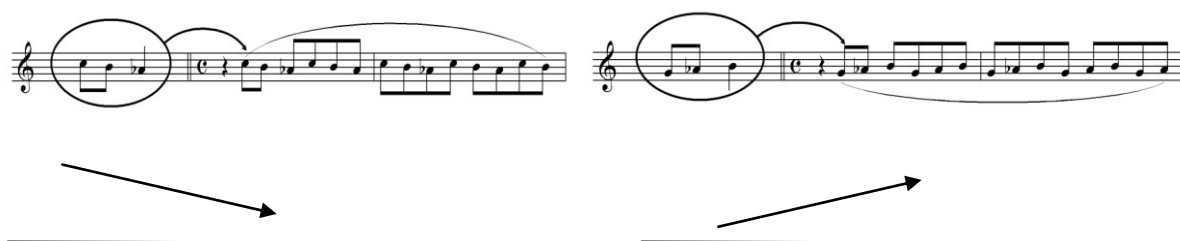


Figure 32 | Motif cores of the first theme.

As Figure 32 indicates, motif cores presented through downward and upward melodic movements became the embodiments of the question (tones: *c-h-as*) and the answer (*g-as-h*). On the level of sound, on one hand, they resemble small steps, which craftily enter and exit from the space. On the other – from the beginning of the track, they are loaded into the memory and consciousness of the listener. With these procedures, Shazalakazoo clearly positioned the signals that are recognisable when the first theme appears. It can be noted that, by exploring the space of EDM, these small melodic steps provide a secure entry for different materials, good links for connecting opposite music genres as well as positioning the story as an echo of the *old* and *past* (folk music) in the *new* and *contemporary* (EDM). Nonetheless, the downward and upward melodic movements, repeated through an echo, and a gradual disappearance of the motif sounds are combined with the basic rhythm which will define the entire rhythmic pulse of the track. Dividing the measure irregularly by an accentuation and extension of the first beat combines with the highlighting interval of the augmented second (*as-h*) in motif cores conjuring and signalling a particular feeling of the Orient in the music.⁶³

Segment A (00.22-00.42) increases the sound of rhythm and develops a basic rhythmic pattern. The sound rhythmic image associates movement, a slow move constructed by combining two complementary patterns that are repeated throughout the track, and they also vary slightly and supplement other layers of rhythm. Accentuation in the first, a strong metrical beat, as Figure 31 indicates, causes on the level of sound an irregularity of the normal metrical flow. Although the track, similarly to all the (sub)genres of EDM, uses a 4/4 meter, the combination of the two patterns creates a feeling of an irregular rhythmical division as it is represented in East European folk music (3+2+2). Situated in the music space with the aim to establish the basic pulse, the rhythm repeats as a loop and creates the sound image of the object which gradually moves into a clearly defined physical space, as will be seen more clearly in the next sub-chapter.

Using motif cores of the first theme (A1: 00.42-01.04) which have extended this time

⁶³ The augmented second since the mid 19th century has been the interval that in the works of Western composers coloured the sound of the Others, precisely Oriental music, such as Romani, Turkish and Arabic. Risto Pekka Pennanen points out that the interval is still the musical emblem of the Orient, and a common notion in the West as well as in the Balkans. Even though it is not omnipresent in Ottoman classical music or other forms of Turkish music, the augmented second represents the Orient in the Orientalist discourse (Pennanen 2008: 131). Drawing on this view, I would like to highlight that the interval of the augmented second strikes listeners with extraordinary power as it is called to their attention and engraved onto their consciousness.

by adding accentuated tones (*as-h, as-g*), it seems as if the ways of moving through musical space are confirmed:



Figure 33 | Extended motif cores of the first theme.

Moreover, as Figure 33 shows, the musical space begins to spread, move up, fill up and dynamise. Since the extended motif cores are layered to the continual bass line and rhythmic patterns, a counterpoint between EDM and folk music is achieved. Considered from this angle, it is important to highlight the following: Shazalakazoo firstly shows the environment, presents the atmosphere and then fills the space up with sound contents. It also contributes to the creating of a dramaturgy of sound. Looking at this model through the lenses of physical space, we can ascertain that in the space, the geometrically defined street, the first image that appears is an empty street determined by boundaries which will soon after be filled up with various objects, people and contents that all together contribute to creating a spatial story. In that way, it can be said that the border markers of the space are the *Intro* and *Outro* segments.

The unexpected appearance of the second theme from the second sound plan contributes to the dynamic of the music flow (B: 01.04-01.14). The gradual introduction of the theme from the second sound plan contributes to the extension of musical space. Namely, the theme creates the sound effect of the person who is arriving from a distance. Accompanied by a marked rhythm, the theme enters into a primary musical space and continues to flow through it. Moreover, using sound amplification, Shazalakazoo achieved a dynamic crescendo of the track, but also made another introduction to the music material. Namely, the second theme is presented through an even, mainly wavy-downward melodic movement that goes in the minor seventh ambitus (*g-f*):



Figure 34 | Melodic line of the second theme.

The second theme, as Figure 34 shows, is shaped as a symmetrical period with clear breaks at the beginning of the two bars. It seemed as if the melody requires a continuation of a lighter flow.⁶⁴ Even the rhythmic pulse follows the melody while the short break that appears after its exposure and at the border between the next segment becomes a good solution for linking both themes, as it will soon be seen more clearly. The break also presents at the level of sound a short breath before the first theme begins the presentation.

Highly awaited from the beginning of the track, the first theme (Figure 35) appears in the full sound sonority of the brass band and is repeated four times (A2: 01.14-01.36). Repeating signifies its occurrence and conformation in a new musical space. The theme, structured as a musical sentence (4+4), presents itself through a wavy melodic movement in the ambitus of a perfect fourth (*g-c*). Although the first theme is of a smaller melodic scope than the second, it gains strength in the initial segment of the motif. At the level of sound and through repeating, it achieves a larger shape in auditory perception. Namely, leap *g-c* at the very beginning of the melody marks not only the theme's melodic space, it also accentuates tones tripping and vivacity around the culmination ("*c*"). The leap also frames its gradual filling up with sound. As opposed to the second theme which has a sharper sound and character, the first theme is characterised by calm and gradual melodic movements which give the theme a danceable character. In addition, it can be said that both themes are

⁶⁴ For the purposes of this analysis, I used the Finnish method for transcribing folk melodies. Namely, Ilmari Krohn, the founder of Finnish musicology, standardised a method and practice for compare traditional melodies. According to the method, all transcriptions have "g1" as the final tone. In addition, it is important to note that traditional melodies from Serbia in most cases end at the supertonic (which in transcriptions becomes "g1") as opposed to Western melodies, which usually finish on the tonic note.

performed in a Balkan minor, a scale in which a significant number of folk melodies from Serbia are constructed.⁶⁵



Figure 35 | Melodic line of the first theme.

The previously established melodic shape of the first theme continues its flow by extension in the A3 segment (01.36-01.57). The segment is based on an improvisation of the thematic material, entrusted to only one, the second brass of the band. The extension sheds light on a successful connection of folk music and EDM and contributes to a gradual dramatisation of music flow. Also, when considered as separate from the whole track, the A3 segment creates a sound effect as if there is no EDM, but the solo brass and accompanying orchestra followed by a syncopated rhythmic pattern occupy and overpower the musical space. As Danka Lajić-Mihajlović highlights, “The potentiating of musical dialogue through solo and tutti parts represents a significant feature in the performances of Roma orchestras in South-eastern Serbia” (Lajić-Mihajlović 2013: 24). Besides, highlighting improvisation and positioning brass as a solo instrument, Shazalakazoo points out in the segment brass “the voice of the past,” determining it geographically by using a melody and a syncopated rhythm which refer to Roma orchestras from South-eastern Serbia. “The voice of the past” also contributes to creating its own rhetoric, as will be seen more clearly in the following sub-chapters during the examination of sound images of the track.

However, the next segment (A4: 01.57-02.18), constructed as a *transit*, returns the music flow into the EDM space. Namely, highlighting street ambient sounds, motif cores of the first theme, and an electronic continuous bass line, the segment actually became a short break in the music flow. The B1 segment (02.18-02.45) reaches the highest level of

⁶⁵ It is worth recalling that the Balkan scale is a natural minor scale with an augmented fourth and major sixth.

counterpoint connection between the motif cores of the first theme, the second theme, street ambient sounds and rhythm. In its first and only appearance, the motif core of the second theme presents itself through a minor second movement (*e-f*). It highlights the repetitiveness of the “f” tone and its disappearance into an echo. Moreover, it creates the effect of introducing and connecting the second theme which reappears from the second sound level. Hence, using the “f” tone as a connector which links the motif core and the theme, it seems as a sound interflow from the motif into the theme, or it could be marked as the tone which connects two levels of sound.

It can be pointed out that street ambient samples used in segment B amplify the interflow of sound. Namely, in the background of the segment the question of “Ko? Ja?” (“Who? Me?”) appears, which clarifies the fact that the second theme will enter into the musical space with confidence. The fact is confirmed also by the motif cores of the first theme that follows, but only through a downward melodic movement (*c-h-as*) which, as already indicated, presents a question. Therefore, the question of entering the second theme with confident steps is repeated. A multilayered rhythmic image which takes place in the extended fragment of segment B is followed by a short break. Namely, it becomes another marker of the effective dynamisation of music flow. The achieved communication between *the motif core of the second theme – the second theme – street ambience – multilayered rhythm – motif core of the first theme* confirms the fact that the second theme will get its position and full sonority in the first sound plan and become as important in the musical space as the first theme.

Repetition (A5: 02.45-03.06) is presented equally in both themes. It takes place not only on the level of sounding and their positions within a musical space of the *Folkstep* track, but also on the level of their dimensions. In the A5 segment, both themes are able to have a “dialogue” and prove they are “safe” in the musical space. It can be stressed that the contrast of both themes in the first part of the track achieved through the sounding level (the second vs. the first plan) is annulled. Furthermore, the segments that follow present the first theme (A6: 03.06-03.17 and A8: 03.38-03.52) and its motif cores (A7: 03.17-03.38). In this way, Shazalakazoo highlighted the danceable character of the track which reaches its sound peak at the end of segment A8. The ending, *Outro* segment reduces the layers of sound to the sounding of a continuous bass line and a street ambience.

Recognised as a musical space, as the formal structure analysis shows, the *Folkstep*

track is specific for several reasons. Firstly, it is characterised by effective actions with sound which classify it as an EDM genre (breakbeat rhythms, the layering of sound, a continual bass), placing it into a certain space (street ambient sounds) and colouring it with local shades (samples of the brass band which embody in the track the spirit of Serbian southern folk melodies with an irregular rhythm). Secondly, it is created as a craftily interweaving of opposing/different musical genres (*urban vs. rural*) that emphasise a particular rhythmic pulse as the main force of movement. Defined by using a continuous bass line and the *Intro* and *Outro* segments as border markers, the musical space of the track transforms into a new, moving and speaking space by using rhythmical samples, ambience sounds, as well as material from folk music. Thirdly, the position of the themes in the first part of the track becomes an echo of the roles taken up by instruments in brass band orchestras in Serbia which perform folk music. Namely, the first theme is performed by all three trumpets which, at the level of sound, position the theme as the main one. Furthermore, in its two appearances, not only does the second theme come from the second level of sound, but it is also performed by one trumpet. Figuratively speaking, it seems as if the second theme has to carve out its independence at the level of sounding. Also, the spatial characteristics of sound creating appeared more “on the surface” which are more closely related to the textural matters of sound. Namely, using spatial terminology – increasing/decreasing sound, opening and closing frequencies, downward/upward/wavy melodic movement, first/second sound plan, etc. – I aimed to illuminate the surface spatial effects in EDM. Finally, the colour of “the older member” (presented through improvisation) is achieved by using the second trumpet as a representative of the past.

Furthermore, a contrast is also achieved at the level of the sound position in the musical space (primary vs. secondary plan), melodic lines of the themes (wavy melodic movement of a smaller ambitus vs. a wavy-downward with a larger ambitus), as well as the level of form (period vs. musical sentence). Also, the dynamic structure of the track is wavy, and it has two main sound culminations which are reached in the A3 and A8 segments. Lastly, it can be said that the track becomes a *practiced musical space*. It means that the track follows world trends while the shapes and modes of sound manipulation lead to a “second spatiality” and its experience. In this way, at the meta level, interweaving creates the third, unique space where both EDM and folk music narrate their spatial story, as it will be demonstrated in the following two sub-chapters.

2.3.3 | Sound images as tools for an analysis of spatiality in EDM.

At the final level of analysis of the *Folkstep* track, there is a focus on the relationship between EDM and sampled recordings of the folk brass band, using as a tool the concept of sound images which will open up a perspective for considering the spatiality of the track. The research questions under discussion are the following: how to visualise sound images, that is, how sound creates mental images in the perception of a conscious listener, and in which ways both EDM and folk music shape the common spatial story of the *Folkstep* track. What I wish to challenge by answering these questions, is to open a possibility for analysing EDM tracks from the perspective of musical space and spatiality in music. Hopefully, the spatial story that is embodied in *Folkstep* track will demonstrate its specificities.

The idea of sound images follows the concept of “mental images,” as elaborated in cognitive psychology (Kosslyn 1988). Namely, the term “mental images” has two meanings. In the first, a mental image refers to a subjective conscious experience, or “seeing with the mind’s eye” or “hearing with the mind’s ear” (Kosslyn 1988: 1621). In the second, the term is used to guide us not only to the way in which information is presented and processed, but also to what happens when we produce such experiences. These two meanings lead to the conclusion that sound or mental images are not only a passive copy of an object taken from reality, but they also include dynamic aspects and our interactive relationship with the object (Kostić 2010). Consequently, the object attains the characteristics of the inner world of mental or sound images as well as the inner actions that we may enact. A mental image, therefore, becomes a perceptual play which exists for a while in short-term memory. Although these images have several functions, the most significant is thinking about abstract concepts by using a visualisation of symbols, as we use them when remembering visual or spatial information, as well as for improving observation skills. Mental images report, remind and open up ideas. Once created, mental images can change real objects in different ways. With them, we induce information about the physical characteristics of the object, or correlations between objects.

As one of the possible ways of listening to music produced in the primary focus of a conscious listener’s attention, similarly as mental images, sound images affect the meaning and experience of certain musical spaces. Exploring and discussing how sound images embody a spatial story in the track, the light sheds on the possibilities of transferring from

an auditory to a visualised experience of music. There are several ways of marking sound images. Namely, we can notice sound images by a separation and division of segments in a musical form. As the second step, we can connect them into several images according to their contents and meaning. Also, in sorted sound images we can examine the interaction of different sound/musical spaces. It is the borders of grouped segments which influence the organisation of spatiality. In such an organisation of sound images, the story plays a decisive role. The narration of sound images transports listeners from one story to another.

Nevertheless, I came up with the idea of sound images as one of the possible ways which are useful in the analysis of musical space and spatiality in music, inspired by Peter Brook's concept – art as a vehicle – which he used to define the work of Jerzy Grotowski (Brook 1997: 379-382). Namely, art as a vehicle is an ancient concept, not very familiar in contemporary culture. According to Grotowski, in theatre/theatre of play/art as a vehicle, the focus is on the vision which has to appear in the perception of the viewer. If all elements of the play are processed and connected through montage, a vision or a certain story shows up in the viewer's perception. Moreover, not only does the play appear on the stage, but also in the viewer's perception. When this concept is applied in music, it sheds light on the totality of sound images. On one hand, sound images appear during the listening and are created in the auditory perception of listeners. On the other – the emphasis is, similarly as in theatre, in the author/DJ/performer's craft to narrate a story using sound as a creative tool. Looking through the perspective of musical space, the idea contends that vehicles in *Folkstep* become rhythm (and other layers of EDM sound) that transfer their energy using electronically produced sound, but also folk music that colours the track with elements of organic, recorded, live sound.

Another concept I use while describing sound images is *walking*, as an important elementary form of experience of space. Exploring the ways in which sound material, metaphorically speaking, walked *in* and *out* of musical space, I aim to highlight how Shazalakazoo embodied the Balkan spirit in *Folkstep*. The five sound images I noticed in the track create a feeling of a moving caravan of sound that passes through the old cobbled streets of the Balkans. On the cobblestone, the caravan becomes a connector of two spaces, two sounds and two concepts represented by the dichotomous relationship of *old* – *new*. Passing through space defined by borders (the *Intro* and *Outro* segments) but not fenced (since the track could be a part of a longer live set), a caravan gradually shapes its

appearance, marking a specific rhythmical movement and gaining colour by using local elements. Every step which folk music makes, every walking *in* or *out* of the cobblestone, is given to the space of the new dynamics, opening up the story and creating new meanings.

2.3.4 | *Imagining spatiality: the Goddess can be recognised by her steps.*⁶⁶

The feeling of the old Balkan cobblestone is conjured on the sound level by variable frequencies and vibrations of a continuous electronic bass combined with ambience samples. Using these elements, sound creates a sense of mystery which places the listener in the environment of a street that carries traces of the past. Beneath the pavements, the cobblestone hides the spirit of various nations passing through it during history while sound vibrations create a feeling of the depths of space. As the caravan of sound will be passing through the cobblestone shortly, the blocks marked in a formal analysis will gradually be altering. Shazalakazoo, determined as the directors of the track, intuitively distributed roles to the material they used selectively. While the story takes place on old cobblestone, for the major protagonists of dramatic action, they used the following (in order of appearance):

⁶⁶ Using the metaphor of a Goddess I wish to highlight the trumpet. Namely, the name of the instrument is feminine in the Serbian language. By the metaphor, I also aim to shed light on the importance of trumpets and brass bands, not only within the local community in Serbia, but also within an international context where they are recognised as specific, together with bands from other Balkan regions. In passing, it may be worth noting that, influenced by Western European military orchestras, trumpet/brass bands arrived in the Balkans in the 19th century. In 1817, after the end of many centuries of Turkish rule, the Serbian prince Miloš Obrenović, a man with a broad range of interests and willing to achieve progress, quickly turned his focus towards Europe, which not only brought numerous changes in the Serbian middle class, but also to the musical life of the nation. Namely, Knjaževsko-serbska banda (the Princely-Serbian Band) was formed in 1831 as a European-like brass orchestra, led by Josif Šlezinger. This Czech Jew, who was educated in Germany, performed not only military marches with the Band but also musical mixes based on folk music and Western tradition. It was due to his efforts that brass players became a part not only of military orchestras, but also the Serbian court and theatre orchestras (Golemović 1997). The sound of trumpets, whose primary task was to enhance patriotic feelings, was brought into the villages by military trumpet players; thus they altered its character, and began to perform traditional music (Gojković 1989: 195). Soon after, the sound of the folk trumpet spread to other areas of the Balkans (Macedonia and Bulgaria). Now brass bands are an increasing part of “Serbian diverse musical dialects expressed through the sound of brass” (Lajić-Mihajlović 2013: 21).

Furthermore, the geographic centre of brass band sound is in Guča, a small town in the region of Dragačevo in Western Serbia, where the greatest progress which brass bands achieved was at the Trumpet Festival. Founded in 1961 as a contest of village orchestras, today it is one of the most attended music manifestations in South-eastern Europe. The development of the Festival Program aspect reflects changes in its concept from a local competition to a complex festival, where the main shows today include the national and international contest, as well as the Midnight Concert, conceived as a revue performance of national orchestras (Lajić-Mihajlović 2013). In addition, it should be pointed out that Serbian film director Emir Kusturica is one of the most important figures for brass bands representation and their popularisation worldwide. Namely, using the sound and performance of Serbian brass bands in some of his famous films, such as *Underground* (1995), Kusturica highlighted the existence of such an interesting musical tradition.

children (the core motif of both themes), a modern vehicle (a layered EDM rhythm), a woman (the second theme), a man (the first theme) and an old man playing the role of “a voice of the past” (improvisation, as a continuation of the first theme). Minor roles are given to accompanying members (such as the brass band, the other, the secondary layers of EDM sound). Specified roles appeared by working with the manipulation of sound material while sound images gradually revealed the essence of the track.

Also, it is important to point out that a division into “live” and “not live” roles arose from two different concepts of music used in the track: samples of a recorded brass band melody and electronically produced sounds of EDM. Nonetheless, Gerald Prince's determination of *the actor* is applicable to the roles given to musical material. Namely, according to Prince, it is not necessary that the actor (understood as an autonomous figure of narrative world) has to be present as an anthropomorphic being. As a result of the connection of least one actantial model and thematic role, the actor may be an individual, collective, figure or not figured (Prins 2011: 16). In addition, for determining themes, motif cores and improvisation as “persons,” I used Grotowski's idea, according to which a traditional song is a living being. As folk music is formed in a long arc of time, it was used as a vehicle, that is, as an element of transmitting the energy of tradition (Grotowski 1995: 127). Considered from this angle, traditional music, in addition to its other divisions (such as instrumental/vocal, band/solo, songs of the annual/life cycle, etc.), contains gender (male, female) as well as a generational division (children's songs, old people's songs). Nonetheless, impulses embodied in traditional music can represent “persons.” Traditional music is rooted in the organic, and it is always a song or melody body. In traditional songs, the emphasis is on the impulses of small acts while they are connected with live impulses which flow through the body. Impulses that are in the body are impulses that carry the song or traditional music (Grotowski 1995: 128). Moreover, the role of the modern vehicle is separated and defined by sound which is produced and created only by unnatural, digital, artificial tools.

Graphical presentation and identified sound images (Figure 36) contribute to an easier following of the spatial story which is interwoven in *Folkstep*:

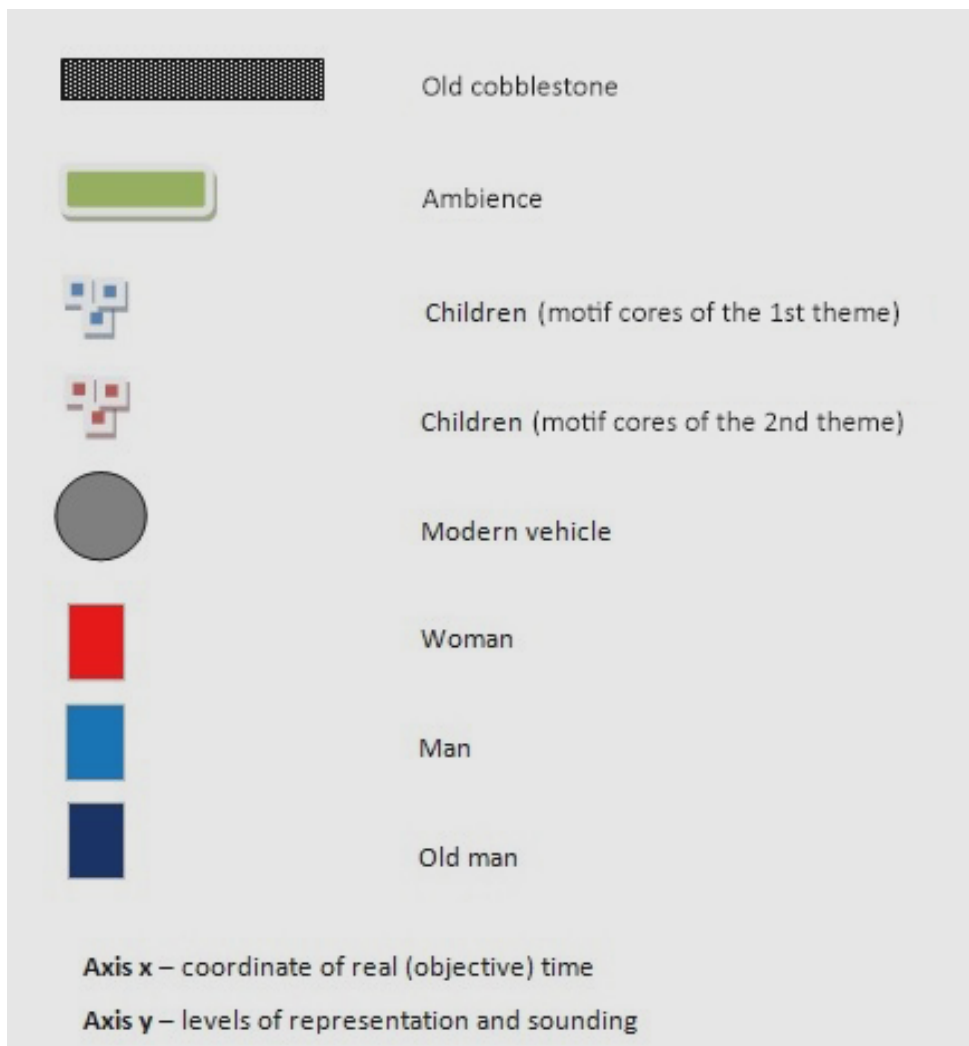
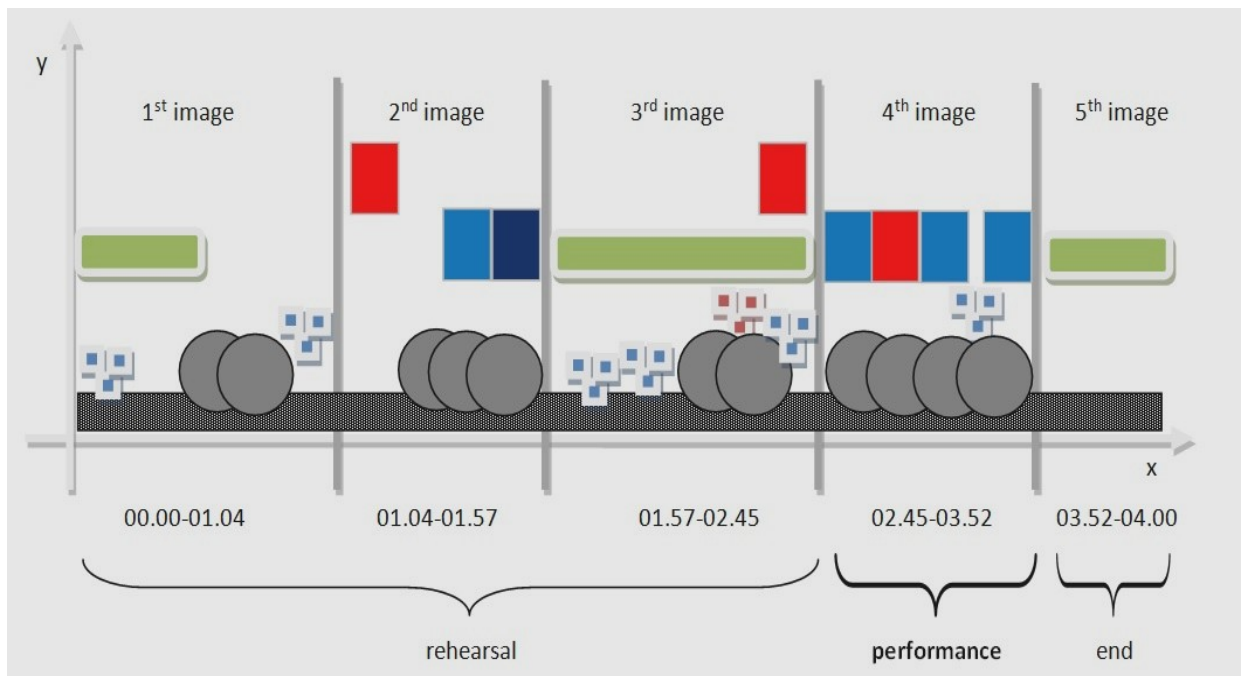


Figure 36 | Sound images of *Folkstep* and legend.

The first sound image (00.00-01.04) coincides with the segments *Intro*, A and A1, as marked in formal analysis. As Figure 36 shows, the space opens with an image of cobblestone while the story begins with small children's steps. The role of children presents a part (motif cores) of the first (and second) theme; they are the germs of the theme. While playing, children walk on and off the cobblestone. They hear that the caravan of sound will pass through the cobblestone, so they come to confirm the rumours (upward and downward melodic movement marked as a question and an answer). Even if their steps actualise only some possibilities (entering into the space and leaving the space through an echo), the steps increase the chances for an extension of musical space. Their moving represents the logic of tiny actions: small steps move, improvise, move away the sound and their walk on and off the cobblestone opens in the auditory perception of the listeners the feeling of a transformation of musical space. Children's steps create spatial "turns of phrase" which contribute to the rhetoric of walking through sound.

As already indicated, the feeling of the cobblestone ambience is achieved by using ambient sound samples which contain voices and murmurs. Alain Schifres gives an interesting description of such an ambience: "Murmurs rise and brighten, and surpass us in the true sense of the word... To appreciate, we should go often to restaurants with compact tables, with upholstered benches, over busy waiters and dishes with sauce" (Šifr 2011: 280). Not only was the basic track rhythm presented by a sudden clap, but it also shaped a sound effect warning children to get away the street. Also, a gradual rhythm acceleration creates a sense of inclusion and engine warm-up which soon starts to pass through the cobble. Repeating rhythmic loops and additionally highlighting the bass line creates in the listener's consciousness an auditory sensation of a vehicle moving through the cobblestone, the street that is not for regular traffic, and therefore, vehicle speed is determined by the space. Since it is cobblestone for walkers and passers-by, the vehicle has to establish a rhythm of the environment through which it passes. Using rhythmic patterns adapted to the local environment (syncopated rhythm and stress on the first bar part) the vehicle begins to interlace with the children's steps. Thus, they intertwined their paths and gave the shape of space as well as the weaving of the places.

The second sound image (segments B, A2 and A3; 01.04-01.57) begins with the scene of a curious woman. Namely, the sound creates a sense the woman had heard from the children that something is happening, so she decided to leave the house and walk onto the

cobblestone. Introducing the woman from the distance, precisely, the second sound plan, the sound space highlights that she is walking, or leaving the house, with elegant steps. She walked out of the private space (folk music) and walked in the public space and the ambience of the cobblestone where she will be a part of a travelling caravan of sound. By setting sound plans in such a way, not only is the link between private and public space highlighted, but also the meeting point of two sounds. As soon as she arrived on the cobblestone, a woman joined a man (the first theme), and together they participated in creating the travelling caravan of sound.

The sound gradually fills the space and the protagonists began to shape their own rhetoric and illuminate their recognisable voices. They contribute to the dynamic of sonority. The main role for the moment is taken by the old man (improvisation, as a continuation of the first theme). He began narrating by expressing his virtuosity and musicality. While creating his own spatial story, the old man recalled them from cultural memory. Set in the foreground of the sound, the sound creates the sense that he is narrating the brass band's history in the Balkans, the power of the instrument which has patriotic feelings as well as all the important moments in life. The brass band, therefore, becomes an embodied voice, a surrogate voice of voices. Accompanying members listen to the old man's story and contribute to recalling the cultural memory. Consequently, the second sound image sheds light on the three main concepts of the track: the theme's contrast (the roles of the woman and the man), both rhythmic models (the role of a modern vehicle), as well as improvisation understood as the voice of the past (the role of the old man).

The third sound image (segments A4 and B1; 01.57-02.45) shaped as an interval, resembles the first sound image. It seems as if the main protagonists stopped to make a short break before continuing the presentation of a travelling caravan of sound. Namely, people's murmurs contribute to the circulation of sound while the continuous vibrating bass creates the image of the cobblestone. The ambience sample contains a female voice saying "Please, give me a camera!" which alludes to the importance of the moment. The caravan of sound is expected to start passing through the cobblestone again, but this time prepared, and the moment has to be recorded. With their small steps, children began to fill the space again, but this time they give the woman a clear signal to walk out from the private and walk in the public space. On the level of sound, on one hand, this is realised by motif cores movements of the second theme and linked to the common tone of "f". In that way, the

woman gains additional protection during the walk. On the other hand, the children's steps allude to the question when the caravan of sound will start to pass. Soon their steps confirm that it is ready (downward motif line of the first theme, indicating a question). It is, additionally, highlighted by rhythm acceleration, that is, turning on the engine of modern vehicles.

Designed as described above, the third sound image opens a new space for thought. Namely, the image sets a key for understanding the embodied Balkan spirit in the track. It sheds light on the Balkans as historical heritage as well as a mythic territory. According to Slobodan Šnajder, "Just as the Mediterranean can be described as the cradle of human history, this is true of the Balkans. I would like to stress that this is not only a region of misfortunes, but also a space in which the strong traditions that have shaped European culture are oscillating" (Todorova 2009: 54). The cobblestone as the "passage place" indicates the geographic position of the Balkans as a crossroads of Western and Eastern/Oriental culture, various nations (Greeks, Latins, Slavs, Bulgarians and Turks), religions (Orthodox, Catholics and Islam) and continents (Europe and Asia). Through its multilayeredness, the third sound image creates a feeling of the border area where all protagonists are gathered together in order to continue their presentation and journey. Moreover, the samples of the original ambient sounds used to evoke the spirit of the cobblestone, are set as places "between." Considered from this angle, the image additionally highlights that the cobblestone becomes a meeting point of urban and rural music.

The fourth sound image (segments from A5 to A8; 02.45-03.52) presents the woman and the man in full sonority. As full members of the caravan of sound, they walk through the cobblestone with confident steps. The role of the woman is presented once, while the children's steps and the man's appearance contribute to an effective and strong ending. Reaching the culmination peak at the end of the sound image, the main protagonists show how they composed the path by interweaving EDM and folk music. The image also sheds light on the hypothesis, and it becomes a rehearsed presentation or a performance in musical space. In that way, the cobblestone can be used as a theatre stage. In relation to the hypothesis, it can be said that the first part of the track becomes a spontaneous rehearsal (sound images 1-3) while the second obtains the characteristics of play (sound image 4). Finally, after the effective ending, the fifth sound image (*Outro*; 03.52-04.00) evokes the feeling of the cobblestone after the caravan of sound has passed. The vibrations of a

continual bass remind us that the power and energy of the caravan of sound are still spreading through the cobblestone while people start to leave the place and the murmurs dissolve. Whistling at the very end of the track becomes the trace of memory on the caravan of sound that had passed through the cobblestone.

As EDM is a trans-territorial phenomenon which travels and connects different concepts and ideas, the example of the *Folkstep* track showed how it can be coloured by local meanings using folk music as the creative source. Not only did Shazalakazoo blend EDM and brass band music, but they also achieved a new dimension. Namely, mixing aspects with insights from both worlds, Shazalakazoo presented the musical space of the track as a unique sound experience. Moreover, the transformation of the brass band tradition of the Western concept of military orchestras to important traditional music players in Serbia illuminates another travelling story that is embodied in the track. Using the concept of sound images, I presented how the experience of the space in the moment of listening to the music (*here and now*, or presence of the sound performance) always shows the experience and interweaving of the past. As we have seen, working with EDM that already goes beyond the boundaries of traditional music, Shazalakazoo created *Folkstep* from the inner society dynamics. The use of traditional music, therefore, re-defines the space of EDM and raises it to another, higher level. Through the track where the EDM beat is a main impulse and the sound of brass band is rather well geographically recognised, Shazalakazoo organically connected different styles. Namely, they showed how the genre of EDM continues growing, developing, how it exceeds and goes beyond a period of its deep attachment to DJ tools. It can be concluded that they are reaching another level, aiming to mark and shape new EDM sound spaces of the Balkans.

Conclusion

The analysis of selected tracks in Chapter 2 indicated two main paths of examination. Firstly, I considered and showed the ways in which DJs created tracks which became qualitative representations of local space and time. Secondly, I intended to shed light on their recognition in world contents as well as to highlight their reputation not only on the local but also within an international EDM scene. As we have seen, starting from the architectonics of music flow, I examined the appearance of the tracks in other forms that are also important for the analysis of EDM, such as music video, live performance and mental space. My basic point of departure was influenced by Clayton's idea of focusing on all occurrences that are gathered around sound/music understood as a *phenomenon*. Also, I aimed to examine forms in which selected tracks appeared and shed some light on the importance of understanding *music as experience*. Focusing on the most important concepts in EDM – sampling and remixing – I came to the concepts of sound images and spatiality in music that can be useful in the analysis of the genre.

Examining the links between *internal* and *external* musical contents in a specific socio-political context, I found that the *Laki je malo nervozan* example, combined with music, film and theatre samples, has created a new dramaturgy. It became the embodiment of the situation Serbia was facing during the 1990s. Thereby I showed not only how samples became the bases for further development and shaping ideas, but also how they received the role of the recognisable sign of one time, space and correlations. Furthermore, analysing the remix *Why Don't You* I illuminated the ways how a female voice is emancipated in the track, as well as how the musical remix, presented at a live performance, contributed in creating performative spaces. Moreover, it can be said that the reputation a DJ gains on the international scene has become an echo of the sturdy EDM base which Serbia developed during the 1990s. Nonetheless, the sound images and spatial stories I detected in *Folkstep* contributed in recognising the elements embedded in the track: past, memory, as well as the potentiality in connecting opposite musical genres. Through the example, I pointed out the ways in which using folk music in EDM can create a specific musical space. The space gains qualities of the new, the emancipated, which follows world trends and becomes a world trend by itself.

In addition, through an analysis of select examples, my aim was to present a possible

line of EDM development in Serbia, which I discuss in more details in Chapter 4. The waves of development will also be able to be perceived in the next chapter, where I consider and discuss EDM from the perspective of live performances.

Chapter 3 | Live EDM performances through the lenses of ritual, re-enactment and multidirectional memory.

The consideration and exploration of the EDM phenomenon in Chapter 3 will take place within the framework of live performances. My intention is to shed light on the importance of researching EDM parties as multivalent forms. Connecting various *voices* in order to create an analysis useful for researching the phenomenon, I position three select examples of live EDM performances within an interdisciplinary approach, which interweaves diverse focuses. For this reason, I follow Auslander's determination according to which "Performance analysis differs from the transcription methods of ethnomusicologists and the notation methods of dance scholars in the sense that it is as much interpretative as descriptive and it is not organized around a specific technical vocabulary" (Auslander 2006b: 3).

As tools for analysing the three select examples, I use concepts of ritualised performance (Schechner 1994a), re-enactment (Schneider 2011, Jones 2011, Sretenović 2008, Taylor 2003) and multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009). What I hope to challenge by making this further step in the analysis is to discover facts regarding the following questions: what happens when EDM is accompanied by dancing and becomes a part of the whole live performance, when it enters into a specific space with a long tradition and significance, when elements of everyday life become a part of the EDM performance, when a party takes place in a particular (socio-political) moment, how we understand a re-enacted performance when re-enactment becomes an important element in creating a complex structure, etc. In answering these questions, a light will be pointed towards liminal dimensions, creating a specific atmosphere for a party and giving participants and performers different roles. Furthermore, the select examples are examined for possession of performative qualities, as well as determining the ways in which multidirectional memory links can be created through the bodies of the dancers and spaces in a particular context.

The first example under discussion from the perspective of a ritualised performance is the party named Techno Therapy which took place in 1994. In the second example – the Techno Therapy party held in 2012, the ways in which the previous performance became a segment in the new one is focused on, as well as which meanings were created in it.

Therefore, the questions concentrate on the concepts of representing and performing actions from the past. Observing the example from the perspective of re-enactment, I discuss the ways in which the action from the past can be set into a new context, creating an *echo* of one time in another. In the third example – the Back to the People Festival which took place in 1996 – I consider using the lenses of the concept of multidirectional memory. Since the festival took place in the alternative space of the Tašmajdan caves in Belgrade which date back to the period of two thousand years ago, the space will be analysed in the light of its re-defining and re-organising. Also, I discuss the Festival's official flyer to indicate the meaning of the event's name and the messages interwoven in it. Nonetheless, since the first (Techno Therapy 1994) and the third example (Back to the People) were in a close connection with the specific socio-political situation in Serbia during the 1990s, I will observe them using the lens of Turner's determination of social drama (Turner 1989). This perspective will help in presenting the contextual level which was embedded in these examples, as well as illuminating how energy entered from the outer world into the performances and materialised itself by creating performative spaces.

What I hope to achieve in this chapter is to show how live EDM performances took place in Serbia at the turn of the 21st century, as well as to show how performances from the past illuminated the importance of EDM in the field of popular culture in Serbia. As already indicated, the live EDM performances which I consider and examine as select examples were held in 1994, 1996 and 2012 in Novi Sad and Belgrade. I analyse them by using the existing video recordings, the popular press, the statements of participants, my own participation at Techno Therapy in 1994, as well as detailed interviews with artists (DJs and VJs) and the organisers of these events.

3.1.1 | EDM against dictatorship: Techno Therapy 1994 as a ritualised performance.

Along with the numerous EDM performances which took place in Serbia during the first part of the 1990s, Techno Therapy was unique (CD example 13). Namely, it was the first EDM event which embodied and examined elements of everyday life in that period and positioned them into a framework of a ritualised performance. For this reason, my focus in the analysis of the Techno Therapy performance is in considering the ways in which the EDM party was conducted as a ritualised performance in a particular socio-political moment. I perceive and mark the ritualised performance in the context of a system of “magical” symbolic acts and procedures which are embedded in an EDM party. I hope to highlight ways in which such a performance had the potential to become a fruitful platform for collective performative actions and experiences. Also, examined is the performance from Turner’s perspective of social drama, as well as concepts of liminal, spontaneous communities, and Richard Schechner’s concept of ritualised performance.

My starting point in the analysis is based on the hypothesis that Techno Therapy was a playful performative space which opened up possibilities for individual and collective transportations and transformations, as well as connections between participants which they expressed performatively. Moreover, the way in which the scenography space was reshaped, created and aestheticised for the purposes of the performance opens up another level for emphasising the importance of performativity. As will be seen more clearly during the analysis, Noise Destruction, the main performers and organisers of Techno Therapy, revealed the possibilities to challenge different experiences at the EDM party, as opposed to the already existing clubbing scenes in Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš. Namely, the elements of destruction introduced by Techno Therapy were used to demonstrate how participants can make a clear space in order to fill them with new meanings and contents.

As a comment on the socio-political situation in Serbia in the early 1990s, the Techno Therapy performance linked various media: music, scenography and video. They became conjunctions of local meanings which emphasised the special position of the country and its isolation. Moreover, they made a connection with global EDM phenomena and wider popular culture which links music, video and stage actions. As Turner explains, “The ‘same’ message in different media is really a set of subtly variant messages, each medium

contributing its own generic message to the message conveyed through it. The result is something like a hall of mirrors – magic mirrors, each interpreting as well as reflecting the images beamed to it, and flashed from one to the others” (Turner 1992: 24). Having in mind Turner’s determination, I would like to emphasise that messages transmitted at Techno Therapy through different media and in complementary correlations clearly showed how EDM, understood as a performative genre, is not only an expression in one medium, but also the orchestration of different media.

Finally, the reason I chose the example lies not only in my own fascination with the party, but also because it was the first open EDM performance in Serbia through which symbolic acts concentrated on the importance of bringing changes, using the party as a platform. Participants symbolically wished to open up a chance for thinking about a different world. Because the concepts of social drama and ritualised performance will be the base during the discussion of Techno therapy, I would like to consider them in the following sub-chapter, before the analysis of the example.

3.1.2 | One glimpse on Victor Turner’s concept of *social drama* and Richard Schechner’s concept of a *ritualised performance*.

Inspired by Arnold van Gennep’s model of *rites de passage*, which the author at the beginning of the 20th century used to emphasise three significant moments in individual and collective rituals (separation/preliminal phase, transition/liminal phase and reincorporation/postliminal phase), Turner established his own model of *social drama*, as a tool for an anthropological analysis of cultural performances (Schechner 2006: 76). Although it was inspired by various representations of the drama genre (such as Greek drama, Elizabethan theatre, modern realist drama), social dramas appear in various conflict situations which cover public and private life, within groups which share the same values and interests and have a real or imaginary history (Turner 1989: 143). Even though social dramas in most cases are linked to political processes, they perceive the diachronic model, which has several phases precisely defined by the border *conflict moment – solution*.

Turner’s model of social drama has four phases. The first is *breach*. It emerges when a peaceful and calm flow of social life is interrupted by a violation of the rules regarding some

important relations. It can be caused intentionally or as a reflection of strong and eruptive emotions. The social drama continues with a *crisis*, the second phase, which can divide a community into separate groups, but it also has a possibility to make a strong bond between people. The *redress action* appears as the third phase in the model. It has the function to renew the formal and informal decisions of crisis. Also, the phase is suitable for presenting various ritualised forms of authority which have the opportunity to illuminate all facts that led to the crisis, to restrain it as well as to highlight the importance *of* and *for* change. In case a social situation after a redressing action fails to take a step back to a new crisis, the final phase appears. Turner marks it as a *solution* with a positive or negative outcome.

Schechner examined the correlations between social and aesthetic drama, between performance and cultural placement of social drama aiming to shed light on the theatre potential of social life. His chart of a number eight figure lying on its side emphasises that social drama and aesthetic drama, as well as all “expressive cultural genres,” are in constant flow and interaction and they create strong relationships. Marvin Carlson interprets Schechner’s model in the following way: “The theatre person uses the consequential actions of social life as raw material for the production of aesthetic drama, while the social activist uses techniques derived from the theatre to support the activities of social drama, which in turn refuel the theatre” (Carlson 2004: 18).

Although every social conflict can be considered from Turner’s perspective of social drama, and, as Schechner noted, “... it can be applied just as well to two classes of event sequences: social happenings and aesthetic dramas” (Schechner 1994a: 626), it also has applicable sides. Namely, the model of social drama offers a suitable framework for marking phases within the conflict as the base for examining certain cultural phenomenon. Bearing in mind that social dramas are always a kind of happening, the model is appropriate for focusing on moments important for the development of specific cultural performances, genres, or phenomena. Schechner’s model can be fruitful as the second level of analysis in illuminating the ways in which social drama and cultural phenomenon or genre make an interaction.

Further, Turner realised the importance of focusing on the third phase of the model, where he pointed out the ritualised actions of *redress*. Concentrating on the phase in the theory of the ritual process which he developed, Turner emphasised a wide range of devices which emerge, such as sacrifice, deconstruction and a recombination of familiar cultural

configuration. Not only does the phase consider the situation through various angles, examining the weakness of the community, presenting conflicts through different forms, inviting leaders to take responsibility, proposing solutions, but it also becomes a creative field for new cultural genres. While breach, crisis and solution present content, redress shapes and fills it (Turner 1989: 162, 163). Nonetheless, Turner emphasised that the meaning is created in memory and cognition of the past, and the focus is on the relationship between the present and the past (Turner 1989: 157). It becomes the seed for creativeness, which has a possibility to produce new models and symbols. Finally, redress has potential as a source for the appearance and development of a new culture.

Within the third phase, Turner also highlights the moment of *transition* (in-betweenness, liminality) and forms, which emerge as cultural activities. The phase becomes a border, margin, a field for negotiations and an opposition marker between social life and performative genres. He marks these activities as an anti-structure, opposed to the structure of normal cultural operations. Turner pointed out that “anti-structure develops man, structure conserves him” (Turner 1989: 242). Nonetheless, Turner considers that liminality is dominantly within the “subjunctive mode” of the culture, the mood of “maybe”, “as if”, or “what might be” for a certain time period. Liminality can be described as chaos aspiring for new forms and possibilities (Turner 1989).

Situations within the third phase allow people to express themselves in various ways, removed from regular activities. The situations mark the attempt to give a meaning of social dramatic events *through* and *as* a process, that is, to enable people to focus not on the ways of thinking *in* cultural codes, but *about* them (Carlson 2004: 19). People play with recognisable elements and create new forms while skilfully linking and intertwining the already known material. These activities are usually presented and performed in “special places,” separated from everyday life. In that way, they potentiate the innovative possibilities of the performance, as I will demonstrate in the analysis of the Techno Therapy performance. What is significant to highlight is that playing and performing, on one hand, determines the moment of tension within social drama while, on the other, allowing a deep feeling of togetherness. It is *togetherness*, or in Turner’s determination, the creating of *communitas*, which enables the participants of the performance a better understanding of the conflict situation, both on an individual and a collective level (Turner 1989). *Communitas*, the “fast” connections between people, gives a contemporary glimpse of the

importance of social interaction among the participants of the performance.

In this moment, it should be highlighted that these theories are used during the analysis of the Techno Therapy performance in order to contextually mark the moment when the performance took place, that is, to shed light on how elements which can be understood as a symbolic initiation of the redress phase in Serbia which began in 1995 were added to the performance after the suspension of sanctions mentioned in Chapter 1. Moreover, I wish to demonstrate how the meanings of the *outer world* were implemented into the performance. As will be seen more clearly through the analysis, some important functional points which Techno Therapy referred to will be clarified, such as creating spontaneous communities, escaping from the reality of everyday life as well as considering possibilities for change using as a tool the mirror of the socio-political situation in Serbia during the 1990s.

Finally, with the term *ritualised performance*, which is also used as the basis for analysing the Techno Therapy performance, Schechner marks an interweaving of ritual and theatre, but also highlights the strong connection between ritual, aesthetic performances and social performances. A ritualised performance actually occupies the space between the aesthetic and social drama. He remarks, "Ritual, the genre, is considered separately from ritualising, the experience. Ritual can be understood as a performed behavioural artefact, a structure, an armature while ritualising can be conceived of as the in-body experience of performing rituals and – as such – anti-structural, destabilising, and liminal. A ritual organises, conserves, and narrates, while ritualising brings on hemispheric spill-over, oceanic feelings, and radical, playful volatility" (Schechner 1994a: 639). The functions of theatre such as entertainment, education, celebration, are also functions of ritual. The main difference, but not opposition, between ritual and theatre lies in the context. Performance can be considered as ritualised or theatrical if, as the first step, we take into examination the following: who, where and in which circumstances is the action carried out. While rituals firstly highlight efficacy, the theatre emphasises entertainment (Schechner 1994a: 613). In other words, if the aim of a performance is to induce changes and cause results, it can be considered as ritualised. Furthermore, if in the performance the entertaining elements outweigh the others – it will be more focused on theatre.

However, Schechner himself recognised that there is no clear border between these two practices; they are complementary, in a fluctuating relation, and "they are part of the

overall pattern of social change” (Schechner 1994a: 624). Ritualised performances have their *raison d’être* in continuous social life and social dramas in which developed *communities* tend to achieve “as if” life. The relationship between the performers, the performance and the audience, becomes dynamic, shaped within particular developments on historical, social, and cultural level. In addition, contribution to the experience of a ritualised performance lies in a fluctuating border between the performers and the audience, as it will be seen more clearly in the following sub-chapters. By highlighting the audience and the moment when they create a certain community (becoming one of the main protagonists in the performance), a new space for possibilities opens up. Namely, performers and audience at the symbolic level make “unreal” worlds while performance becomes a concrete form where these worlds are expressed and experienced in a certain time and space (Schechner 1994a: 644).

3.1.3 | Techno Therapy 1994: structure of the performance.

The Techno Therapy party took place in the Ice Hall of the Spens Sports Centre in Novi Sad on January 19th 1994. This very well-attended event (with 4,000 people attending!) was primarily conceived as a party that lasted all night and integrated music, dance, video and lighting effects. In fact, when the idea emerged for organising Techno Therapy, Noise Destruction knew only the tracks which were appropriate for the party, but they did not have a prepared structure of the performance. Furthermore, they wanted to try out a strong and loud sound system which consisted of 60,000 watts, and wished to examine how the participants experienced their interpretations and created meanings through bodily movements.

As a part of the official party’s title – *Techno Therapy* – Noise Destruction introduced into the performance more or less the original meaning of the word therapy. Namely, it is a model for healing that involves the eliminating of difficulties and a reintegration into a single unit of unconscious complexes and alienated parts of the personality. Therapy, where a special relationship between the therapist and the patient is established, should lead to a profound change in the structure (Trebješanin 2008: 79). Noise Destruction applied it in a figurative sense, aiming to stimulate the audience to dance. Dance and movements should

contribute to liberating and healing the bodies of the participants. So as the loud, strong sound, the repetitiveness and a combination of various multilayered musical patterns and rhythms had a potential for a therapeutic effect on the body, EDM at Techno Therapy had an almost mesmeric influence not only on the audience but also on the performers.

Bearing in mind that it had to be performed in the particular context of the country's isolation, Noise Destruction set Techno Therapy as a free/open space in which all of the participants can gather and at least be isolated from the reality of the daily life they lived. In the space of Techno Therapy, the participants got the opportunity to be a part of a unique music-scenic event which was not usual in Eastern and South-eastern Europe. Due to the fact that at the beginning of 1994 Serbia was under sanctions with a high level of hyperinflation and young people isolated from direct contact with the world of EDM trends and eager for new contents, Noise Destruction decided that entry to Techno Therapy should be free of charge. This is important to highlight as with the party, Noise Destruction introduced EDM to a wider audience, also bringing worldwide trends to Serbia. In the following sub-chapters I will write firstly about space organisation and different scenography objects, and secondly about the performers, while the structure as a whole reflects back to the 1990s.

3.1.3.1 | The organisation of space and scenography objects.

The idea to enrich the space of the hall with scenography objects contributed to creating a unique EDM event. This led to a further transformation of the visual appearance of the hall and Techno Therapy gradually began to resemble a ritualised performance, as it will be seen more clearly soon. The scenography consisted of objects related to technology such as an old car (precisely, a white Fiat 126, colloquially called a "Peglica")⁶⁷, a kitchen stove, a boiler, police flashing lights, a washing machine and a fire extinguisher. The improvised objects available at the time were (and still are) unusual for EDM performances. It is important to highlight that positioning and using objects as part of the scenography represents the "visual wrapper" of the performance. That way, some element in composition design is set into its place and transforms reality into art. In the composition, as Pamela Howard points out, the

⁶⁷ This small and functional car was very popular in the former Yugoslavia from the mid 1970s throughout the 1980s.

object is more than its literal “I” (Hauard 2002: 73).

The space of the Ice Hall was re-arranged in three levels, as it can be seen in Figure 37:

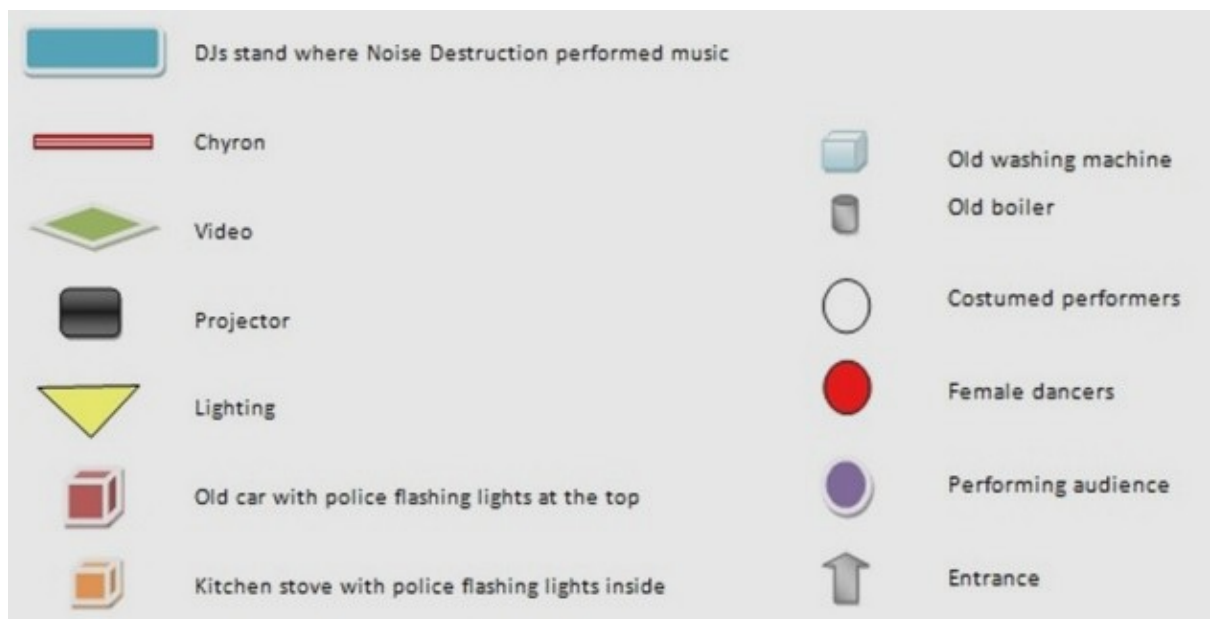
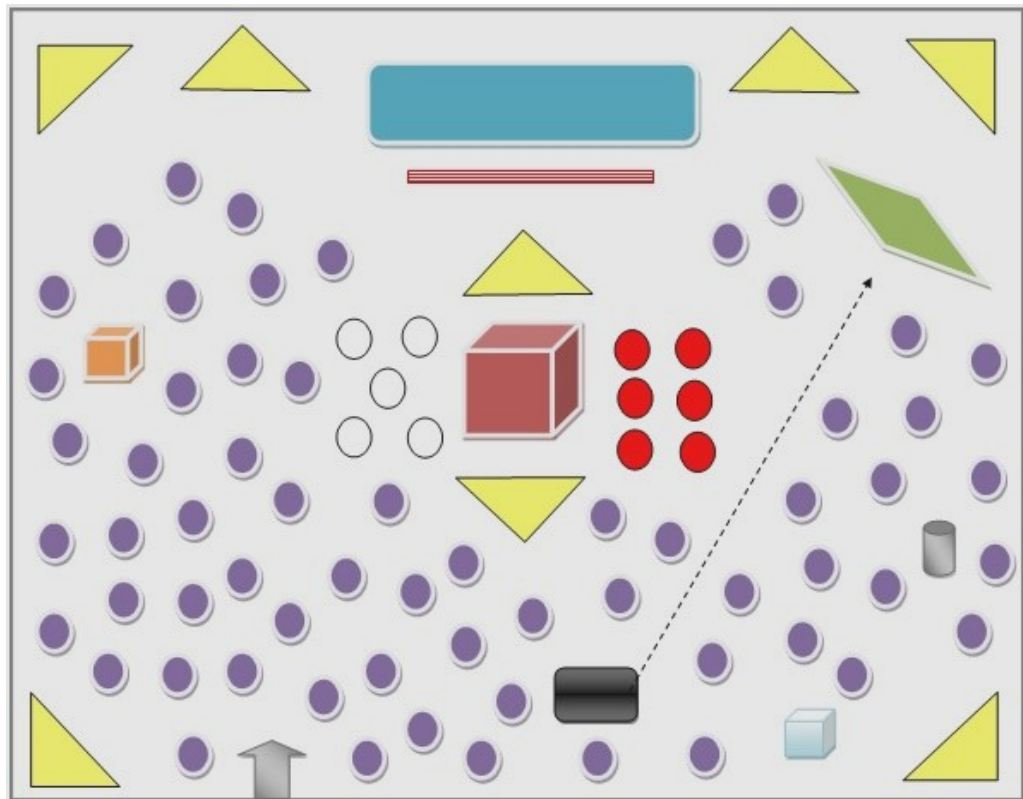


Figure 37 | The organisation of space and legend.

Namely, the DJ stand, where Noise Destruction performed its music, was positioned in the front hall, the first level and the highest point in space. Scenography objects, such as an opened kitchen stove with police flashing lights inserted into the oven and a smoke machine, were set on a second level, the level below the DJ stand, at the front of the hall. Combined with lightning, the object reflected a specific scenic effect. It symbolised a fire and heating “situation” while police flashing lights indicated its seriousness. Simulated fire and heat referred to the preparation for conducting the ritual act of cutting up the old car. Also, the elements of fire, simulated by the use of the grinder linked to its symbolic role of a tool for defence against the demons that threaten man, as well as to highlight the transformative powers of fire. The fire had the symbolic function to clear the air and space from contact with dangerous and impure forces (Trebješanin 2008: 434). Not only did the police flashing lights emphasise the importance of the object, but they also alluded to the regime’s total control over the society. The function of spraying by means of a fire extinguisher at Techno Therapy was, on a symbolic level, to put the fire out. It was the embodiment of police actions in order to prevent the organising and spreading of demonstrations on the streets, as already indicated in Chapter 1. As scenography objects that also referred to cleaning, an old boiler and a washing machine were placed around the perimeter of the hall. Finally, the third level was the dance floor space.

As the most significant scenography object at Techno Therapy, the old car was placed in the central part of the hall, on the same level as the aforementioned objects. For the idea to use the old car as a part of the performance, Nikolić recalls: “On the day of the performance, someone came and said that an old, abandoned car was occupying the hall. It occurred to us to bring it in and position it as a part of the scenography. Since we were inspired by international heavy metal and other alternative bands who used hammers and drills at live performances, we decided to ask some of the participants to bring tools to Techno Therapy and to do (something) on the car” (Noise Destruction/Nikolić, interview, October 25th 2012). Set at the main spot in the space, the old car was positioned directly under the central light. On the top of the car there were police flashing lights which strongly emphasised the importance of this scenography object. Namely, the old car represented the victim being sacrificed to the gods. Moreover, as Figure 38 shows, the official poster of Techno Therapy, located in front of the car, provided additional information where the ritual action would take place:

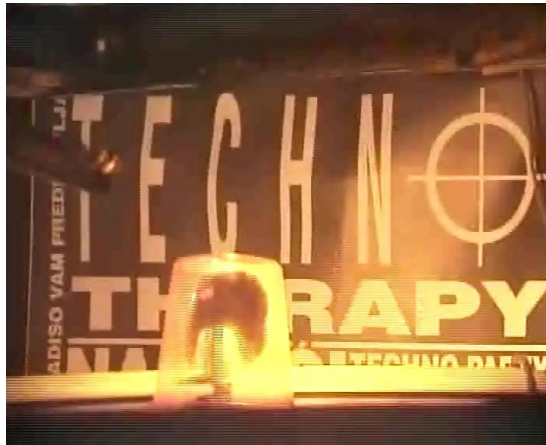


Figure 38 | The official poster and police flashing lights at the top of the old car (screenshot from the video recording).

Images and recordings were the important part of scenography. They were projected via a video beam and positioned in the bottom part of the hall, on the wall close to the DJ stand. The images related to techno environments, animations, fractals, fragments taken from films and TV news. Also, it consisted of visualisations in circular shapes reminiscent of a mandala.⁶⁸ The video material, the lightning hall with different effects, as well as the emphasised stroboscopic light were coordinated and in a close correlation with the music. Placed above the DJ stand, the Chyron⁶⁹ emitted texts such as greeting messages, information about Noise Destruction, emphasising “operations”/actions during the performance, etc. The Chyron attained the role of an *accompanying voice of the performance* which described the actions during Techno Therapy. The red letters in which it appeared marked the importance of the messages. Moreover, the particular space ambience was achieved by using a smoking machine which created a different, almost “mystical” atmosphere, by a loud EDM sound, as well as by dynamic and strong energetic pulses created in the correlation between the bodies of the dancers and music.

The organisation of space and the positioning of scenography objects within it are distinguished by two important facts. Firstly, as I showed and described in Figure 37, the hall,

⁶⁸ As a protective circle, according to Carl Gustav Jung, a mandala is a concentric diagram with four gates, with its origins in the Hindu and the Buddhist faiths, which Jung used as a way to express his feelings. Nonetheless, a mandala visualisation has the function to protect people from the chaotic spiritual state (Jung 2003: 19).

⁶⁹ Chyron is a television graphics which occupies the lower area of the screen. It consists of texts such as short news, commercials, or various information sliding from the right to the left side. The Chyron is usually positioned at the bottom or top of the television screen during regular programming.

primarily intended for recreation and sport, was re-shaped for the purposes of the night party. Regarding space transformation, Turner claims that a party/entertainment in its basis has and relates to transformations: it is the border, the condition of neither here nor there (Turner 1989: 82). While elaborating the scenography space in theatre and illuminating the ways in which space should, figuratively speaking, be conquered, Howard asserts that “Space lies in silence, empty and inert, waiting to be liberated through dramatic life. No matter the size, shape and proportion of the space, their animators have to conquer, restrain and change so as to become an arena where great themes meet each other” (Hauard 2002: 21). In that way, every space speaks through an interaction between space and the participants of the performance. Secondly, the transferring of the old car from the outside world into the world of performance symbolises the caught victim placed in a ritualised space. Moreover, the act of transferring the car from the outer world into the inner world and the performative space of Techno Therapy referred to “catching” representatives of the old system and bringing them to the higher powers (prison, court). As Schechner indicated, “[...] sacrifice is a necessary prelude to reintegration” (Schechner 1994a: 628).

3.1.3.2 | Groups of performers, costumes and the meaning of colours.

The division of the scenography space allocated three groups of *performers*, in a horizontal order, as Figure 39 indicates:

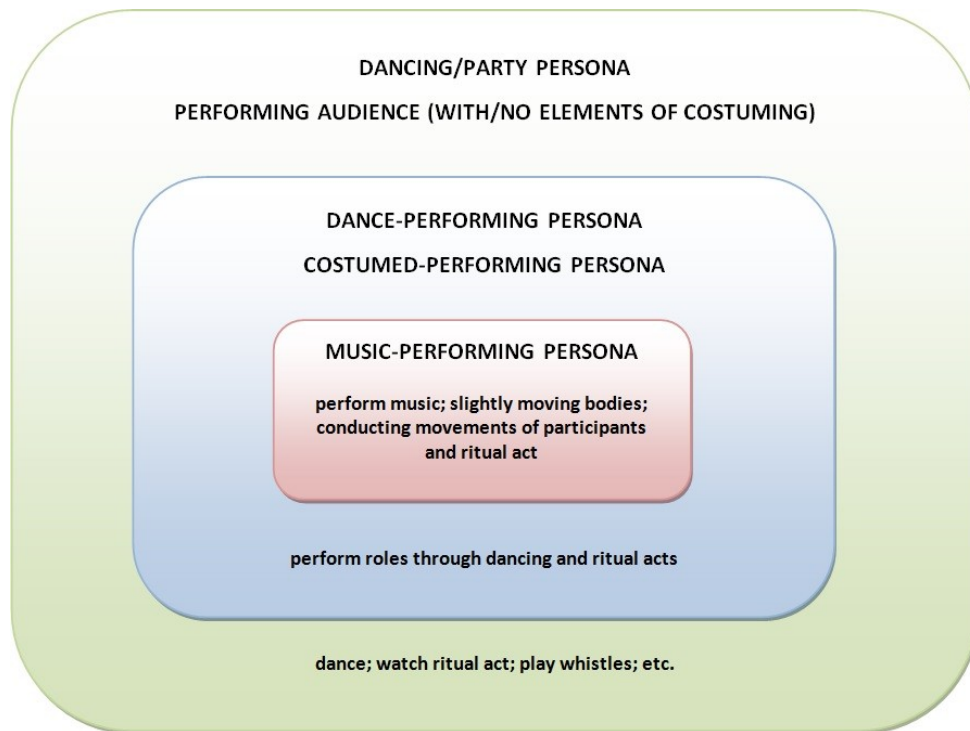


Figure 39 | Three groups of performers at Techno Therapy.

On the first level were the DJ duo Noise Destruction as *music-performing personae*. At this moment it is important to emphasise the term *persona* used in relation to Auslander's determination of the meaning which musicians create through their performances and the means they take to create them, or what they do as performers (Auslander 2006b: 2).⁷⁰ Nonetheless, the concept is useful as a way of describing "a performed presence that is neither a fictional character nor equivalent to the performer's 'real' identity" (Auslander 2006b: 4). Accepting the *persona*, performers achieve a certain distance from the self which affords them some freedom.

⁷⁰ Using the lens of a performance analysis of glam rock, Auslander gives a clear determination of the concept. He relates it to Simon Firth's, but despite Firth's determination of the term *persona* which only refers to performance artists who "took themselves and their bodies as the objects or sites of narrative and feeling," Auslander goes further. Namely, the author refers to popular musicians and highlights three layers: 1) the real person (the performer as a human being); 2) the performance persona (the performer's self-presentation); and 3) the character (a figure portrayed in a song text) (Auslander 2006b: 4).

On the second level of space, where the scenography objects were placed, two groups of performers were positioned. Namely, the first group marked as *dance-performing persona* consisted of female dancers from a professional dance studio. The second group were costumed performers, and they were assigned the roles of *costumed-performing persona*. Finally, on the third level of space there was a performing audience – *dancing/party persona*, positioned throughout the dance floor. Different from the two aforementioned performer groups, as will be seen more clearly throughout the analysis, the audience was taking up the largest part of the hall space. They also consisted of two groups. While the first group had elements of costuming (such as sunglasses, caps and various props), in the second, the participants were dressed regularly. Finally, positioned on the third level of space, the performing audience connected with whole bodies and movements into the ambience and atmosphere of Techno Therapy. Nonetheless, they created movements in relation to the music, as well as in relation to the actions on the stage that leads to the hypothesis that they also performed the roles of a *dancing audience* and *dancing spectators*.

In order to better understand the significance of these groups, at this point the *roles* and *actions* they play and perform will be discussed, as well as the costumes of the two groups of performers placed on the second level of space. My aim is to illuminate their roles as a part of a “ritualised performance” which I discuss in the following sub-chapters. Namely, positioned on the first level of space, Noise Destruction took on the role of the conductor of the performance and transporter into another, sound space. The first group of performers on the second level of space, the aforementioned female dancers, had their first appearance as a group at an EDM party. Playing the roles of initiates, regardless of the fact that they had no costumes, they moved through the space and created improvised, not previously determined bodily movements. By dancing, they symbolically occupied space, liberating, cleaning and preparing it for the appearance of the second group of performers. Their body movements reminded of the fairy dances which provided a safe place for a ritual action. According to Jung, fairies as personifications of the anima (Spirit) present unusual and mysterious chthonic beings which relate to the symbols of the unconsciousness. As spirits of vegetation and water, fairies can heal through their movements (Jung 2003: 33).

Costumed performers conducted the symbolic ritual of destroying the old car which consisted of cutting, banging, grinding, and pounding it, using grinders and hammers as tools. These performers opened up a new space for thinking through the lenses of Turner’s

subjunctive mode and the “as if” experiences. To be more precise, they mark the questions “as if the system changed.” Roger Caillois shed light on games/plays based on a disguise and defined it as mimicry. Pointing out that mimicry plays are distinct for all scenic arts, Caillois asserts that a man can escape from reality by converting himself into something else. Not only can the play (or dance) consist of developing some activity, but also of personal involvement in becoming a fictional person and thus behaving accordingly (Kajoa 1979: 48).

The improvised costumes of the second group of performers consisted of protective uniforms in white, light blue and reseda, special caps and protective masks whose primary function was to cover up the face.



Figure 40 | Costumed performers at Techno Therapy (photos courtesy of Noise Destruction).

As Figure 40 shows, some of the costumed performers had gas masks and nylon costumes. By costuming, they were following the trends of rave parties from all over Europe in which the participants, especially during the early 1990s, used various props, costuming elements, and unusual clothes in order to create their “specific persona.” The costumes of the performer groups at Techno Therapy were reminiscent of hospital staff (masks for the mouth and doctor’s caps) as well as characters from science fiction movies. The point I would like to stress here is that, positioned in the central part of the hall, the old car also resembled a patient on the operating table – a part of the organism had to be removed to help the body function. This shed light on the fact that Techno Therapy was perceived as a “special place” where the performers were to fix and remove all that is not in function. Furthermore, the costumes also presented the performers with extended roles in the space of Techno Therapy and opened up a new space for thinking about a new, enlightened world.

Bearing in mind Howard's idea of colour use in the theatre space, where colour "can not only accentuate an object within the composition, but also unite free and unconventional theatre space. A daring use of colour awakens strong memories or a feeling of power, and it is a simple way to create a forceful utterance" (Howard 2002: 76), I would like to consider one more point. Namely, highlighting white and light colours in the performer costumes had several meanings. Firstly, unlike black, the white colour occurs by the wave reflection of daylight from a surface, symbolically marking light, truth, justice and purity. Secondly, the white extends space, which, observed from the perspective of Techno Therapy, means that the roles of the costumed performers are also additionally expanded. On one hand, they are transporters into another, lighter space and reality. On the other, in contrast to the ambience of darkness that marked the situation in the country during the 1990s, they attained the role of the main opponents of demonic forces (represented by the old car). Finally, the correlation and connection between the light (costumes) and the dark (the ambience of the party) may be related to the wish of the participants to "travel" into the bright future.

3.1.4 | Techno Therapy 1994: the performative process.

As I was informed at the interview with Noise Destruction, as well as participating at the performance, Techno Therapy had three linked phases within the performative process which were determined by music.⁷¹ The first was marked as a *warm up* and characterised by a "lighter" EDM sound. The second was *the central* and the longest part of Techno Therapy, which consisted of the ritual sacrifice of the old car as the essential moment of the entire performance. Finally, the third phase – the *cool down* – had the function to gradually calm down sound, as well as the atmosphere of the performance. In that way, Techno Therapy achieved the sound of crescendo and decrescendo.

⁷¹ Unfortunately, the lack of a complete (sound and video) recording of the performance, as well as the (objective) fact that Noise Destruction could not remember all the music material used at Techno Therapy in 1994, causes my focus on the level of music to be reduced and to emphasise only the moment when the sacrifice of the old car took place. However, certain tracks of Noise Destruction performed at Techno Therapy in 1994 were building blocks for creating a re-enactment at Techno Therapy in 2012, as I will present through the analysis of the next example in this chapter. Nonetheless, it should be mentioned that samples from *Laki je malo nervozan* analysed in Chapter 2, as well as samples taken from other sources (such as the voice recording Mrzim (turbo)folk (I hate (turbo) folk) were Noise Destruction's comment on the socio-political situation and state in culture in Serbia during the early 1990s.

Nonetheless, in creating Techno Therapy, the complement connection was achieved between the music by Noise Destruction, the performers, dancers and performing audience. Namely, Techno Therapy established *a communication model* which was different and to some extent more complex than the regular models for other EDM parties. Therefore, it shall be visualised in the following Figure:

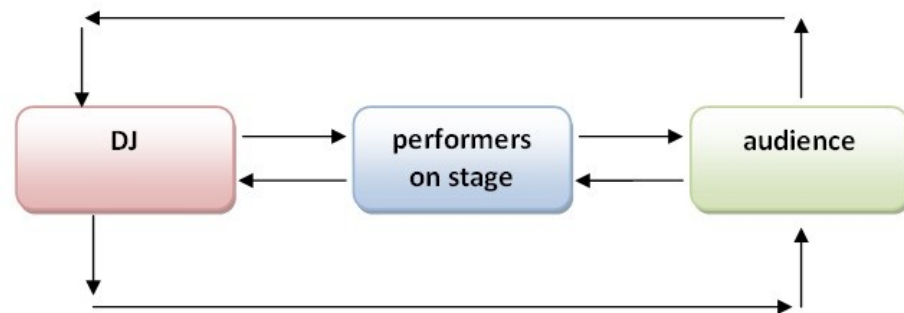


Figure 41| Communication model established at Techno Therapy.

As Figure 41 shows, the communication takes place between the DJ – the performers on the stage – the audience, and feedback from the audience to the DJ and the performers on the stage. Moreover, an interplay link is created between the DJ and the performers on the stage. The relationship was based on energy sharing. Namely, the music which Noise Destruction performed conducted the actions and movements of participants, but also, their responses influenced the DJs to make a selection of the tracks during the performance. As conductors of the performance and transporters into another sound space, their interpretations and selection of tracks created a strong musical space which inspired the audience to dance and to perform some actions (on the car).

At this point it should be noted that, perceived as a performative space, Techno Therapy was the sum of several spaces which were in a mutual interaction. Firstly, the sound and music space (sound of the hall and Noise Destruction’s performance increased by a strong sound system and the audience’s whistling), the physical space (the hall), the scenography (objects, video and lighting effects), the scenes (Noise Destruction, costumed performers and female dancers) extended onto the dance floor space (performing audience). Secondly, the performative space also consisted of gestural space which all the participants of Techno Therapy created with their bodily movements (Noise Destruction,

costumed performers, female dancers, performing audience), as well as the space created in their imagination. Finally, entering into the performative space of Techno Therapy, all the participants were the most important elements of the performance, as well as an integral part of the physical space *per se*.

Round energy circulated through the entire performative space of Techno Therapy. Using the metaphor “infection” by Max Herrmann, Fischer-Lichte highlights that “the aesthetic experience of performance does not depend on the ‘work of art’ but on the interaction of the participants” (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 36). The process of infection through perception transmits the perceived senses in an actor’s body to the body of the audience, thereby enabling the effects of the play. The term “infection” relates to the typical liminal state, the state in-between, the transition from health to disease. With an “emotional infection,” as Fischer-Lichte notes, theatre plays prove their transformative power. Drawing on this opinion, I aspire to claim that Techno Therapy reminded of other EDM performances where, in most cases, the audience’s responses affected the musical performance and vice versa. Moreover, as Figure 41 indicates, Techno Therapy can be understood as a *performance within a performance* which took place as a non-directed event conducted through an arranged spontaneity of adding the old car from the outer context and performing ritual actions upon it.

Moreover, a closer examination allows the interpretation that a *performative reflexivity* was achieved. Namely, as Turner highlights, “performative reflexivity is a condition in which a socio-cultural group, or its most perceptive members acting representatively, turn, bend, or reflect back upon themselves, upon the relations, actions, symbols, meanings and codes, roles, statutes, social structures, ethical and legal rules, and other socio-cultural components which make up their public ‘selves’” (Turner 1992: 24). Turner’s assertion clears up the fact that performative reflexivity is not a reflex, or a response to either a stimulus or the stress in the mind, but in the bodies that create particular movements.

In having a closer look at the performative process in Techno Therapy, it becomes clear that the participants came to Techno Therapy to do something that could only be done there. After the end of the performance, they go back from performative space to their private spaces and roles. Schechner named this process within a performance as *transportation*. Its basic characteristic is to allow participants to leave daily life and enter a performative world (Schechner 1985: 126). The audience, in that way, was transported into

another concept of reality. Thus, Fischer-Lichte opened a new space for thought. Namely, entering into the role of a music/performing/dancing/party persona refers to *the experience of transition*. Identification with a different persona that is established within an EDM party can be understood as experimental, taking on new roles, and, considered from this angle, as the experience of transition (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 174). However, although the transportative element of performance is more related to theatre while transformative is close to ritual (as something needs to change!), Schechner draws attention to the fact that both of the elements may exist in one performance (Schechner 1985: 130). Namely, Techno Therapy links these two elements but marks transportation as the prevalent one.

The participants transported themselves into new roles by movements on the dance floor, or the stage (female dancers) while a group of costumed performers had an active involvement in conducting ritual actions on the old car. It can be pointed out that the experience of costumed performer roles as the transporters into another reality lasted during the execution of the ritual action. Not only at Techno Therapy, but also at other EDM performances, what is experienced within the party cannot be 'unfelt.' Therefore, the experience has the possibility to transform participants of an EDM event. It is exactly the "vibe" which is created and experienced within EDM at live performances that always has the potential to exceed its limits. However, as already indicated in this study, this does not occur within every EDM performance.

Conducting the act of sacrificing the old car in the central part of the performance by using grinders and hammers as tools, the costumed performers freed themselves from tension and depleted energy. Performing roles of beings from other worlds, they additionally contributed in amplifying the effect of the transporting of participants into a different experience. The performing audience accompanied the ritual action by dancing. Some of the participants provided accompaniment by whistling rhythmic patterns. Through the patterns, they were also communicating with music material, among themselves, and contributing in the creation of a strong and energetic impulse of the performance. Furthermore, not only did the repetitive rhythmic whistling sounds create a sense of circular repetition as a symbol of infinity and completeness, they also reminded of ritual rhythms. Therefore, as accompanying sounds of the performance, whistling contributed to the connecting of the participants' bodies. Moreover, they commented on the ritual action, highlighted the process and contributed to clearing the air with noise. In the key segment of the

performance, as already mentioned, the dance and the play which had been established among all the participants became the way to shape and share energy. It can be highlighted that in that way, participants were examining reality and giving their *critique* and *comment*. Performative meanings created through symbolic actions (whistling, moving, making noise, etc.) had their echo on the streets of Serbia during the protests, which was discussed in Chapter 1.

In the process of performing the ritual death of the old car, as Figure 42 shows, the costumed performers symbolically emphasised that the old has to disappear in order to create a new, respectively, to open up pathways for the country's stabilising. Furthermore, the ritual murder through destroying the car was the symbolic satisfaction of repressed desires for freedom. For this reason, Techno Therapy can be understood as a *performance of the event* in which time was presented provocatively, linking the actuality of the moment and an EDM party. Using the performative space of Techno Therapy, all participants symbolically increased people's awareness for changes and shed light on the fact that after destruction, the new should be created, following the central architectonic principle related to two human instincts: to construct (life) and to destruct (death).

Emerging primarily from the intention to fill the scenography space, and then add symbolic actions, the ritual of sacrificing the old car as the response to the situation in the country can be also understood as *performing a public ritual*. According to Turner, the ritual contains a 'sacrifice,' the victim is seen as a redeemer of sin (Turner 1989: 147). In the moment of conducting a ritual action, the atmosphere was achieved by the use of light and effects of smoke machine while grinders simulated a fire. Also, it was emphasised at the level of music as well. Namely, for the key moment of performance, Noise Destruction remixed fragments of the "O, Fortuna" track taken from the scenic cantata Carmina Burana by Carl Orff, as a recognisable and frequently used sign for highlighting dramatic situations.



Figure 42 | Scenes of the ritual death of the old car (screenshots from the video recording).

Moreover, the cut parts of the car, which some participants took as victory trophies, presented sharing the victim and referred to solidarity among people. Nonetheless, the dance of the female performers and other participants around the demolished car related to the sharing energy that led to the experience of entertainment and fun due to the completion of the ritual act. In this light, Schechner's claim that "The enactment of ritual death – whether the victim is actually or theatrically killed – restores distinctions by emphasising the difference between the victim and the rest of society" (Schechner 1994a: 634) is an applicable expression of the event. Therefore, on the symbolic level, Techno Therapy clearly marks the following: the specific historical situation in Serbia during the 1990s which had an influence in shaping the performance.

3.1.5 | Techno Therapy 1994: experience of the performance and the liberation of bodies.

Fischer-Lichte asserts that the aesthetic experience "enabled by performances can primarily be described as a liminal experience, capable of transforming the experiencing subject. Evidently, this type of aesthetic experience is of pivotal importance to the aesthetics of the performative as it captures the nature of performance as event" (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 174). From this perspective, being a part of Techno Therapy had several meanings. Not only was it a unique experience of an EDM performance, as already indicated, but the participants also

had a particular examination and discovering of the selves/the group/the situation. Therefore, this sub-chapter will shed light on different experiences within the performance, considering the experience of space and the self in relation to the other participants.

The use of space had a deep effect on the audience, and, therefore, dictated so many of the emotional and sensory impact on them. The participants were crossing in a specific space that produced certain reactions and a series of responses by entering from the reality of everyday life (outside) into the imagined reality of Techno Therapy (inside). This contrasting ambience and atmosphere was emphasised by visual and sound effects. Moreover, the entrance doors represented the limen to a different world that reminded of a grand lighting and sound sculpture. Entering into performative space and taking a position in it meant *the experience of transition*, as already indicated, and it was the direct experience of the party's space and time.

The sense of space, according to Howard, begins with the following footsteps: "Entering into a new space is a magnificent personal moment that allows men to walk around, to observe space from different angles and to consider from where the performers dominate the audience" (Howard 2002: 32). However, in Techno Therapy, it was not entering only with footsteps/or walking, but also, as already indicated, with the entire bodies of the participants which created a feeling of entering into a "special place." It allowed an entrance into the collective unconsciousness wherein lies the potential for an activation of the driving forces. The archetypal form of the ritual place is an inherited form, and its contents are subject to change. In other words, the term ritual space and conducting the collective unconsciousness does not relate to inherited presentations, but refers to the inherited possibilities of creating presentations (Trebješanin 2008: 42).

Understood as the space where the symptoms of the post-traumatic stress condition were identified, confirmed and diagnosed and caused by the disintegration of the country, war and isolation, Techno Therapy was also a cognitive body-based therapy which helped participants to recognise the models that kept them stuck in their experiences. The traumatic experiences from everyday life had to be experienced again, and therefore Techno Therapy was a contribution in understanding the sources of the crisis and the developing mechanisms of its overcoming. In this light, I refer to psychologist Erich Fromm, who emphasises that among all the endangering of human vital interests, endangering his freedom is of a particular importance, both on the individual and group levels. Desire for

freedom is a product of culture, but equally, a biological reaction of the human body (From 1989: 24). The elements of destruction embedded in Techno Therapy, as a social mirror of the situation, should be understood as a “part of the social character, not as an isolated characteristic of behaviour” (From 1989: 181). The actions that the participants performed were on the symbolic level, a reflection of the repressive situation. Through music, dance and performing a symbolic ritual, the participants had a chance to overcome these conditions. Techno Therapy allowed healing as well as a strong feeling of connecting with others going through a similar experience. Understood this way, Techno Therapy showed its therapeutic effects: a negative aspect of destruction was reshaped into a positive experience of discharge.

Techno Therapy encouraged a dynamic bodily connection between the participants and the performance. It provoked the sense of touch by appealing to the haptic perception understood as a combination of the tactile, kinaesthetic, and perceptive functions, and the way we feel and experience touch on the surface and within our bodies (Marx 2000). In other words, the haptic experience emphasises the participant’s inclination to sense and perceives the full performative space with or through the bodies, whereupon the whole body becomes an organ of touch. The scenes which the participants conducted at Techno Therapy, or seeing, taking part in them, as well as the loud music, video and light equipment contributed in the affecting of movements and the interaction of participants within the performative space. The acts that connected with the direct experience of time and performative space through the body forced an emotional contemplation in the participants and they responded by whistling, screaming, dancing, or by just moving their bodies.

As the participants were in an atmosphere of spontaneous communities, they had a group experience of dance. In fact, Jung emphasises that connecting is a positive aspect of group experiences. Although individual identities are lost or suppressed during the performance, they can help an individual gain a sense of self. The group experience, according to Jung, takes place on a deeper level of consciousness that is more intense than the individual sense of metamorphosis. The main reason is that the gathering in one place can have a strong suggestive power. Group experience changes something in the participants, regardless of whether it is the only condition of the “here and now” of a performance. It is ruled by “the unconsciousness group identity principle” (Jung 2003: 131). As we have seen in the previous sub-chapters, on the level of the group, participating in

Techno Therapy meant “acting upon a self-made-other in such a way to transform it” (Turner 1992: 22).

At Techno Therapy, liberated bodies began to move freely through space, participants communicated through bodily movements and contributed in creating a sense of collectivity and connection. Therefore, on the symbolic level, this referred to cleaning the space understood as a group activity. The activity indicated that only a clean space can constitute a new space. In this sense, clearing may also be conceived as a rehearsal of reality: what was seen, felt and experienced in the performative space of Techno Therapy might inform, shape and influence actions outside. Not only was the haptic experience of space linked to bodies, but the body also became a symbol for the representation of freedom.

The participants’ reactions to the Techno Therapy performance were quite different. They mostly responded with enthusiasm and enjoyment of a new, experienced performance which significantly differed from other EDM parties. Some of them additionally emphasised a fascination with the loud sound and music of Noise Destruction performed and conducted by ritual actions. Also, the objects used as part of the scenography incurred a positive reaction among participants, as well as the scenic actions, light effects and the whole ambience and atmosphere created in the performative space of Techno Therapy. However, for some participants the performance was too avant-garde, extreme and incomprehensible while several of them disputed Techno Therapy.

Finally, using the symbols of transformation such as fire, sacrifice, healing – Techno Therapy shed light on the ritual birth from liminal exclusion. If through an inner metamorphosis into “another being,” or the other which is in us, a better and greater person, it can be said that through Techno Therapy, as well as other EDM performances that took place in Serbia during the 1990s, a new audience was born which gradually began to create a new and greater energy. In other words, as already indicated in Chapter 1, the liminal condition in that period had given birth to a new popular culture and a new audience. Looking through Turner’s perspective of social drama, it should be highlighted that Techno Therapy contained elements which anticipated the redress action phase that followed soon after.

3.2.1 | Techno Therapy 2012: 20 years of Noise Destruction.

In the following analysis, I consider and examine the Techno Therapy party which took place in 2012 (CD example 14). It was created as a joint initiative of Noise Destruction and the Happy Novi Sad organisation, responsible for event production and marketing.⁷² It should be noted that the third partner was Chameleon, the company which equipped the hall with technical equipment. Techno Therapy was devised as a desire to celebrate two decades of the DJ duo Noise Destruction and their significant performance in 1994. Therefore, the party was held on April 21st 2012 in the Ice Hall of the Spens Sports Centre in Novi Sad. The organiser's leading idea was to consider and examine the possibilities of interpreting the 1994 performance. By re-performing Techno Therapy, the organisers intended to "preserve," "affirm" and in a particular way commercialise it. Their aim was to create as much as possible an identical sense and feeling as the one in 1994.

Having in mind the fact that during the 1990s Techno Therapy was a multimedia performance, the organiser's wish was to keep the previous concept at the second Techno Therapy, but also to add the following new elements: new technology, as well as a new perspective on performing the past event. The intention in organising Techno Therapy 2012 was to be presented *in* and *as* the central part of performance - "that was that" within "it is now," that is, to perform the main segment of Techno Therapy (cutting up the car) in a form of re-enactment. In that way, they indicated a possibility of presenting one time within another. Dejan Tomka, the manager of the AlterNacija group who were the main costumed performers at Techno Therapy 2012,⁷³ as the following sub-chapters will show, explains that the organisers abandoned the initial idea to direct and stage all segments of Techno Therapy

⁷² For more than a decade, the Happy Novi Sad organisation promoted not only the scene of EDM in Serbia, but also endeavours and tendencies in popular culture. At the beginning of 2000, the organisation created its web site. At the time, it was one of two important web portals and forums dedicated to alternative culture in Serbia. The other web site was Chill Out from Belgrade. As a virtual meeting place for young people, Happy Novi Sad shortly began organising EDM parties. They entered into the EXIT Festival system, participating in marketing campaigns and contributing in organising the Festival. Also, they created a Happy Novi Sad stage at the EXIT Festival focused on promoting young and talented DJs from Serbia. More details at www.happynovisad.com

⁷³ The event organization AlterNacija (AlterNation) from Novi Sad began work in 2007. In a specific way of viewing entertainment, they performed stage actions and plays in characteristic costumes, as well as creating scenography, costumes, and organising workshops. From 2009, AlterNacija actively participated in events in the region of former Yugoslavia. With the slogan "the moment for the reconstruction of entertainment" they referred to the further development of the Serbian clubbing scene and expanding club entertainment with the performance, video art, etc. See more details at www.alternacija.com

aiming to present the event similar to a real theatrical performance. Therefore, they focused on one hour in the central part and presented key actions that took place at the 1994 Techno Therapy through a new perspective (Tomka, interview, January 6th 2014). The emphasis was to take one segment of the event and shed light on the re-enacting elements, using the theatrical principle as the basis. As will be seen more clearly in the following sub-chapters, although AlterNacija performers were explicating in a way on the stage of the first Techno Therapy, the re-enactment at the second was not a pure “copy of the original.” Namely, AlterNacija performers were not focused on the credibility of repetition, but on a visible deviation from it, also adding new roles. Performing the main segment of Techno Therapy as re-enactment has caused reconsiderations of the past event, also opening up questions whether EDM can be engaged, or whether it has a message.

The main hypothesis I examine through the analysis is based on the fact that re-enactment is not just a technique of re-memorisation, but at the same time also an active repetition with a difference achieved by placing the (historically) important EDM performances in popular culture in Serbia into a new context. In the analysis of re-enactment as the central part of Techno Therapy 2012 as well as Noise Destruction’s performance, I consider the change of direction which occurred by re-performing acts from the past and their positioning on the main segment of the event. I aim to explore how it is possible, using the particular strategy of re-enactment when the reality of performing is placed into a representational context of an EDM party with emphasised theatrical elements, to concurrently conduct both specific theatre protocols and protocols of performance. Light will be shed on the fact that the action of cutting up the car on the stage in 1994 was presented in 2012 as an act which consisted of both theatrical and performative elements. Moreover, illuminating the levels of similarity and difference of the two Techno Therapies, I also show why the second performance is specific as a *resonance* of one time in another, and how the performance rose to a higher level.

By answering the aforementioned questions, I indicate the space for discussion in the finalising chapter of the study where I consider and examine whether originality is lost by repeating an act or material from the past; whether by reproducing the original with a difference, it creates a new way of performing and thereby a new authenticity. Nonetheless, re-enactment is also to be understood as a means of product selling. As re-enactments can participate in the marketplace, they are at the centre of “[what business theorist Jonathan

Schroeder has called the role of] artists 'as brand managers, actively engaged in developing, nurturing, and promoting themselves as recognisable 'products' in the competitive cultural sphere'" (cf. Jones 2011: 37). What we will see in my analysis of Techno Therapy 2012 is also a kind of commercialisation, that is, elements which indicate a kind of commercialisation of the event. However, since re-enactment will be in the main focus through the analysis of the example Techno Therapy 2012, before consideration I would like to highlight its significance following the defining of the concept in the works of Rebecca Schneider, Amelia Jones, Dejan Sretenović and Diana Taylor.

3.2.2 | Re-enactment, or “performing the past in the present once more.”

The term re-enactment relates to the wider determination centred on the fact that the past takes place/lives/is recreated in the present. It began to circulate in the field of art, theatre and performance at the turn of the 21st century.⁷⁴ Although separated into two main categories – historical and artistic – Schneider gives the general definition that re-enactment needs to be understood as an activity which creates a strong correlation and connection between the re-enacted, the re-enactors, the original, the copy, the event, the re-event “in a knotty and porous relationship” in a space-time context (Schneider 2011: 9). In the following paragraphs, several features of re-enactments which mark this concept as significant are unveiled.

Firstly, re-enactment examines the historical facts related to the phenomenon which is to be re-performed. Aiming to find new, inventive ways and modes to present past events, it can be said that re-enactment *re-lives* history, while also examining knowledge, assertions and assumptions about past event(s). As Jones asserts, “history and even memory are themselves re-enactments, scripts of the past (based on relics, documents, remainders) into the (always already over) present” (Jones 2011: 42). It can be noted that re-enactment

⁷⁴ However, the main idea of re-enactment is not new. Namely, the wish to examine and present events from the past was a common topic from ancient times, which spread through the time of the Romans who were using elements of re-enactment as part of violent public games, re-fighting past victories in the Coliseum. Furthermore, medieval tournaments had elements similar to re-enactment, while simulated skirmishes and military displays staged in front of audiences were popular during the 17th century. Throughout Britain, from the 18th to the 20th century, various passion plays, pageants and entertainments, are reminiscent of elements of re-enactment which had the role of both the real and the imagined past. In the 19th century, many years after the American Civil War, re-enactments of old battlefields were organised. Re-enactments were also popular in the Russian Empire during the early 20th century (more details at <http://www.eventplan.co.uk/page29.html>).

performs/presents work that is at a distance from conventional forms of historiography. Despite history, that is, academic historiography which interprets events in opposition to present, as Sretenović explains, re-enactments perform the past *within* the present (Sretenović 2008: 151). At this point I would like to highlight that re-enactment at the basic level refers to a recollection of past live events illuminating the core of the concept: to perform again, or to make the event re-appear “here and now.”

Secondly, in the field of performance and theatre studies, re-enactment refers to the theatrical productions which take place before an audience. In performance art, re-enactment is regarded as an autonomous reproduction, taking as its model the performance of another artist(s) or the previous performance by the same artist(s). Namely, understood as an independent performance in front of an audience, re-enactment can also result in the reactivation of ideas from previous performance(s). Considered from this angle, it should be marked that re-enactment becomes an artistic method of memory transmission, which is closely connected to the concepts of live experience and authenticity.

However, regardless of whether historical or artistic, re-enactment gains the features of a particular *protocol*, which uses theatrical elements in performing/presenting past events and acts. It enters, conducts and examines historical data, knowledge and memory. In this light, Taylor emphasises that, “The process of selection, memorization or internalization, and transmission takes place within (and in turn helps constitute) specific systems of representation. Multiple forms of embodied acts are always present, though in a constant state of againness. They reconstitute themselves, transmitting communal memories, histories, and values from one group/generation to the next. Embodied and performed acts generate, record, and transmit knowledge” (Taylor 2003: 21). Taylor’s words lead to the conclusion that the transmission of knowledge and memory in a wider context gives re-enactment a double role. Namely, re-enactment becomes at the same time a *representational* act and a *live* act.

Jones gives her comment on the representativeness and the *liveness* of re-enactment. She highlights that, “It is a live re-doing of something already in the past – it is a reiteration, a performative re-doing – and one that itself becomes instantaneously “past,” raising questions about its own existence in time and in history” (Jones 2011: 20). Hence, understood as a strategy, re-enactment emphasises the tension between our desire for a real, original event in relation of which re-enactment takes place, or as Jones points out, “for

the others, the body, presence, the true event” and the impossibility for it to ever completely be achieved in space and time. The fact is that re-enactment itself is durational and thus always already “over” (Jones 2011: 19). The author stresses that, “The re-enactment foregrounds the desire for the live and the tendency of the live always already to become ‘frozen art.’ To present the re-enactment itself as the site where the authentic meaning of the original event is to be found – as past yet present” (Jones 2011: 26). According to Jones, re-enactment considers the paradox in which “the live act itself both claims and destroys presence; the live act is always already passing and the body in action, understood as an expression of the self, is thus representational” (Jones 2011: 26).

Moreover, re-enactment always takes place through the process of *repetition*. An intense, embodied inquiry into repetition, temporal reiteration and citation is already a practice of re-enactment. While Schechner named this practice as “restored” or “twice-behaved behaviour” (Schechner 1985: 118), Schneider highlights that “all bodily practice is, like language itself, always already composed in repetition, and repetition is, paradoxically, both the vehicle for sameness and the vehicle for difference or change” (Schneider 2011: 10). Therefore, repetition is the base for discovering the facts why and how re-enactors can re-enact at all. Time re-enactment, as one of its most significant characteristics, highlights the *possibilities* and *ways* in which the past reframes in the present. Hence, re-enactors take the past in multiple directions.

Furthermore, *the sense of the past* becomes the main point in the sense of re-enactment. It has to be shaped through an artistic and creative interpretation of the act from the past in order to make the work or event original again, or original on another level, as it will be elaborated in Chapter 4. Schneider notices that “any time-based art encounters its most interesting aspect in the fold: the double, the second, the clone, the uncanny, the *againness* of (re)enactment” (Schneider 2011: 6). Therefore, re-enactment opens up questions about many concepts related to the return of time. Considered from this angle, it can be highlighted that the conversion from the present to the past becomes the central point of the re-enactment.

Moreover, to be more precise, the audience’s feeling of re-enactment is represented by *the sense of the past as the past*. Schneider marks that “to witness a re-enactment is to be a bystander, a passer-by, possibly out of step, in the leak of another time, or in a syncopated temporal relationship to the event that (some) participants hope will *touch the*

actual past, at least in a partial or incomplete or fragmented manner” (Schneider 2011: 9). However, a temporal return would be impossible because a different, re-enacted performance has the possibility to be much better than the original. Namely, the transformation happens between two performances: in the first, the performers are doing their own work and they cannot see a clear view of the performance. Therefore, when re-doing it, they (or others who re-perform) have the possibility to get a broader image of the previous act(s).

The noted features clarify that the key to all re-enactments is to explore how time, memory and history *work* together and whether we can retrieve past events by re-doing them in some fashion. Nonetheless, one of the most significant elements of re-enactment, according to Schneider, is how *syncopated time* refers to two time-concepts: the *now* of the re-enactment performance and the *then* of the original performance. These two time-concepts punctuate each other (Schneider 2011: 16). Syncopated time emphasises that time is not one, and never only one. Performers in re-enactments try to bring *the time, the particular moment* as the core of the present, as will be explored in the analysis of the performance Techno Therapy 2012.

Lastly, an important question opens up: what is specific and what distinguishes re-enactment in comparison with different procedures of appropriation, recycling, remixing, remaking, or re-organising? If we return to the basic definition, we will arrive at a simple answer: re-enactment consists of works based on the performing *events* from the past. These performing modes produce, as Sretenović highlights, “Different lines of storytelling and alternative narratives wherein the basic, constitutive elements of the original event are incorporated into a new work. In that way, the realisation of the new chain of signification becomes effective” (Sretenović 2008: 153, 154). However, re-enactment does not reject or abandon the traditional modes of historical representation. It submits them to *different techniques of repetition*, that is, to “active repetition *in, or with* a difference” (Sretenović 2008: 153).

In the following sub-chapters, through the analysis of the Techno Therapy 2012 performance, a special form of repetition with a difference will be presented. As the first step, I determine how the space, performers and audience were organised for the purposes of the party, and explain the differences with the 1994 performance. In the second step, I discuss the “transmission of energy” and its effects on the audience and the performers.

3.2.3.1 | A repetition with a difference: space, performers, audience.

In order to re-activate the memory of Techno Therapy 1994, the organisers used the same space: the Ice Hall of the Spens Sports Centre in Novi Sad. In front of the hall, two entrances were opened for Techno Therapy 2012. The participants entered directly on the right side while on the left there was a tunnel with an exhibition. Not only did the exhibition consist of the existing photographs and flyers from the first Techno Therapy, but also from a significant number of EDM events that took place in Novi Sad and Belgrade from the 1990s until 2012. This retrospective moment of the event(s) allowed the audience a gradual entry into the space, passing through the history of EDM in Serbia and coming up to the present of Techno Therapy 2012. In a certain way, they were stimulated to “get the feel of the past.” Nonetheless, as elements of event commercialisation, sponsor billboards were positioned on the hall walls. It should be mentioned that below the DJ stand there was a sign with the words “Happy Novi Sad,” marking the importance of the organisation.

The space of Techno Therapy was also defined by the car positioned as an important scenography object. However, a change on the level of space organisation became visible. Namely, the focus in the scenography was on expanding the scenery, aiming to use and engage a major part of the hall. In that way, the organisers avoided the cliché that implied that the centre was only on the stage where the musicians/artists/DJs were positioned; therefore, they extended and entered the stage in the space of the audience. Furthermore, the scenography was based on aluminium constructions or tracing, usually taken for creating concert stages. The aim was to create an industrial atmosphere, and a strong visual effect of industry was achieved by lighting constructions, as can be seen in the following two pictures:



Figure 43 | The “catwalk” stage seen by the audience and from the DJ stand (photos courtesy of AlterNacija).

As Figure 43 shows, the stage, where according to the synopsis, AlterNacija performers enacted their roles (discussed in the next sub-chapter) was modelled as a runway, or a “catwalk”, that is, a flat platform that runs into the auditorium. Simultaneity, realised and achieved by stage actions as well as in relation to the music, was reminiscent of the basic principle of the medieval space of stage actions, as Nikola Batušić explains. Namely, the author highlights that simultaneity in a medieval longitudinal, horizontal stage was accomplished by concurrent participant visibility of the stage. However, the audience centred their attention towards the place that became theatrically active by the actor’s performing, or acting. The horizontal, simultaneousness stage that was usually placed on podiums in front of churches in the 14th century reshaped the city squares into auditoriums which clearly divided the places for the feudal lords, church dignitaries and representatives of twin towns (sister cities) (Batušić 1991: 248).

The car was positioned in the middle of the hall, or to be more precise, at the end of the runway. It was fenced on three sides with Plexiglass walls as a barrier between the audience and the object. The walls also had a protective role from the sparks at the moment when the cutting up of the car began. In the same way, the Plexiglass walls provided a futuristic tone to the scenography object that visually gave the impression of an ice box with the car within it positioned as the significant element of the performance. It is worth noting that the DJ stand, placed in the front part of the hall and the raised scene were separated from the audience by metal fences. Separating and raising the scene on a higher level shed light on the fact that at Techno Therapy 2012 the boundary between the audience and performers was additionally emphasised.

Shaping the stage as a runway referred to the idea of showing and presenting in a

movable way the action which took place at Techno Therapy in 1994. This, I would say, *presentational space* leads to a consideration of the theatrical reservation of events from 1994, that is, to the consideration of the performance situated outside the performance. It means that the turn from the performative to the theatrical happened in the moment of placing the re-enactment on the stage, where the real dimension from Techno Therapy 1994 was set at a certain distance, as I will discuss in the next sub-chapter. Similarly as in 1994, the stage actions were standing within an in-between space connecting the music and the audience. Also, as will be seen more clearly later, they were producing a presence of the performance of performing actions referring to the strategy of making new meaning(s).

The video, as an important part of both the synopsis and the scenography, was emitted through two projectors onto the screen positioned behind the DJ stand. Different from the video used in Techno Therapy 1994, it followed the segments of re-enactment, marking the beginning of each segment by using dissimilar materials and the dynamics of their change. In that way, the video presented the material which regularly referred to Techno Therapy 1994 and the moment of EDM scene development in Serbia during the 1990s. Nonetheless, the video created a narration which fit in into the structure of re-enactment. Compared to the material which was played spontaneously and live and which also presented the time that was happening outside the performance, at Techno Therapy 2012 the video material was previously prepared and clearly conceived. Moreover, it should be worth noting that there was no Chyron, the accompanying voice of the performance. One of the reasons might lie in the fact that “the voice of the performance” became materialised through the roles of AlterNacija performers and video material. By emphasising the theatricality in the actions on the stage, its lack may be excused.

Noise Destruction were the main performers in the central part of Techno Therapy. Also, the other DJs who performed during the event were Dee Face (Rastko Andrić, one of the founders of the Happy Novi Sad organisation), The Good Guys (Andrija Kovač and Bojan Čizmić) and Vladimir Aćić, as representatives of the younger DJ generation in Serbia. They played tracks and remixes from the 1990s, contributing to “a sound feeling of the past.” The AlterNacija group performed on the stage as well as the performer from Group Galerija 12+, who had conducted the cutting up of the car during the re-enactment.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Founded in Novi Sad in 1988, the organisation Galerija 12+ from Novi Sad “unites talents in performing and interactive arts, science and programming, mixed media, visual effects and video production, 3D animation, motion graphics and design... [Their] creative projects cover diverse world of interactive installations, event-

Furthermore, the space of Techno Therapy was the meeting place for two groups of audiences. Namely, constituting the first audience were those who participated in 1994, recalling the event and live experience. The second group consisted of participants who knew of Techno Therapy from the memories of others, that is, the younger generation that took part in Techno Therapy first. Although those who participated in both performances highlighted some differences, the reactions to the 2012 performance were mostly positive. In contrast to the first Techno Therapy, which in 1994 provided “a secure space” where participants could perform acts, the second was primarily focused on entertainment. The audience at Techno Therapy 2012 was moving around the stage, dancing and watching AlterNacija’s stage performance. By entering Techno Therapy 2012 through the exhibition space, the audience had an opportunity to watch photos and flyers from EDM parties and to realise how the EDM scene in Serbia was developed in a specific socio-political context.

3.2.3.2 | Differences: Techno Therapy 2012 vs. Techno Therapy 1994.

One of the functions of Techno Therapy 2012 was to make a connection with the performance in 1994, to guide younger generations to try to gain an impression of the party which gave a significant contribution in developing the EDM scene in Serbia during the 1990s, as presented in the first analysis in this chapter. The link was achieved on two modes: directly and indirectly. On one hand, the *direct* link was established by the name of performance, the space, the main performers and the tracks they played; also, by way of the car as an important scenography object, with police flashing lights inside, whistles, the audience, which participated in both performances, as well as the act of cutting up the car as the key moment of Techno Therapy. On the other hand, the *indirect* link was achieved through flyers and photos, the roles of the AlterNacija performers (as discussed in the following sub-chapter) and the performer who conducted the act of cutting up the car, the video material, and the red colour of the car as a symbol of the old, toppled political system. What I want to highlight is that the roles of the performers on the stage were also in an indirect connection with Techno Therapy 2012 because they were performed by performers

based custom hardware and software solutions, cutting edge visual effects and motion graphics, as well as web driven-database-oriented projects.” See more details at www.galerija12.com

different than those from Techno Therapy in 1994.

On another level, comparing the two Techno Therapies results in the *transformation* coming to the fore. Namely, the first, ritualised performance took place (was arranged) spontaneously during the entire night. In fact, it seemed as if Techno Therapy 1994 had just occurred. However, performing the past at Techno Therapy 2012 in approximately one hour was conceptualised and presented using the tools of the theatrical. The re-enactment at Techno Therapy 2012 became a stage performance woven into an EDM party, as will be seen more clearly in the following analysis of re-enactment. Nonetheless, the accuracy of the re-enactment was in stark contrast with the character of the ritualised performance in 1994. It is worth reminding that at the first performance, the participants wanted to be a part of the ritual, guided by the idea of causing changes, expressing comments on the socio-political situation in the country and destroying the old car: namely, sacrifice as a symbol of the new birth. In addition, Techno Therapy aimed to open a mental space among the audience to accept not only the new music, but also the entire EDM culture. However, the stress at the second Techno Therapy was geared toward gaining knowledge about the performance from the recent past.

As opposed to the first Techno Therapy, the audience was not in costume. Participants were dressed similarly as in other contemporary live EDM performances, following casual fashion trends. However, it is important to emphasise that a significant number of them had whistles as instruments for sound connection in Techno Therapy 2012. By whistling, they contributed in realising a strong sound, accompanying re-enactment as the key segment of Techno Therapy, as well as achieving a *direct* link to the 1994 performance and the wider period of the 1990s in Serbia.

At this point, I would like to draw attention to the representational elements at the second Techno Therapy, which were opposed to expressed performativity, real experience and real action at the first party. Interpreting the action from the past (cutting up the car), the moment of transfer was additionally highlighted. By transferring the action from one time into another, the transfer obtained the features of selective repetition. It was transposition and a translation of a segment of “pure” performance into a representational EDM party with theatrical elements. Namely, using the artistic elements in representation, Techno Therapy 2012 fluctuates between the *real acts* that were performed and the *acting actions* presented through the roles of costumed performers. Moreover, the turn to

theatricality is closely connected to the fact that Techno Therapy 2012 used the lenses of theatrical representation to examine important elements related to the period of the 1990s in Serbia. With a reference to Joachim Fiebach, Fischer-Lichte stresses that, “In order to comprehend and define theatricality as a mode of behaviour and expression, it must be described and analysed in terms of a particular epoch in a given culture” (Fischer-Lichte 1995: 87). The turn to theatricality was indicated by a wish to present Techno Therapy to a wider audience after almost two decades. Nonetheless, this fact also confirmed the status of Noise Destruction who are not only pioneers of EDM, but among the most important DJs and whose reputation is deeply rooted in the field of popular culture in Serbia.

A repetition of the performance, especially conducted by other (not original) performers (AlterNacija and performer from Group Galerija 12+), can be marked as a transformation into the play on stage with simplified elements. However, the introducing of a ritualised performance in the space of Techno Therapy by using re-enactment as the main leading idea does not renounce its specificity of performance. Namely, placing “real” performance onto the stage highlighted the elements of theatricality and the specificities of performativity at the same time, as discussed in the following sub-chapters. Therefore, there are not only two ways of presenting Techno Therapy – as a performance and as *a play* with simplified elements following the synopsis – which coexist in an EDM party, but they also stand in a dynamic, complementary relationship.

Because Techno Therapy 2012 did not have an escapist function, the re-shaped space did not resemble a cave or a grand sculpture. In contrast to the achieved ambience of the ritualised space in 1994, Techno Therapy 2012 created an ambience of club space, or an alternative space for EDM performances. It was also attained by an enhanced use of lightning, so that the audience was, figuratively speaking, more visible than in the first Techno Therapy. There was an explicit emphasis on entertainment and the experience of clubbing. Thereby, this may be the reason why the role of the audience changed. Namely, the performing audience from the first Techno Therapy became a passive dancing audience, especially in a moment of conducting the re-enactment at the second performance. The audience became an active beholder of re-enactment and a participant in the DJ performance. In that way, the audience at Techno Therapy 2012 watched AlterNacija’s performance on the stage and participated through dancing. They had the experience of participating in the re-enactment which became a sort of staged experience. In addition, the

audience at Techno Therapy 2012 did not create communities, that is, spontaneous “communitas” where they achieved a collective experience of the *performance of the event*; thus, the focus was on actions that took place on the stage (similarly as in alternative theatre) and in the dance (as in official EDM clubs). It should be noted that at the second Techno Therapy, the stress shifted toward an individual experience of re-enactment, while the collective experience of dance was achieved in the second part when Techno Therapy became the usual EDM party.

As already indicated in this study, one of the most important elements of a live EDM performance is the energy transmission between the DJ(s) and the audience. Nikolić highlights that “each additionally determined element can only disrupt an EDM party. From all the years of DJing, I can confirm that the energy you send to the crowd can be felt and experienced. If you get an exceptionally positive vibe while performing a live set, it will be surely transmitted to the audience. Energy launches one thing and another; furthermore, the spreading of energy transmits other elements, ideas. My opinion is that the point is energy transmission. Therefore, in spite of aiming to present everything in the first part of Techno Therapy with maximum precision, the energy exchange could not be transferred as it was the first Techno Therapy. It looked good, but the moment of spontaneity, which is the most significant, was lacking” (Noise Destruction/Nikolić, interview, October 25th 2012).

Lastly, despite the absence of an energy exchange in re-enactment, I particularly want to emphasise that it did not become a mere representation. Namely, performing the actions of cutting up the car, playing and mixing tracks by Noise Destruction, the performance of AlterNacija on stage, and the bodily movements of the audience made a difference. These actions were *real*. Not only did they present symbols which referred to a previous, original action, but they were also positioned on a new level of the representational, as it will be seen more clearly in the next two sub-chapters.

3.2.4.1 | Re-enacting Techno Therapy: performing a synopsis, acting roles.

Music determined the duration of re-enactment, while Noise Destruction was performing and mixing similar tracks (to the greatest extent possible) as at the first Techno Therapy. During the re-enactment, as the key segment of Techno Therapy, AlterNacija's performance on stage was covered by features of the theatrical, the representational, that is, acting out the event. However, it is important to note that Noise Destruction and AlterNacija performers did not perform only the following synopsis of the first event, they also added their own interpretation of Techno Therapy 1994. Also, by performing a synopsis where each track had its pre-determined place, by a repetition of acts and a division of roles, Noise Destruction and AlterNacija performers presented to the audience on the symbolic level certain ways in which Techno Therapy 1994 took place. For this reason, it can be highlighted that a transfer of memory activated a musical and theatrical historiography. In addition, after the re-enactment, Techno Therapy was continued as a regular, established EDM party.

On the stage, AlterNacija performers were acting and presenting roles defined by costumes, as can be seen in Figure 44. Namely, the performers were previously trained to enter a role and every costume, and to behave in accordance with the character. Roles were determined before Techno Therapy and clearly divided into male and female characters. According to the appearance on the stage, the first group consisted of two dancers in silver tracksuits. The second group was iPolice and iPunk silver – two men with laser guns made of Styrofoam were seeking for iPunk (a female performer) that was representative of the younger generation while iPolice symbolised conflict and control. The third group consisted of two eRobotics performers and an associated member from Gallery 12+ who performed, with a grinder in his hands, the act of cutting up the car. Also, on the stage there was a sporadic appearance by the AlterNacija performers, Steam Saints, in bronze costumes. It is worth noting that, except for the two dancers in silver tracksuits and the performer who conducted the cutting, the other performers were on stilts. Their heights averaged 2.5 meters.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Stilts are interesting as a stage prop at live EDM performances. However, when performers enter into the audience, the stilts get the function of an extended and moving stage. When the re-enactment ended, costumed stilted performers appeared several times on the stage, and they also entered into the audience space. Therefore, it should be noted that they presented an extension of the stage as well as an extension of re-enactment in the audience's space.



Figure 44 | AlterNacija's costumed performers (from left to right): *iPunk*, *iPolice*, *Steam Saints* and *eRobotic* (photos courtesy of AlterNacija).

To a certain degree, the skilful time link was achieved by performing the determined roles and their positioning in the context of Techno Therapy 2012. Through artistic costumes and movements on the stage, AlterNacija performers alluded to futuristic times, and made the link with the other EDM parties at which they performed. As Schneider highlights, it is a play of one time in another time – the theatricality of time (Schneider 2011: 6). In addition, it can be highlighted that re-enactment at Techno Therapy 2012 became a time performance. As well, in comparison with the first Techno Therapy, the second one had AlterNacija performers as *a group* which previously had experience performing at other events. To a certain extent, AlterNacija reified acts into “art,” freezing temporal events into things, repeating and playing one time in another. On the stage, AlterNacija created a completely new artistic feeling of the event, which, in some respect, referred to the performances of the past, but by no means repeated them. Therefore, the acts on the stage were originals in a way, even if they were re-shaped repeats.

Presenting stage actions in the blocks were determined in relation to the music. Although the roles were defined and in a way achieved a narrative structure, a synopsis of the re-enactment was not detailed. The main focus was to shed light on the blocks and through them to reach the culmination of re-enactment. For this reason, the emphasis was on a gradual introduction into a ritualised cutting up of the car and passing through music by different emotional states aiming to reach the culmination. Based to the maximum possible extent on the music material previously played at the first Techno Therapy, the sound in the re-enactment created a specific gradation from the mystic ambience to more rhythmically

and energetic tracks. Noise Destruction was mixing tracks that marked the EDM scene of the first part of the 1990s in England, Holland, Belgium, France and the USA. Following the music, the emotions and senses they affected, the re-enactment reached an audio-visual crescendo which created the following flow: *ambient – emotional – energetic – ecstatic*, and gradually weaved into a regular EDM party.

Re-enactment consisted of four main blocks marked as *Intro*, *Development*, *Performance*, and *Ecstasy*. Each of them contained two or three segments. Following the music which Noise Destruction played, through the blocks, the lighting, video material as well as AlterNacija's performance on the stage was created. In the *Intro* block and its two segments, the beginning of the re-enactment was marked. The space was highlighted with two spotlights. Before re-enactment, the emphasis was on the higher lighting. When entering into the hall, the audience could see the scene and the reduced scenography. In the second segment, the creating of a particular clubbing and theatre atmosphere began. The video contained simpler visualisations which complemented the green and white spotlights. On the level of music, the second segment was based on mixing two tracks of British electronic musicians 808 State - In Yer Face and LFO - LFO. It is also important to add, as Figure 45 shows, that AlterNacija performers were standing behind the DJ stand as markers not only of the beginning of re-enactment, but also the beginning of creating a space for Techno Therapy:

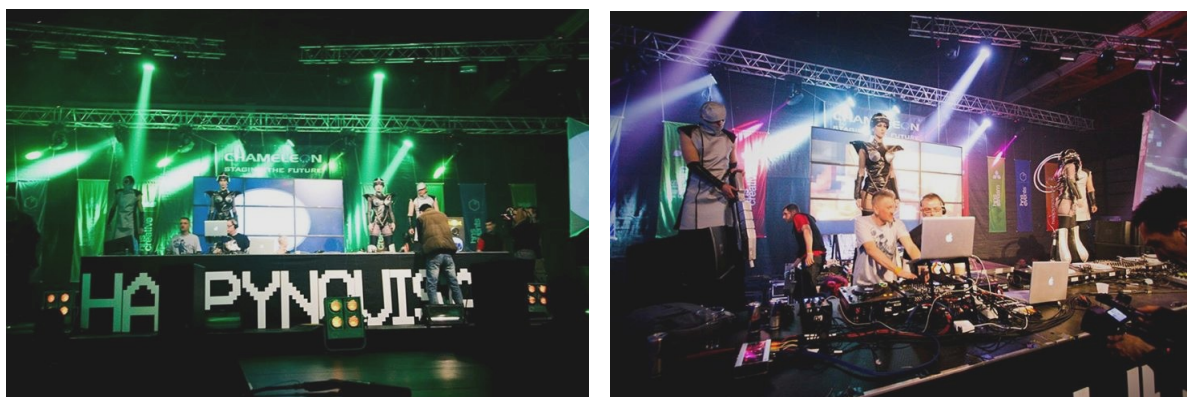


Figure 45 | Beginning of re-enactment (photos courtesy of AlterNacija).

The second block – *Development* – had two segments. The atmosphere gradually began to transform, achieved primarily on the music level playing several tracks of English, USA, Holland and Belgian artists popular during the period, such as Positive Education by

Slam, Treatment Feel by Minimal Man, and Circus Bells by Robert Armani. The space was scanned by frequent stroboscopic effects as well as green and white spotlights. The video emitted fragments of official videos from the 1980s, marking the precursors of the EDM genre and making a slower scene change. In that way, the re-enactment entered into another segment that introduced two female dancers dressed in silver costumes. The dancers were symbolic representatives of fairies from the first Techno Therapy. On the level of music, the segment was based on a skilful mix of EDM subgenres, house and trance, as well as adding vocal samples by Phuture the Next Generation (Times Fade), Jaydee (Plastic dreams), Moby (Go) and Cubic 22 (Night in Motion). In addition, the lighting made nuances of different colours creating a vivid visual structure and marking the ambience on the stage. A video presented tunnel scenes and various 3D models resembling them. It should be pointed out that the video material created, on a symbolic level, an intermediate link with movements performed by two dancers on the stage. Also, the tunnel scenes referred to their symbolic passing and transformation into another time. Moreover, it marked the transformation of Techno Therapy presented as a re-enactment, but it was also a sign that other performers would come to the stage in a different way from Techno Therapy 1994.

The next block – *Performance* – consisted of three segments. The first was more dynamic on the level of music as well as on the level of stage lighting. Noise Destruction performed the tracks Stakker Humanoid by Humanoid, Acitv8 by Alten8 and James Brown is Dead by LA Style. Fast stroboscopic effects combined with orange spotlights created an energetic ambience and scanned the space. The video emitted fragments from the official video *Laki je malo nervozan* to emphasise the importance of Noise Destruction, and mixed fragments with samples taken from old movies. During the dialogue with video material, iPolice entered the stage and took control over the space, symbolically cocking guns, observing the space and trying to find iPunk, who entered the stage shortly. iPolice's actions on the stage referred to the control of Serbian society during the 1990s.

The second segment established a pulse between the actions on the stage, the music and the audience. The striking lightning achieved by a mix of white and orange colours additionally amplified the space and gradually led to the culmination of re-enactment. Video material contributed to intensifying the ambience, with a rapid scene change, which presented various images such as fire, volcanic eruptions, and natural disasters. In the segment, two eRobotics entered the stage, leading the performer who would perform the

ritualised action of cutting up the car. eRobotics costumes had futuristic elements on them (such as tubes that connect the body and the head, and blue lights added on the costumes). Standing on stilts, they performed slower, mechanical movements, referring to beings from other/different/future times.

The performer from Gallery 12+ who conducted cutting up the car with a grinder had a gas mask as protection for his head as well as several straps. The white costume resembled the costumes of performers who at the first Techno Therapy carried out the same, ritualised action. On the level of music, the segment was based on the Dominator (Beltram Mix) track by Human Resource, Higher State of Consciousness by Josh Wink, and Instruments of Darkness (All of us are one people) by Art of Noise. The third segment sheds light on sound, emphasising sirens, different alarms, and the sound of cutting as significant markers for the beginning of a ritualised action. In the segment, the performer Stan Saints entered the stage, while the car was illuminated by orange spotlights. As the images in Figure 46 show, the emphasis was also on creating a darker atmosphere to achieve a strong contrast of the artefact and the space:

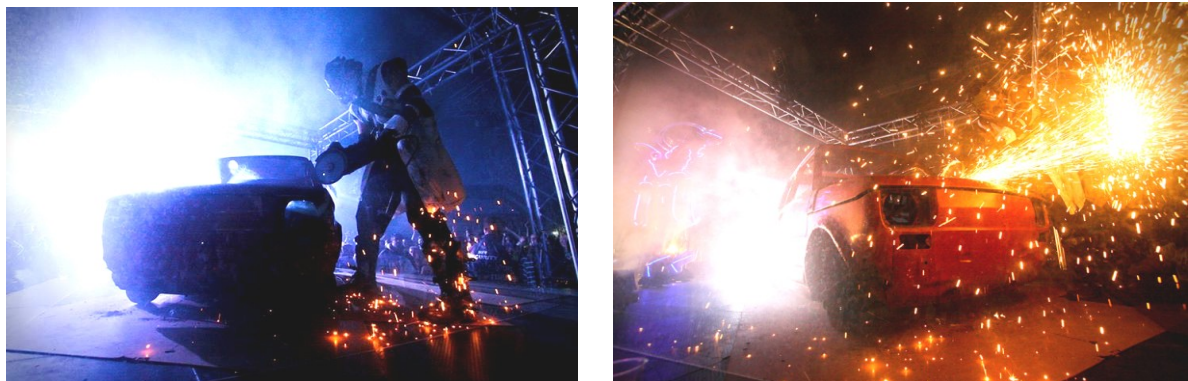


Figure 46 | Cutting up the car (photos courtesy of AlterNacija).

Video material accompanied the beginning of the ritual action, presenting the images of cars and combining them with the visual effects of fire sparks. It should be pointed out that at the level of video, the mediatisation of the ritualised act was achieved by simulating the action that took place on the stage. Also, it was a moment of dubbing the image of the most significant segment of re-enactment which referred to the first Techno Therapy. Schneider highlights that, “Touching time against itself, by bringing time *again and again* out of joint into theatrical, even anamorphic, relief presents the real, the actual, the raw and the true as,

precisely, the zigzagging, diagonal, and crookedly imprecise returns of time” (Schneider 2011: 16). On the level of music, the segment was based on Moby’s popular track 1000.

The ending block of re-enactment – *Ecstasy* – consisted of two segments. The first centres on the finalising moment of the ritualised action of cutting up the car. Fenced with Plexiglass walls and metal pillars and marked with smoke effects, the car was reminiscent of the artefact placed into the box where a ritual sacrifice takes place or a surgical procedure in a special space. It resembled a time bubble in which the artefact from the past was presented and sacrificed, as discussed in the next sub-chapter. Lightning effects accompanied the ritualised action, combining a dark atmosphere with the rapid use of stroboscopic lights and an achieved culmination. The culmination emphasised the moment of cutting up the car as a symbol of the past, an artefact from a different time, but also expressing the joy of a ritualised action well done. The video material contributed with lighter background images and fast and abstract visualisation effects. Therefore, a strong contrast was achieved between the futuristic elements and artefacts from the past, alluding to a time in recent history and an important action that was carried out. In fact, all the performers were standing on the stage after the action was successfully carried out. To shed light on the significance of this segment, Noise Destruction remixed the fragment “O, Fortuna” from Orff’s *Carmina Burana* cantata, similarly as at the first *Techno Therapy*.

The short musical break that followed clearly marked the end of the re-enactment. The performers and the audience began to further develop *Techno Therapy* as a usual EDM party. Therefore, the short break was a signal of the beginning of a *new Techno Therapy*. In the moment of transition from one to another part of the party, the peak of the re-enactment was achieved and it was reflected through lighting in various colours and creating an ecstatic ambience. A video presented scenes related to other EDM performances, while Noise Destruction marked the moment by mixing the tracks *Everybody In The Place* by The Prodigy, *Astral Dreams* by Laurent Garnier, *Birds on e* (Original version) by Mike Dearborn, *Access* by DJ Mishaj & DJ Tim, and *Alpha wave* by System 7.

In the descriptions of the re-enactment, there are several significant facts which I would like to consider. Firstly, while shaping the synopsis’s order in relation to the previously performed *Techno Therapy* in 1994, there is an emphasis on the transmission of elements incurred as a result of various memories of the first performance. It should be pointed out that the synopsis was created in relation to a short video recording from the first

performance (taken from TV Novi Sad), photos (which were mostly presented at the exhibition), as well as stories, impressions and experiences which still live among the participants of the Techno Therapy in 1994. In regards to the second one, a repeated, modified and adapted synopsis opened up possibilities for the audience to establish a relationship with the first Techno Therapy. Therefore, by participating in a repeated and re-shaped re-enactment at Techno Therapy in 2012, the audience was not only one of the participants in the re-enactment, but they also took part in the act of memory transfer.

Furthermore, at Techno Therapy 2012, Noise Destruction, as the main performers, also had shifted positions. Namely, they were trying to create reality on the stage, but by using laptops, mixers and other contemporary equipment, they indicated they were not in the same reality as in 1994. Nikolić indicates a distinction from the first Techno Therapy: “The organisation of the event in the beginning was approached with all the contemporary resources: lots of money, all possible variants of distributing information (the media, the Internet), all was placed in that function. Therefore, from the basic level the second Techno Therapy was different from the first one. While in 1994 everything was (arranged) spontaneously, at the second Techno Therapy – everything was maximally organised” (Noise Destruction/Nikolić, interview, October 25th 2012).

Nikolić’s description opens up another perspective for reflection. Namely, not only did creating reality on the stage become a theatrical thing, but it can be noted that Noise Destruction’s shift in DJ positions also becomes theatrical. In regards to Auslander’s determination of glam rock musicians, while performing identities as DJs at both Techno Therapies, Noise Destruction made a difference. As I showed in the previous analysis, at the first Techno Therapy, they were taking on DJ identities. However, at the second Techno Therapy, Noise Destruction were not only taking on DJ identities, but also *playing DJ roles* in the re-enactment (Auslander 2006b: 25). What I particularly want to emphasise is that, as Auslander asserts, the difference between taking on an identity and *playing a role* refers to different modes of *performing identity* (Auslander 2006b: 25). This fact leads to a significant point in this analysis. Namely, as we saw, the repeated form and the repeated action turned the whole event into a kind of theatrical event, as it will also be elaborated in the next sub-chapter. The reason may lie in the production’s lack of spontaneity, as Nikolić previously described: the re-enactment at Techno Therapy 2012 was organised and rehearsed, in which every segment and nuance was determined.

3.2.4.2 | Techno Therapy 2012: “unfreezing” the act from the past and playing a ritual.

As I have already pointed out, the car was positioned as a central object of scenography and during the re-enactment at Techno Therapy 2012 it had the main role. The key moment in re-enactment, when the cutting up took place, had the function of presenting an action from the past. Watching the act among the audience activated the moment of memory transfer and transmitted the knowledge of Techno Therapy 1994 perceived as a ritualised performance. In that way, a complex and deep memory mediation was achieved and pointed to the fact that memory is continuously shaped not only by performers of re-enactment, but also by all the participants who watch it or who are in any way involved with it.

Placing the car on the stage (in a fenced space) and repeating the ritualised action (in a different context) was theatricalised. In the case of one repetition throughout this ritualised act, the car changed its role. Namely, it was no longer a caught victim that disrupted the parking and was “spontaneously” transposed into an EDM party as it was at Techno Therapy 1994, but rather, the car was brought purposefully to Techno Therapy as the most important scenography object. Flashing police lights set into the car marked the echo of time and related to the control of the society during the 1990s. The lights created special effects in the moment of performing the ritual as additional lighting that pointed to the importance of not only cutting up the car, but also of the object. Moreover, in passing it is worth noting that the red car was purchased for the purposes of Techno Therapy and adapted to resemble the old car. Glass, the engine, the seats, the tires, and other elements that could cause danger were removed from it. Finally, it became a significant object which by itself defined the space of Techno Therapy.

On a symbolic level, the action of cutting up the car in a fenced space seemed as a theatricalised unfreezing and freezing of the object from the past. However, no matter how the car was placed onto the stage in a fenced space, and with the stage actions making a certain distance between the audience and performers, the action of cutting up was strongly supported by the audience. They expressed their reactions by whistling, screaming, recording the action by using their mobile phones, applauding, and dancing. As already indicated, on the level of music, the moment of finalising the ritual action was additionally highlighted by remixed fragments of Orff’s “O, Fortuna.” Similarly to the first performance,

music in that way achieved its highest peak and marked the key scene of re-enactment.

Additionally, it was highlighted by smoke effects and confetti falling onto the car. Also, a lively atmosphere was created with additional lighting. The moment when the smoke, figuratively speaking, froze the car made a visual impression of the car positioned in a big ice box, as the two images in Figure 47 show. The smoke which spread through the 'ice box' replaced the act of spraying with a real fire extinguisher which occurred at the first Techno Therapy. The performer who carried out the cutting up climbed into the car at the end of the re-enactment while eRobotics in their futuristic costumes, supported by light effects and a smoky atmosphere, looked like beings from another universe.

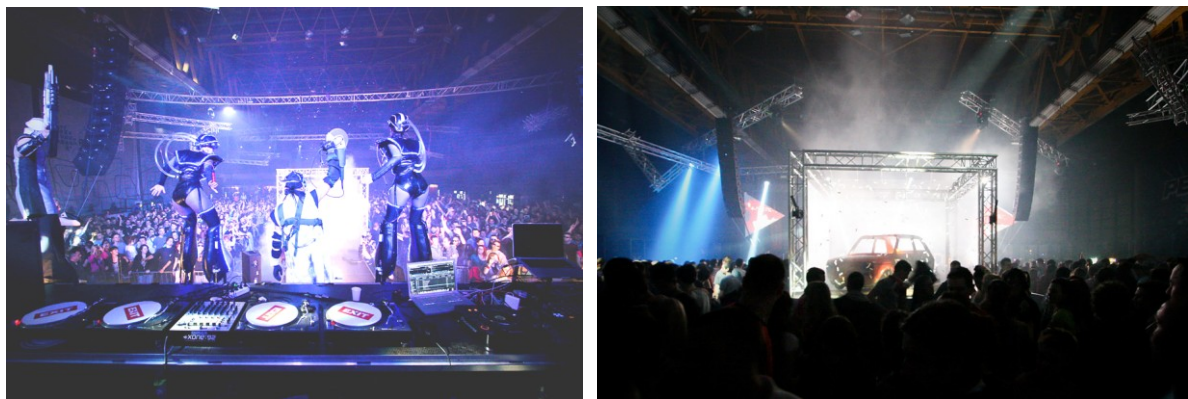


Figure 47 | Scenes from the re-enactment after cutting up the car (photos courtesy of AlterNacija).

However, even if performing non-artistic actions like cutting up a car on a stage contribute to the audience's understanding of the first Techno Therapy, they may incur, as Jones asserts, dangers common to all re-enactments (Jones 2011: 25). Namely, even if we refer to the significant evidence of a recent past embedded through the repetition of cutting up the car, in re-enactment the action was in a particular way aestheticised for the purposes of the performance. Namely, it partially mitigated the action and made it flat. This refers primarily to the duration of the cutting up process. In that light, Tomka explains the reasons for shortening the action to approximately 10 minutes: "Our basic idea, which was not possible to realise, was to create the cutting up of the car as a special effect – to make the car as if it were previously cut and when the performer comes and starts the action, to reduce it to a minute. We were trying to explain that if someone wants to cut up a car it will take several hours. Also, we had in mind that now is another time. In 1994 the participants at Techno Therapy found it interesting, but this stage action now would very quickly start to

bother the audience. The idea guided us to shorten this act aiming to create a feeling in the audience that they want more” (Tomka, interview, January 6th 2014). Considered from this angle, it can be noted that one of the reasons for shortening the action of cutting up the car may lie in the fact that the action had already been performed and seen.

3.2.5 | Techno Therapy 2012 as a trans-genre superstructure.

Together with the exhibition and the second part of Techno Therapy which was conducted as a regular EDM party, the re-enactment contributed not only to creating a unique performance, but the performance also gained the features of a trans-genre superstructure, as it will be discussed in this sub-chapter. In the analysis, I examine elements which re-enactment determined as, on one hand, a performance, while on the other – as an EDM party with emphasised theatrical elements. In that way, it can be highlighted that Techno Therapy gained the features of “a performance in the play,” or a precisely *undetermined performance in a determined performance*, as well as a representation of a performance, for several reasons. Firstly, performing actions on the stage took place in an unconventional, alternative space in the Ice Hall of the Spens Sports Centre in Novi Sad. Techno Therapy, therefore, retained its status of performance through shaping the performance on the stage, or the *performance in the play*. Secondly, the audience, as already specified, transformed their role. In fact, compared with other EDM performances and parties, during the re-enactment at Techno Therapy, the audience watched the performance on the stage but did not participate in it. Their reactions did not affect the course of movements of the AlterNacija performers on the stage, but neither did the AlterNacija performance influence the shaping of the audience’s bodily movements while they were dancing. Thirdly, on the level of music, Noise Destruction tracks performed live referred to the first Techno Therapy and, as we have seen in the previous sub-chapter, pre-determined the order of the synopsis.

The re-enactment of Techno Therapy 2012 gained the status of an EDM event conceived as a theatre play primarily because the synopsis was presented through the performance of costumed AlterNacija artists, who, as we have seen, had pre-determined and divided roles. According to this fact, the emphasised theatricality and representational elements referred to the acting in a pre-determined performance, that is, on the stage it

gave the performance a note of an unreal event. The theatricality of AlterNacija actions performed on the stage presented, according to Fischer-Lichte, “a particular mode of using signs” which linked the past events with the first Techno Therapy. The author highlights that “When the semiotic function of using signs as signs of signs in a behavioural, situational or communication process is perceived and received as dominant, the behavioural, situational or communication process may be regarded as theatrical” (Fischer-Lichte 1995: 88).

Furthermore, the most important segment of re-enactment – cutting up the car – re-shaped and transformed the theatrical status of re-enactment. Namely, it was not a pure theatrical action because the action of cutting up the car actually did happen on the stage. Neither was it a pure performance, as the cutting up presented a performing of the action from the past. Nonetheless, the literal cutting up and performing of the music presented the performative elements of re-enactment. In addition to this, it can be noted that by the actions of cutting up the car and playing actions on the stage pre-determined by a synopsis, re-enactment entered a new, higher level of the representational. Namely, it was not a transformation of the synopsis into a performance at an EDM party – because the action was real, neither did it become a synopsis that took place at an EDM party by repeating elements from the first Techno Therapy. On the contrary, examining the re-enactment at Techno Therapy 2012, it can be noted that it became something “thirdly.”⁷⁷

As already mentioned, one of the purposes of re-enactment at Techno Therapy was to show the ways young Serbian people created their performative spaces during the 1990s. Looking through Schneider’s lens, it can be highlighted that it was not only to artistically and creatively interpret a previous act or to repeat it, but also to make it “original” again (Schneider 2011: 13). Schneider’s determinations led to the conclusion that Techno Therapy, perceived as a whole, can be considered a trans-genre form, that is, as a hybrid-performing modality which combines an EDM party, theatrical elements, a performance on the stage and an exhibition. Viewed from this perspective, re-enactment also attained the features of

⁷⁷ Branko Popović opened up similar questions to those related to the re-enactment at Techno Therapy 2012 during the analyses of the modes which Marina Abramović used when she brought performance into theatre. As examples, the author concentrated on Abramović’s works *The Biography* from 1992 and *Delusional* from 1994. Namely, Popović initiated parameters for defining these (hybrid) performances which reflect the need to determine new trans-genre performing disciplines, as well as the terms “theatricality” and “performativity” (Popović 2012). He relates to Thomas Wulfen’s interpretation according to which performance as a theatre play, that is, a theatre play as a performance is marked by using the term *Performance*, written with a capital letter and with no article. Wulfen’s determination relates to the modality of presenting a performance which belongs to the free zone that stands in a correlation between theatre and the art of performance (Popović 2012: 23).

a trans-genre form positioned between an exhibition (as a real document about the EDM scene development in Serbia and the first Techno Therapy) and the second part of Techno Therapy which followed re-enactment. Therefore, re-enactment became a “new form” which presented the polarities of theatricality and performativity as complementary, deeply woven into an EDM party, as can be visualised in the following figure:

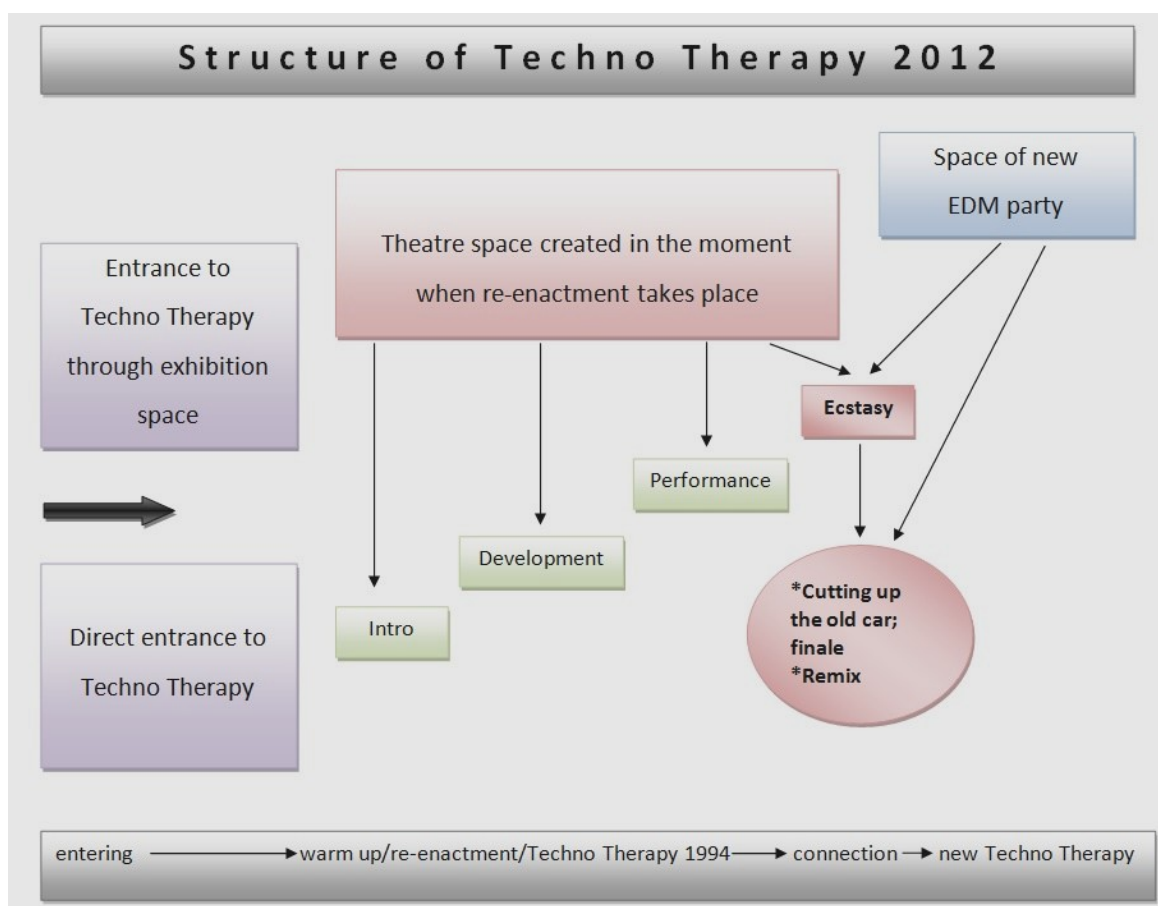


Figure 48 | Structure of Techno Therapy 2012.

As Figure 48 shows, the trans-genre form of re-enactment makes a (multidirectional) time connection. Namely, through a historical perspective presented as an exhibition of photos and flyers, the participants had the opportunity to enter the space of Techno Therapy. Then, performing re-enactment at the Techno Therapy stage theatricalised the event aiming to transform itself after the action of cutting up the car into a new Techno Therapy conceptualised as a regular EDM party. The moment of performing and recognising the “O, Fortuna” remix was the key segment of transformation and transition from one/the first/the

old to another/the second/a new Techno Therapy. Not only did the key segment of re-enactment mark the ritualised action of cutting up the car as a signifier for an important element from the past, it also highlighted that its examination ended or closed the EDM performance. Moreover, re-enactment was the introduction to the new Techno Therapy, as well as a mediator between the exhibition (the Past) and the new Techno Therapy (the Present). What I want to emphasise is that Noise Destruction, as pioneers of EDM in Serbia, in the moment when a regular EDM party began, symbolically surrendered the DJ stand to younger colleagues.

The final considerations of the analysis opens up an important question: what was lost or achieved by reinterpreting Techno Therapy? Firstly, as we have seen, compared to Techno Therapy 1994, re-enactment emphasised a shortening and a theatricalisation. Schechner, as Schneider suggests, highlighted that these performances, such as Techno Therapy 2012, could not be original because at a basic level “it is not possible to get back to what it was” (Schneider 2011: 30). Popović elaborates on the aforementioned Abramović’s performances that even if a particular event is real and literal (i.e. cutting up the car), the fact that it happens in a representational context on the stage is enough to be perceived “as if,” rather than as an authentic act that takes place “here and now” (Popović 2012: 21). Above all, the auratic element did not exist in the re-enactment because of the absence of energy sharing, that is, establishing an energetic seesaw between the performers (both Noise Destruction and the performers on the stage) and the audience.

Secondly, the fact that Techno Therapy took place “here and now” (precisely, on April 21st 2012 in the Ice Hall of the Spens Sports Centre in Novi Sad) using exhibition and re-enactment as elements which on one hand link it to the past, while on the other mediate to the new – making the performance original. Therefore, it showed that the conceived structure may not be mimetic. Schneider claims that re-enactments usually appear through re-activation rather than through duplicating. Also, the performance took place and referred to the real presence of performers. Since Techno Therapy 2012 did not present a “mirror” of the socio-political situation in the country as the first Techno Therapy did, it aimed to be reminiscent of the 1990s. Furthermore, Techno Therapy clearly indicated that the performance took place in time which refers to freedom, and, taken as a whole, it resembled contemporary EDM performances worldwide. Conceptualised and structured in such a way that it linked exhibition, re-enactment and a regular EDM party, Techno Therapy 2012

presents new possibilities of theatricalising and aestheticising EDM parties. Finally, performative, as we have seen in the analysis, became on one hand theatrical while, on the other – it remained performative. Repetition creates a moment of cultural memory, but also contributes to losing auratic elements. However, it should be pointed out that repeating the act from the past reaches a new level. Namely, viewed from this perspective, through the important process of (musical and theatrical) historiography, authenticity and the auratic entered into a new context, reproducing the original with a difference.

3.3.1 | Back to the roots: Back to the People.

In the final analysis of this chapter I consider and examine the Back to the People Festival, conceptualised as an event of underground music culture. This very well attended festival took place on October 8th and 9th 1996 in the Tašmajdan caves in Belgrade, and there was an average of 2,500 people in the caves daily. Besides, the festival was formed as an artistic event realised in triple co-production: the Back to the People group (the Festival creators),⁷⁸ Technokratia (involved in the organisation and program conceptualisation of the second festival day, as well as the media promotion of the event), and the firm DJ House (responsible for sound and lighting equipment). One of the main reasons for organising such a festival was driven by the wish to make a larger event in the alternative space which has its significance. The event aimed to show that music had to be returned to its roots, that is, to the people and this idea referred to that important fact. Namely, from the mid 1990s, certain owners of disco clubs in Belgrade began commercialising the scene of underground culture. For this reason, the festival organisers chose the cave space and important artists to highlight that the place for underground performances really needed to be *in the underground*. Viewed through the musical perspective, not only did they mark the further developing line of EDM and its various sub-genres, but they also opened up the space for promoting other underground music genres in which there is an electronic music base. Finally, the organiser's wish was to introduce young people to natural spaces, to give them the opportunity to feel the energy of the caves, which were mostly unknown to the citizens of Belgrade.

During the two days of the Back to the People Festival, various performances were deployed in three cave spaces via two, that is, three music-thematic blocks. While the musicians during the first day presented their interpretations through alternative genres such as hip hop (with DJ Sonja and DJ Andrej, the DJs at Radio Politika and Studio B, as well as the band Robin Hood who were the forerunner of hip hop in Serbia), funk and acid jazz (DJ Peppe, DJ Boris, DJ Villi), the second festival day was differently conceived. Namely, as a significant clubbing day, parties on Saturday aimed to promote the sound of EDM through various sub-genres and important DJs. Therefore, the sound line of the second day promoted sub-genres such as GOA trance (DJ Sun, DJ Greg who was the only international artist at the

⁷⁸ It should be pointed out that it was the only event they organised under the name Back to the People.

festival, and DJ Buca), through other sub-genres marked at the festival as “hybrid” (house, techno, trip hop, drum’n’bass – DJ Thumb, DJ Ike, DJ Coba, DJ Boža Podunavac) and lighter electronic chill out sound (DJ Innvision/Velja Mijanović). Although conceptually different, both days of the festival were supported in the media, not only through promoting the festival as a cultural phenomenon and announcing events, but also informing the audience about the Tašmajdan caves using information available at that moment.

Through the analysis, the focus will be on examining the festival understood as a whole and performed in a particular context. The exploration is based on interviews with the organisers of the festival and several participants, as well as on a fragment of video recording which took place on the GOA trance stage, obtained from the Technokratia organisation (CD example 15). Regarded as the most attended during the festival, the performance on the GOA trance stage also had a live VJ performance, and thus I will focus on examining the ways in which the video work was realised. It will clarify questions about meanings which are created as a compound of the specific space – the EDM phenomenon – and a wider underground culture in a particular time. The analysis was conducted on three levels. The first level directs the focus toward considering space, the ways of its organisation, indicating the importance of its symbolic opening, re-defining and creating performative spaces and a particular atmosphere. The focus of the second level of analysis is oriented toward considering the ways of creating the associated flyer of the festival. Namely, I aim to present the flyer as a reflection of the cultural and social situation in Serbia during the 1990s, as well as to indicate the meaning of the festival’s name and the emitted messages. Finally, on the third level, I shed light on the significance of the Back to the People Festival and highlight multidirectional memory links established between the Festival and the Tašmajdan caves.

Thus, not only will the analysis shed light on the importance of the performance(s), but also on the significance of the caves as a physical space with historical value. Also, I aim to illuminate how young people during the redressive action phase, in which Serbia was in 1996, transformed space and gave specific embodied meanings to it. In addition, I explore how they constructed their collective representations of the past and what this meant in that context. This will elucidate my hypothesis that the performances in the Tašmajdan caves were representative examples of the redressive action phase which emerged in the field of popular culture in Serbia during the 1990s. Moreover, the event coincided with the student protest which began after several weeks (on November 19th 1996), as it was elaborated in

Chapter 1. This corresponded not only in time, but also through energy, bodily movements and performative acts which emphasised sound, rhythm and movement.

In the following sub-chapter, the significance of the concept of multidirectional memory by Michael Rothberg will be explained. After that, I present information closely related to the space of the Tašmajdan caves, which will indicate the significant facts that are embedded in it, and which are still almost unknown. I concentrate on the questions related to the meaning, importance and function which the caves had throughout history.

3.3.2 | Michael Rothberg's *multidirectional memory* as a significant concept for understanding the Festival.

In its general determination, the umbrella term of memory (e.g. collective, shared, culture, social, material, media, mental or cognitive) relates to the act of the past making the present. This creative and productive act marks the interplay of the present and the past in a certain socio/cultural/political context. It binds two levels of our correlation to the past: the individual, embodied and living with the collective, the social and the constructed. In that light, two important facts open up. Firstly, memory is a contemporary phenomenon, something that, while concerned with the past, happens in the present (Rothberg 2009: 4). Secondly, since “memory is a form of work or action” (Rothberg 2009: 4), it becomes a process. The quality of these relatively new usages of memory, which came into being at the beginning of the 20th century, although the idea of memory was a significant preoccupation for social thinkers since the ancient Greeks, help us to see the relationships between such phenomena and the personal recollection of recent experience. Moreover, it enables various disciplines to be involved in discussions. An interdisciplinary field is open to exploring not only the possible topics, but also the *concepts* – the specific ways of approaching the themes and objects. In addition, light is shed not only on the *what*, but on the *how* that is remembered.

However, the belief that one's own history, culture, and identity are unique and separate, constitutes a barrier for recognising the interactions which take place among collective or shared memories. In *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, [Michael] Rothberg for the first time brings together Holocaust

studies and postcolonial studies, using a comparative and interdisciplinary approach. Inspired by Sigmund Freud's notion of (screen) memory as "an associative process that works through displacement and substitution" (Rothberg 2009: 12), Rothberg poses important questions: "What happens when different histories confront each other in the public sphere?", and "Does the remembrance of one history erase others from view?" (Rothberg 2009: 2). Furthermore, these questions unveil an important fact. Namely, not only does this new theory challenge the fundamental tendencies of current thinking regarding cultural memory, but it also makes a shift in understanding collective memory and group identity. Rothberg notices that, "[...] debates about collective memory and group identity are primarily struggles over the injustices of recognition, over whose history and culture will be recognized" (Rothberg 2009: 20). According to him, the articulation of the past is usually "a struggle for recognition" in which there are only winners and losers (Rothberg 2009: 3).

These determinations show that the concept of multidirectional memory is important for several reasons.⁷⁹ Firstly, what is new and the most significant is the determination according to which multidirectional memory stands "against the framework that understands collective memory as *competitive* memory" (Rothberg 2009: 3). As a highly complex process involving numerous people, practices, and materials, collective memory presents the many things that we *do*, not only have. It activates the multidirectional flows of influence, articulation and intercultural dynamic. Therefore, the change of memory on a concept level, "from competition to multidirectionality" (Rothberg 2009: 18), shows that memory has to be considered as a subject of negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing. As Rothberg points out, multidirectional memory should be understood "as productive, not privative" (Rothberg 2009: 3).

Secondly, the author rejects the concept according to which identities and memories are pure and authentic, but he focuses on the quality of the relationship with the past. Accordingly, the link between us and the past is indirect. Namely, as Rothberg indicates, "Memories are not owned by groups – nor are groups 'owned' by memories. Rather, the borders of memory and identity are jagged; what looks at first like my own property often turns out to be a borrowing or adaptation from a history that initially might seem foreign or

⁷⁹ Rothberg clearly interprets similarities and differences between multidirectional memory and collective and shared memory. On one hand, multidirectional memory can be understood as collective to the extent that "it is formed within social frameworks" (Rothberg 2009, 15). On the other, it is shared to the extent that it is formed within the media. However, "the concept of multidirectional memory differs from both of them because it highlights the inevitable displacements and contingencies that mark all remembrance" (Rothberg 2009: 15, 16).

distant” (Rothberg 2009: 5). What is interesting about Rothberg’s assertion is that memories and identities include elements of commonality with others. Although our relationship with the past in a certain way “determines who we are in the present”, the link to the past is not direct and “never without unexpected or even unwanted consequences that bind us to those whom we consider other” (Rothberg 2009: 5).

Thirdly, the model reliably presents how memory always works in relation with other histories. Interaction of different historical memories illustrates the productive, intercultural and dynamic memory, which sheds light on Rothberg’s new critical space in which diverse sides can be in a correlation. The content of a memory takes on meaning precisely in relation to the other memories in a network of association. However, it does not refer to a simple pluralism. As Rothberg points out “a given memory rarely functions in a single way or means only one thing, all articulations of memory are not equal; powerful, social, political, and psychic forces articulate themselves in every act of remembrance” (Rothberg 2009: 16).

Furthermore, the model re-describes the public sphere as a field of contestation where memories communicate productively and in unexpected ways. As the author highlights that, “Multidirectional memory is meant to draw attention to the dynamic transfers that take place between diverse places and times during the act of remembrance” (Rothberg 2009: 11). In that light, the concept of multidirectional memory give us a chance to understand the public sphere as a flexible discursive space, as I will present through the analysis of the Back to the People Festival in the following sub-chapters. Moreover, both subjects and public spaces are open for continual re-construction, illuminating the importance of collectivity and sharing. However, primarily collective and historical, multidirectional memory is also individual and has the potential to connect to individual biographies (Rothberg 2009: 14). Finally, the author indicates the anachronistic quality of memory as a source for creativity. Namely, by using the acts of bringing together the *now – then*, the *here – there*, multidirectional memory explains the possibility of creating a new world out of the material of older ones (Rothberg 2009: 19).

And last but not the least, Rothberg’s ideas illuminate the significant perspective for a productive approach in contemporary times, especially in multicultural societies. It features the importance focusing on the relationship which different social groups establish between their past and their present circumstances. “When the productive, dynamic of multidirectional memory is explicitly claimed, it has the potential to create new forms of

solidarity and new visions of justice”, claims the author (Rothberg 2009: 5).

As will be seen more clearly in the following sub-chapters, the space of EDM exists beyond a dominant memory politics, and therefore Rothberg’s concept is useful for the analysis. Different memory discourses caused by space and time have the potential to reconsider dominant memory discourses. This is the reason which makes the example of the Back to the People Festival very important. In order to better understand its significance, in the following sub-chapter I discuss the space of the Tašmajdan caves where the Festival took place.

3.3.3 | *Uncovering the hidden: the Tašmajdan caves as Belgrade’s mystery.*

Underground spaces, placed below cities as evidence of the existence of human communities through history, began sinking into the ground over time. Current dwellers of the city present only the upper surface of the time pillar that springs from the underground. Belgrade is one of the significant cities which testify of the presence of the oldest historical layers in Europe.⁸⁰ As the vital zone of a Neolithic archaeological culture (Vinča culture), the first settlements date from 4800 BC while an optimal geographic position creates a valuable space. During the centuries, many civilisations and empires (such as the Celts, Romans, Byzantines, Huns, and others) encountered, struggled, crossed, intertwined and created unique compounds upon this space. Even though it keeps traces of several intertwined cultures, times and histories, during its development, as a site of conquerors from the East and the West, Belgrade was ruined and rebuilt more than fifty times.⁸¹

The remains of antique Singidunum lie several meters under the surface of today’s Belgrade, and the city of Singidunum is covered by the current city centre. At the time of

⁸⁰ Founded by the Celts in the third century BC and named Singidunum during the Roman Empire, the first mention of Belgrade was in 878 AC.

⁸¹ In 1992 Zoran Lj. Nikolić and Vidoje Golubović began the pioneering project of Belgrade underneath Belgrade. By discovering various underground places in Belgrade, they wished to illuminate the multilaterally crossed origins of the town. Before their book, which had the same title as the project which appeared in 2002, the underworld of Belgrade was almost unknown to the public. The starting point of their research was not concentrated only on discovering and documenting historical facts, but also on detecting different underground spaces by using the lens of “travellers through the underground” (Nikolić and Golubović 2012). Because of a lack of relevant literature related to the Tašmajdan caves, except those which cover the historical facts through travelogues from the past, I base the discussion on their fruitful research.

Roman rule, which lasted until 441 AD when the Huns invaded the town, Singidunum was the vital centre of the province of Moesia. The province spread in the area of today's Serbia. One of the most mysterious parts of the city centre, Tašmajdan, is still shrouded in mystery. Today it is a popular and modern park in Belgrade, with the grand Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Marko in which lie the relics of the greatest Serbian ruler, Emperor Dušan (Dušan the Mighty), as well as wide promenades, a children's playground, a flower alley, a Russian Orthodox church, the Seismological Institute founded in 1909, the children's theatre Duško Radović, the Children's Cultural Centre, and TV Serbia. After the Second World War, a sports stadium, an Olympic swimming pool and sports centre were built in Tašmajdan. Until 1888, it was a cemetery not only for Belgraders (a significant part was dedicated to the Serbian elite), but also for people who lived or were somehow connected to the town. In the past, Tašmajdan also had an old Orthodox church and a Roman necropolis. As the cemetery moved to another part of the city, Tašmajdan gradually began to resemble its present look.⁸² Not only did the city have variable and contrasting roles, but the whole level below the ground made it unique.

Positioned, figuratively speaking, in the heart of Belgrade, Tašmajdan had a significant role during the Romans. Namely, one of the most important roads in this period passed through Tašmajdan. The road linked Singidunum to another historically significant town – Venceia (today Smederevo). Moreover, below the surface of Tašmajdan was the pipe work of the old Roman plumbing system. All this signified the fact that Singidunum was one of the most significant centres in the area. Although it is assumed that the whole of this underground city part consists of numerable secrets, below the ground level there are four caves known to date. Marinko Paunović indicates that the digging of the caves was begun by the prehistoric dwellers, aiming to make a place of residence. Subsequent to that, the Romans were taking out stones from the caves to make sarcophagi, many of which are still preserved in Belgrade, with carved silhouettes and epitaphs in Latin. From the Tašmajdan stones, the Romans also made the first buildings in Singidunum, and the houses, mansions, and temples of ancient Roman culture. In time, the caves became the first stone pit and mine in Belgrade (Paunović 1971: 1020).

⁸² Some historical sources indicate that on April 27th 1594, the charred relics of Saint Sava (Rastko Nemanjić) the first Archbishop of the autocephalous Serbian Church, the founder of Serbian law and literature and a diplomat who lived in the 13th century were placed in Tašmajdan. His relics were brought from Mileševa monastery (Southwest Serbia) and charred by order of the Turkish vizier Sinan Pasha (Paunović 1971: 1022).

In 1521, when Suleiman the Magnificent captured Belgrade and Serbia fell under Ottoman occupation, Ottomans gave this area the name of Tašmajdan, from the Turkish words *taş* – stone and *maden* – mine. During the time of Ottoman rule, the caves were a shelter for women and children. This optimal position for controlling and monitoring the Ottomans from the “heart of the town” was used by Grand Leader Karađorđe, the elected leader of the First Serbian Uprising which had the aim to liberate Serbia from the Ottoman Empire. During the siege of Belgrade in the autumn of 1806, Karađorđe positioned his headquarters in the Tašmajdan caves and from that position commanded the battle for Belgrade. At the end of 1806, Belgrade was freed from Ottoman rule. It became the capital of the then liberated part of Serbia. During the next several years, an awakening of national consciousness began, and Belgrade became a significant economic, trade and cultural centre. As a part of the Serbian revolution against the Ottoman Empire, the First Serbian Uprising opened up a new chapter in national history.⁸³ It should be pointed out that for the defence of Belgrade during the First Serbian Uprising, the driving force and energy for change came from the Tašmajdan caves.

However, in 1813 the Ottomans disrupted the dynamic development of Belgrade. The repressions which followed led to the Second Serbian Uprising in 1815. Miloš Obrenović, as the leader of the revolt, introduced more diplomacy in relations with the Ottomans. Although the Ottomans held strategically important positions (such as Belgrade Fortress), Obrenović continued to build and develop Belgrade. Nonetheless, he began to re-shape Tašmajdan from the cemetery to the city plateau. It is important to say that the first edict (Hatišerif) was publicly read in 1830 in Tašmajdan. The edict indicated that Serbia had received political authority. In addition to this, Obrenović was recognised as a prince with a hereditary right. Furthermore, folk festivals and celebrations took place at the time in Tašmajdan. The tradition continued during the 1960s when it was a significant meeting place for young people. Namely, during the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s all urban Belgraders attended party nights in the Cepelin discotheque in Tašmajdan. Also, popular music concerts were organised at Tašmajdan Stadium.

During the second part of the 19th as well as at the turn of the 20th century, groups of European travellers often visited Serbia. Among them was Felix Kanitz, an Austrian

⁸³ From the periphery of the Ottoman empire, Serbia became the first country in the Balkans with a constitution, laws, a modern state administration and an elite who was willing to follow the models of major European states (Antić 2009: 11). Also, it was the period in which began the dynastic struggle between the Karađorđević and Obrenović families.

ethnologist and archaeologist, one of the greatest experts for South-eastern Europe. In searching for the remains of an ancient cultural heritage on the territory of Serbia, through his texts and drawings, Kanitz left valuable details of the life, the customs and landscapes of Serbia. In the 1904 travelogue *The Kingdom of Serbia and the Serbian People from Roman Times until the Present*, Kanitz devoted a significant segment to Belgrade. In the substantial description of Tašmajdan, he wrote that the Ottomans mined saltpetre from the caves for making gunpowder (Kanic 1987: 82). Also, it should be pointed out that Kanitz made the first drawing of the caves in 1860, as shown in the following picture:

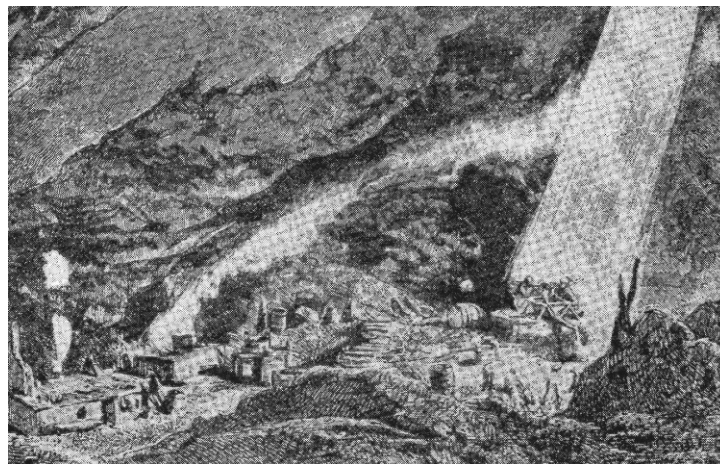


Figure 49 | Felix Kanitz's picture of the Tašmajdan caves (taken from Paunović 1971: 291).

The caves had the purpose to protect Belgraders from the bombs of the First World War while in the Second World War, the space was occupied by the German army. Namely, Alexander von Löhr, an Air Force commander, used the caves not only as an underground shelter but also as headquarters for South-eastern Europe and during the first years of the war, he adapted the caves.⁸⁴ After the Second World War, the period when the adaptation and re-shaping of park began, the Tašmajdan caves took on an air of mystery. The former Yugoslav People's Army kept them in secrecy, as a possible commanding position and shelter

⁸⁴ The first cave, whose floor is covered by concrete, has metal doors at its end. The doors serve as the link for a maze of corridors towards the second cave. Also with a concrete floor, the second cave is further strengthened with concrete arches that support the ceiling. Here German soldiers built a power station which was fuelled by diesel generators. Also, they installed telephone lines that connected certain points in the caves. In addition, the power station propelled the ventilation system. It is assumed that the third cave which extended to 26 meters below ground level was used as a warehouse. In passing, it is worth noting that from the bottom of the cave there is a murmur of water. Finally, the fourth cave is positioned on the opposite side of Tašmajdan, and it had a parking function.

(Figure 50). However, soon after they gave up this intention, but the caves were still kept in secrecy.



Figure 50 | The Tašmajdan caves (taken from Nikolić and Golubović 2012: 136, 138, 146).

Although even today the caves are closed for the public⁸⁵ the Slovene theatre troupe Gledališče Pupilija Ferkeverk from Ljubljana performed the Pupilija Ferkeverk and Janko Raščupanko play there on September 14th 1971 as a part of BITEF (Belgrade's Theatre Festival). Examining the architectonic scene spaces of the festival, Radivoje Dinulović writes that it was the charm of the caves which was responsible for the positive memories of the audience and the festival chroniclers, even though their specificity is emphasised and not suited for theatrical performances (Dinulović 1993: 31).

Finally, before the Back to the People Festival, which I consider and examine in the following sub-chapters, two EDM performances took place in the caves in 1996. Namely, the first one was Star Trecking on February 9th whereupon DJs from Amsterdam performed (Ryan and Paul Jay) with support from Belgrade DJs (Savka and Invision/Velja Mijanović). The second performance, named Magna House took place on November 2nd, just a few days before the Back to the People Festival. At Magna House, Belgrade DJs presented their performing skills (Igor Stanovnik, Gordan Paunović, Boža Podunavac, Mark Wee/Marko Vajagić). However, the performances which took place in the caves were not as extensively coordinated as the Back to the People Festival. Nonetheless, all the performances were also recorded for the purposes of the TV show VJ Techno as a part of the announcement or a retrospect of the clubbing events in Belgrade in the time. After the festival, several small-scale EDM performances took place. In 2003 the caves were closed again, waiting for a new

⁸⁵ The Tašmajdan caves were only opened for the *European Heritage Days* manifestation in 2011.

period when they would be revealed and recognised as an important historical, cultural, and tourist attraction of Belgrade.

3.3.4.1 | Re-organising the space of the caves and creating the atmosphere.

From the 1960s when a performative turn took place in the arts, as Fischer-Lichte indicates, alternative spaces began to be used for performance purposes. The performances started to be conducted in old factories, warehouses, shopping malls, in stadiums, or on the streets. The emphasis on alternative spaces gradually began to move toward those not primarily intended to be used for performances, because they did not mark a clear border line for the correlation between the performer(s) and the audience. Fischer-Lichte highlights following: “These spaces constantly redefined performative relationships by refusing to allot a specific spatial segment to either group. In these spaces, performance itself regulated the relationship between actors and spectators and opened up possibilities for movement and perception” (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 110).

As already indicated, the idea to use the Tašmajdan caves as the Festival venue was motivated by the wish of the organisers to examine the opportunities and the effects of alternative, old city spaces with a long tradition. One of the co-organisers and the official VJ at the festival, [Dušan] Kaličanin, highlights the main reasons why the Back to the People Festival took place in the caves and not in the existing Belgrade clubs: “In a certain way, a club may have originality, but at the end, everything turns into commercialism. We wished to present something different. For example, if the event is like a theatre play conducted at some innovative location, then the participants feel the event differently, such as they went for a voyage, entered another time, being free for all the things that are bothering them. Examining alternative spaces, we realised that people had good reactions, which they prepared for the event and thought about spaces – not only where they are going, but also about the facts related to the space” (Kaličanin, interview, June 23rd 2012). Aiming to stimulate new experiences for the audience (Fischer-Lichte 2008), the Tašmajdan caves allowed new possibilities for the negotiation of the relationship not only between the performers and the audience, as it is usual at other EDM parties, but also between the *space* – *the audience* – and the *performers*. Therefore, in this sub-chapter I will first present how

the space of the caves was re-organised for the purposes of the Back to the People Festival. Secondly, my focus will be directed toward considering how the atmosphere was created, having in mind the performance which took place on the second festival day, on the GOA trance stage.

The form of the festival transformed the space of the caves. Namely, the three space units – *cave-hangar-room* – referred to the transformation, while entering, that is, the descent into the depth of the caves depicted a unique experience of a transition from the ground into the underground, as will be seen more clearly. The border line from the outer and the inner world was additionally reinforced by the fact that the cave walls retained sound and so the music could not be heard outside:

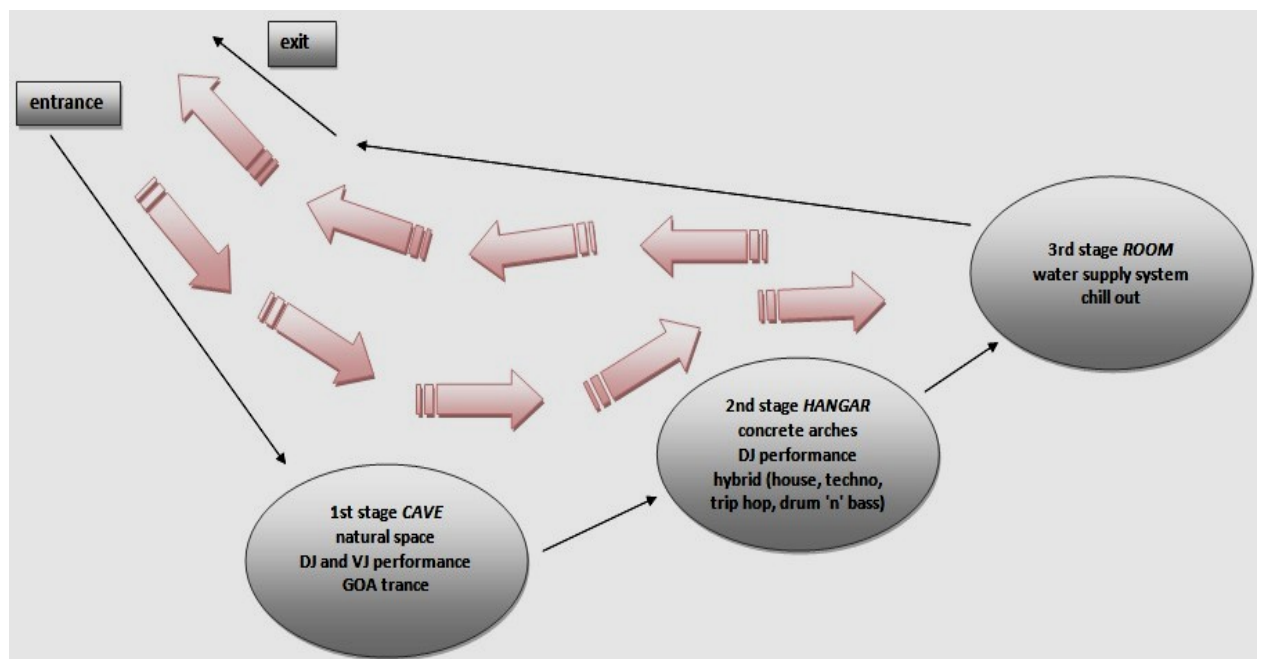


Figure 51| Re-organisation of the Tašmajdan caves for the festival and the circulation of energy.

As Figure 51 shows, the long descent down the stairs led into a deep, large part of the space named the *Cave*. The space is specific for its natural ambience, bordered by stone walls and natural ventilation. Compared with other caves spaces, this “cave” resembles a kind of cave-palace and it is nearly round-shaped. The GOA trance performances took place in this cave, and there were also hip hop DJs and the band Robin Hood. On the second day of the Festival, during the GOA trance performance, the space was conceived in such a way that the DJ was positioned in one section and the VJ in another, as Figure 52 demonstrates:

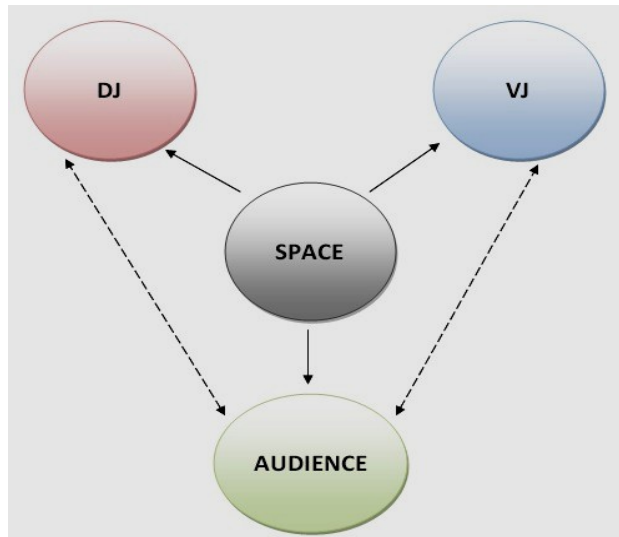


Figure 52 | Establishing a connection between the space, the audience, the DJ and the VJ.

Namely, all the participants who were close to the DJ could only see the images on the walls of the cave, not knowing that the VJ was also performing a live video mix. The audience which was closer or facing the VJ could watch the VJ's performance but could not see the DJ, they could only hear the music. Nonetheless, all of the audience positioned in the central part of the space could see neither the DJ nor the VJ. They could only hear music and watch the moving images on the cave walls. Therefore, they had a particularly simulated experience of cave life while it can be said that positioning the performers and the audience in the space had three micro-segments within it. In addition, it is important to point out that the Back to the People Festival, that is, the GOA trance performance, was one of the first events in Serbia during the 1990s in which the DJ and VJ were positioned equally visibly although they were not at the same stand but in separated part. The audience had the opportunity to pass by the VJ, to watch how the VJ managed the equipment and performed. In that way, the VJ's importance was also marked as a live video performance.

The second space was marked as a *Hangar* because of the shape and concrete arches on the ceiling. An exceptionally narrow hallway in which two persons could barely pass by each other, connected the hangar with the first space – the “cave.” The hallway had a gentle slope and walking through it, an air roar could be heard. In the hangar, during the first day, funk and acid jazz performances took place, while during the second festival day the most significant sub-genres of EDM could be heard. The concrete arches were reminiscent of the

passage or tunnel which emphasised the transitivity of the space. Furthermore, the long hallway linked the hangar and the part of the cave where from both the left and the right side there were command rooms. This part of caves was not used for festival purposes.

The hallway led to the third festival space which was positioned in line with the bottom part of Tašmajdan Stadium. In the space marked as the *Room* was the large plant of Belgrade's water supply system. During the Festival's chill out performances, the supply system was working and sounds of machines which extracted and purified water could be heard. Thus, this extended and expanded the performances and bound them to the real industrial event. As Figure 51 shows, by establishing a tripartite relationship of the *descent and entry into the cave's depths – exploring the space by movements – going out onto the surface through the sound of water being processed*, there transpired a change on a symbolic level, that is, liminality through space, experience of transition through space and, in that way, a creating of circular energy.

Moreover, not only did the re-organisation of space for festival purposes re-define the cave space, it also marked the importance of the *performativity of space* which contributed to exploring the possibilities for stimulating new experiences in the audience, as it will be discussed in the next sub-chapter. As Fischer-Lichte indicates, performativity of space can be reached on three levels (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 110, 114). Firstly, it is achieved by using empty space, even if an empty space is unavoidably layered with meanings. In that way, space allows free movements by the audience which also realises feedback reactions which take place between the performers – the audience that is between the DJ – the audience – the VJ – the audience. Secondly, performativity of space was achieved by creating spatial arrangements which opened up areas of possibilities for an affirmation of the correlation between the DJ/VJ and the audience, for movement and perception. In the mutual correlation between the space – the DJ – the audience – the VJ, the EDM party becomes an independent and unique performance which leads to a transformation. Through bodily movements, the audience in the cave space performed an active role in the re-articulation of memory. They had an experience of collective memory and contributed to experiencing a sense of the past through space. Finally, the performativity of the Tašmajdan caves was realised by experimenting with space which did not primarily serve for the purpose of entertainment.

The audience freed their energies through the rhythmic movements of the bodies

which they shaped in relation to the music. They generated the Festival's spatiality through movements and perception which focused on the affective potential of circular energy between the *dancers – the DJ – the VJ*. The sense and experience of the space through the bodies in interaction with the music and the video made the festival productive and dynamic. Maurice Merleau-Ponty highlights that if bodies and outer space create one practical system, then it is obvious that body spatiality is fulfilled in action. Observing the body in movement, we can see how it continues in space and time, because movement takes space and time actively and catches them in their primary meaning (Merleau-Ponty 1990: 130). Schechner noticed the correlation between body and space through which they move. Signifying it as "a living relationship," he came to the assumption that "human beings and space are both alive." It means that while performing movements in space, "people communicate with space and with each other through space" (Schechner 1994b: 12).

Performative space, as Fischer-Lichte asserts, always creates an atmospheric space (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 114), as already indicated while discussing performative spaces in Chapter 1. However, in this context it does not mean that spatiality is presented only by particular performers and the audience's use of space, but also by the use of the particular atmospheres that a space emits. At the Back to the People Festival, performative space also related to atmospheric space understood as the juncture of the atmosphere that the caves emitted by themselves and those which the participants created by connecting sound, video, light and movements. In a way, the body encounters embodied-sensuous experiences and "uncovered" underground knowledge. Nonetheless, Fischer-Lichte points out that, "For the aesthetics of the performative, three aspects need to be highlighted: first, spatiality in performances is to be accorded the quality of an event rather than that of a work of art because of its fleeting and transitory nature. Second, the spectators become aware of their own corporeality in atmospheric spaces. They experience themselves as living organisms involved in an exchange with their environments. The atmosphere enters their bodies and breaks down their limits. This third process marks the performative space as a liminal space of transformation" (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 119, 120).

Looking through the lens of Fischer-Lichte's determinations, it became clear that the central point of the Festival was, on one hand, to experience performative spaces and transformation when entering into the caves while, on the other, to become aware of these experiences. The audience experienced the real space of caves as a space of the imaginary.

Namely, despite participation at the Festival, it also gave the opportunity to experience the particular space's atmosphere.⁸⁶ The term "specific atmosphere" was introduced by Fischer-Lichte and determined as "something, which pours itself out into the performative space *between* the thing and the perceived subject" (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 116). She stresses that "Something similar happens to space. When the architectural-geometric turns into the performative space, its so-called primary qualities – i.e. its dimension and volume – can be sensed and begin to affect the perceiving subject. In performance, atmosphere is to the creation of spatiality what presence is to the generation of corporeality. Through its atmosphere, the entering subject experiences the space and its things as emphatically present. Not only do they appear in their primary and secondary qualities, they also intrude on and penetrate the perceiving subject's body and surround it atmospherically. The spectators are not positioned opposite to or outside the atmosphere; they are enclosed by and steeped in it" (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 116).

What is interesting with Fischer-Lichte's interpretation is that the participants at the Festival had a chance to create a particular atmosphere contributing to a dynamic transfer between the different histories and functions that the caves had through (accumulated) time. From these perspectives, it can be highlighted not only that the bodies of dancers were perceived as a meeting point of several elements, and continued, but also connected space and time and were the meeting place of real and imaginary spaces. Finally, the art of creating the Festival in a particular time and in a particular space became the art of transformation. In addition, by introducing DJ and VJ working tools such as turntables and the sound and video systems, the space of caves was re-defined and from the shelter attained the role of a unique place for entertainment. Considered from this angle and

⁸⁶ One of the Festival participants describes her experiences when entering and facing the space during the second day: "We slowly descended, that is, entered the womb of the earth in spite of the crowd in front of the caves. In this hallway, two people could hardly bypass each other. I was very curious and peered over the heads to see where I was going. I felt a lot of admiration because the hidden place in the city would show its shape to us. When we entered the caves, I realised that it was more than I had expected from the underground. The music resounded and reverberated off the rocks and the walls of the cave while the light effects complemented the experience. I was delighted by the first impression and immediately began to dance. I had no idea who was playing the music. It was enough for me to close my eyes and let my senses take me through a journey through space, music and people. This compound was perfect. Although I was then a party participant who never missed any EDM events in Belgrade, it rarely happened to me to feel such energy in one place" (Šaša, email interview, August 17th 2013). This descriptive statement highlights the fact that, when the participants entered the caves, the atmosphere was the first thing that affected and touched them, enabling a particular experience of spatiality. Therefore, the atmosphere which the caves emitted penetrated, encompassed and was present in their bodies. Moreover, various sounds that the cave created by itself, such as the roar of air, murmur and sound of water, also contributed in achieving a strong atmospheric effect.

compared with the function of the caves throughout history, it can be noted that the basic aim of all the participants at the event was to show that their tools were music, dance and video. Therefore, it can be said that the caves received another historical layer.

At such festivals, the sound, light and video have an exceptionally important role in creating a particular atmosphere and opening up a possibility for immediate change. As already indicated, while the first Festival day presented only official hip hop videos, a live VJ performance was conducted on the second day in the main cave, as a part of the GOA trance performances.⁸⁷ The VJ used two players, mixers and a strong projector which delivered images - not on canvas, but on the walls of the cave. One of the reasons why a live video was projected in such a way was conditioned by the lighting of the space. Namely, the video was the only source of light in the first cave. The second reason was related to the concept of the video work. The VJ aimed to present bodily movements through dance and time. Therefore, a particular atmosphere was created and not only could it be changed in a moment, but the atmosphere also additionally highlighted the act of transforming the space.

For the performance, the VJ used fragments of the oldest black and white video recordings, available from the Television of Belgrade and the Yugoslav film archive. Besides the fragments from Buster Keaton and Charlie Chaplin comedy movies, his work also consisted of fragments with emphasised dance movements, acrobatics, samples of choreography taken from musicals as well as fragments from the cult *Bathing Beauty* film starring Esther Williams. While in particular sequences the dance was clearly marked, in others the movements such as climbing buildings, falling, or jumping were highlighted. The aim of the video work was to emphasise movement, as well as dancing forms in different spaces: in water, on the street, and on the ground. Moreover, it was important to mark dance as freedom in movements, as a possibility of connecting people, and as one of the ways in which nature can be explored through body movements. Nonetheless, the live video performance inspired the audience to dance in a particular space accompanied by music and video images. The VJ was mixing video material, following the beat, or the rhythmic and thematic pulse of the music and fitting the work into the context of the event. In that way, the VJ created a unique video narration which contributed to an additional connection among the participants and created interactions between them. Consequently, this opened

⁸⁷ The information that the video mix will be performed live was not on the flyer. The VJ did not perform a live video during the entire night, only in several parts. The reason lies in the fact that at that time (in the year 1996!) it was not as easy to create quality and long live video mixes as it is on the computer today.

up another level. Namely, the VJ carried out communication with the audience, with the space, and with the DJ performance aiming to create a unique audio-visual event and atmosphere.

Beside the aforementioned fragments, like in other VJ performances, fragments from other official techno videos and graphical animations such as fractals and science fiction animations were used, as well as several colours combined with material. Pigments of earth colours were mostly used to colour the cave space, which presented a specific way of drawing on the walls. The drawing on a symbolic level referred to the act of taking out stones for building a new, urban community. Projecting images in gaps on walls was a testimony on how stone blocks were taken from the walls for the construction of Singidunum. It was as if in this way the video work aimed to awaken the spirits of ancestors while presenting the movement referred to the fact that something new should be created through dance and play. Due to the fact that in the first cave space there were no technical possibilities to add an additional lighting system, one part of the space was illuminated by a video mix. In certain parts of the night, the simulation of light was done by a video beam through different visualisations which was accompanied by a music beat. This was done often in the form of simulations of the Sun and Moon which on the symbolic level created circles which connected the participants and made a strong correlation between them. Using colours, words such as “trance” and “rave” emphasised the EDM phenomenon, and can be interpreted as a wish to create a new, urban community through colour. It meant that all the differences between people must be avoided, and also related to the definition of a visual identity of the event in a discovered space. Although the image disappears by switching off the projector, drawing on cave walls with images and colours while the projector is switched on created a new multimedia reality. Live video work, therefore, was applied in the Festival to stimulate an unusual perceptual experience within the audience.

3.3.4.2 | The flyer as a reflection of the time when the Festival took place.

In the following analysis, the flyer of the Back to the People Festival in which the images reflect a certain cultural and social situation in Serbia during the 1990s is examined, and should be perceived as an expression of shared knowledge about that period. Therefore, the starting point of consideration will shed light on the ways in which the flyer was conceived and it will help to explore the meanings woven into it. I aim to find out how images can connote a particular set of meanings about the Festival, as well as to discover the particular discourse which communicates about the kinds of persons, actions and time when the Festival took place. Also, I deal with the ideas and values communicated by the flyer, as well as how the images from which it consists of are represented. On the final level in analysis, there will be a focus on the meanings of the Festival name and the messages interwoven into the whole event.

Designed in order to show the space and event in the Tašmajdan caves, the primary function of the flyer was to invite young people to come and contribute to the Festival's activities. The flyer consists of three images: the first and the second image of equal dimensions are placed on the front side, while the third image, proportionally larger, is positioned on the back side of the flyer, as can be visualised in the following figure:



Figure 53 | The official flyer of the Back to the People Festival: two front side images and one back side image (private collection).

As Figure 53 shows, three complementary images were created in the style of cartoon art. The first image can be interpreted in two ways. Namely, it is presented as a superposition of the images of the solar eclipse and the pupil of the eye. Firstly, when considered as an image in which the annular solar eclipse is marked, then it gives clear information about the time and importance of the festival. To be more precise, the phenomenon of the solar eclipse, as astronomers indicate, is half that of the lunar eclipse (Ridpat 2007: 363). As the entry of one celestial body into the shadow of another, the eclipse represents an obstruction of powerful daily light as a universal symbol of strength, life, light, truth, eternity and spirit (Trebješanin 2008: 397). In the context of the festival, the eclipse is closely connected with the socio-political situation in Serbia during the 1990s, and “the state of darkness,” as elaborated in Chapter 1. When the Sun, as a symbol of life and the ultimate wholeness of man is obscured, as many traditions predict, the uprising is foretold. According to this interpretation, at the

connotative level, the first image had the function to invite people to be together at that moment, and to free energies trapped in the caves. Looking through the lens of the negative and harmful effects of the natural phenomenon of the solar eclipse, it was suggested that young people enter the caves as a particular type of defence.

When viewed as a pupil of the eye, the second way of interpreting, the image informs about the intention to crystallise how events from the field of popular culture have to be observed and controlled. Namely, by highlighting human sight, the idea opens up and gives a clear comment that people can express their tastes, although not impose them. Moreover, having in mind both interpretations, the first image of the flyer is presented as a framed one, that is, four complementary images of which the frame consists of a focus of the gaze of the natural phenomenon of the pupil. It is important to add that these four images positioned as a frame were taken at EDM events which took place in Belgrade during the 1990s. It can be said that the documentary photos are embedded in the flyer context. Finally, written in English, the name of the festival – Back to the People – follows the circular line of the shape and additionally emphasises the Festival's importance.

The second image of the flyer focuses on a scene from an EDM party. It also contains information about the organisers, sponsors and the media support of the festival. The space where the party took place can be interpreted as a cave, and the image highlights that space is full of dancers. They are positioned as self-contained, but from the image we get an impression of the group where the emphasis is on entertainment. It resembled photography taken from an EDM party and stylised: a record of what we see at one moment in the party. The image presents a combination of the existing images and artistic work incorporated into the cave space. Moreover, it is taken from one angle, a closer shot which is more personal than the longer shot. It is evident that the emphasis is not on the DJ but on the audience and the space. The audience is positioned in the foreground in relation to the DJ. However, the image also gives the impression that the audience is walking and exploring the space. In that way, it is more important to signify the audience than the performers and to highlight its diversity in space.

Simply foregrounding creates the importance and stresses that the audience on the iconic level activates the meaning of the Festival name, which will be discussed soon. If with a quick glance we scan the image, some elements that carry many significant cultural symbols will appear. Firstly, the smiles are pointed out in the faces of the participants, as well

as sunglasses as important clubbing props, and the wardrobe. Significant attention is paid to the female style: sleeveless shirts, tops, glossy hair. These are all suggestions of a particular kind of traditional highly sexualised femininity. Secondly, similar male hairstyles, a DJ hat, and cigarettes mark the specific urban pop culture of clubbers which, as it is clearly indicated by the image, eradicates all differences. The clubbers are smiling, dancing and revealing the space by body movements, and they are expending energy and connoting “fun.”

On another level, the second image in the flyer distinguishes the use of high-impact, rich and saturated colours which evidently highlight a contrast. As opposed to the closed environment of the space and the dark, marking the light on the walls leads to the conclusion that the party takes place in a cave. The use of lighter tones (the audience, cave walls) has the function to attract the eye. The second image points to the existence of a world under the city. Furthermore, the imagined experience of the space of Tašmajdan caves is presented, which creates a specific impression in the viewer. It seems as if the viewer participates in the space, wishing to invoke another reality. Nevertheless, the image also presents how lively colours can create a particular “mood” and the “excitement” of an EDM party which describes the effects of colour. The communicative function of emphasised colours on the image relates to the presenting of basic festival ideas: that all people are invited, regardless of their differences and that the ambience of the night is distinct. Furthermore, the wardrobe, the look and a specific clubber style points out that participants are young people and that the festival is taking place in a “special” space. The saturation of colours in the clothing, as it is represented in the image, connotes the boldness and intensity of fun and liveliness. The richness of colours also suggests that along with the moods of the solar eclipse, there is also warmth through the dancing (represented by the smile on the participants’ faces) and glimpses of hope.

The third image in the flyer focuses on the object – the caves – in a shape that calls attention to the venue of the festival, how it is organised, how the performances are divided into days, as well as who the performers are. The drawing was taken from the game which was at the time played on Spectrum and Commodore computers. The map used from the Dig Dug game, in which the mole goes underground and digs, and the image in it symbolically indicated that it is necessary to enter the space and explore it by body movements, music and video. The space of caves is presented as the first layer, while the second, which contains information, is represented as a digital image. The third image in the

flyer suggests the importance of delving into depth in order to redirect the energy contained in the deepest layers.⁸⁸ Entering into such a space and trying to spread and divert the accumulated energy meant creating performative spaces and the atmosphere, which was discussed in the previous sub-chapter.

As these three images showed, the concept of the flyer was to present the Festival through three perspectives. Namely, the first image is made up of material taken from the video and documentary photos. The second presents a combination of drawings and comics, while the third refers to a computer game map. In that way, the flyer linked three different modes of presenting the visual. Although on the iconic level, the flyer can relate to any location in the world, the textual level of information localises it, linking it to Belgrade. Connoting ideas and concepts presented on the flyer gives not only basic information (the performers, the time and place of the event), but also the view about the way in which the festival was conceived at the time and its potential significance. When considered as a whole, the flyer firstly indicated that Back to the People is a festival that exists in a particular time (the solar eclipse), at a special place (the caves), and for specific reasons (the EDM party).

Lastly, the name of the Festival – Back to the People – contains several interpretations. First, it means a direct link to world EDM trends, and a wider DJ and popular culture. Looking through the lenses of the EDM genre, even though in 1996 Serbia had no sanctions imposed, the EDM scene was well developed, and the ways in which young people could continue a further development of the pop cultural phenomenon were examined, also extending it through other underground musical genres. Second, bringing the Festival into a cave and creating performative and atmospheric spaces, Back to the People highlighted not only the space in which the participants were going, but also the space through which they were moving. In that light, going back to the cave, to the roots, travelling into the past – it is possible to arrive at the oldest strata of humanity, while the transition from ground into the

⁸⁸ In addition, in this moment it is worth noting that entering into the underground had several meanings. Firstly, there are numerous interpretations for the term underground in different presentations of man and life from ancient periods, and the term can be linked to social meaning, the mythological and chthonic world, as well as an archaeological discourse. Secondly, opposed to the ground, the underground was built upon the strata of history and presents a place suitable for adventure, for creating different images which consist of elements of mystery. Finally, bearing in mind these two understandings of the term underground, it can be hypothesised that, in a broader sense, the descent into the caves and a symbolic travelling through time and space became an archetypal model of searching for one's completeness.

underground world presents a unique experience.⁸⁹ The name and message of the Back to the People Festival aim to erase differences between people, avoiding the conflicting history which is intertwined in the cave space, as well as being an indication that all the differences between people disappear in the deepest layers of humanity. Therefore, the message was clear. Namely, the organisers, performers and the audience aimed to show and mark where they lived, that on the basic level all were human, that they intended to take control and build something *new* by using and connecting various histories whose witness is space.

3.3.5 | The significance of the Festival and multidirectional memory links.

As we have seen, the Back to the People Festival has become a filter which transmitted, processed and transformed meanings, to which EDM performances contributed in a significant way. Binding memories through space, using the festival as a medium can be understood as creating new forms and lines for understanding the phenomenon of popular culture. Therefore, on the last level of analysis, there will be an emphasis on three main points which show the Festival's importance and make multidirectional memory links.

Firstly, opening and re-shaping the hidden city space into a public one opened up the possibilities for the audience to have a unique experience in the caves and a strong feeling of the past. In that light, a multidirectional memory link was created through the very function of space. Namely, appearing through the history as a hiding place, a shelter and a command secret place, all these functions of the caves were embedded in the Festival, while the Festival extended the caves' primary function into entertainment space. In that sense, the way of re-shaping *natural* into *cultural spaces* can be linked to Schechner's concept of environmental theatre. Namely, as Schechner elaborated "... the use of space is fundamentally collaborative; the action flows in many directions sustained only by the cooperation of performers and spectators. Environmental theatre design is a reflection of the wish to participate" (Schechner 1994b: 39). Schechner's concept of environmental theatre has two possibilities. While the first illuminates creating an environment by transforming space, by using the second possibility the participants confirm the found space.

⁸⁹ In this moment it is important to shed light on one fact. Namely, while at Techno Therapy 1994 the space of the cave was simulated, as it was presented in the first analysis of this chapter, the Back to the People Festival in fact brought people into the space of caves which has existed for over two millennia.

Having in mind Schechner's determinations, it can be pointed out that the challenge of organising the festival in the Tašmajdan caves, understood in this context as a found space, was to actually explore the space of the caves, to confirm its existence in Belgrade, as well as to open up possibilities for its use in creative purposes.

Secondly, the festival is an important example of the *renewal* of space. With the acts of opening and symbolically liberating caves, the festival made a link with the socio-political situation in Serbia during the 1990s. Even though at first glance it seems as if the actions did not have a strong connection with the situation, opening the caves had an important role on a symbolic level. Namely, looking through Turner's concept of *social drama*, conducting the festival at the moment when the country was in a phase of redressive action meant that young people entered into the space shrouded in mystery and added it to their own meanings. The performers at the festival (DJs, VJ, and the band Robin Hood) attained the roles of *agents of redression*, according to Turner's determinations, who used music and live video performance as tools for creating something new. On one hand, by focusing on the act of renewing the space perceived as a command place, it can be said that young people continued further, towards an almost stronger development and promotion of EDM in Serbia, as well as other underground genres (hip hop, funk and acid jazz). On the other hand, when placing a pop cultural phenomenon such as EDM in a historically and strategically important but hidden place, it can be said that on the symbolic level all the participants wished to take control over the situation in the *outer* world. It means that changing the function of the space from a shelter and command place into a place for entertainment, contributed in opening up possibilities for thinking about the future (such as performative acts on the streets during the student protest which took place soon after the festival). In that way, the festival enhanced the space's performativity and increased its historical significance.⁹⁰

Finally, the Festival became a platform for articulating the vision of linking the past (through space) and the present (through EDM and a wider DJ and underground culture). On one hand, on the inner level, the caves became *a meeting place* of the musical

⁹⁰ Observed from the perspective of metaphorical representations, by opening space or healing the heart (the caves are positioned in the "heart" of Belgrade), the organism (the city) starts to function. Bringing rhythm into the caves, body movements and the energy of young people began a symbolical recovery. The dancing and writing images on the cave walls, which can be linked to theatre space, began the liberating of the organs and their reactivating.

phenomenon, the DJs/VJ, the audience and history, that is, it activated an indirect memory for all those who were somehow connected to the caves through history.⁹¹ On the other, outer level, the place was determined by the developing EDM scene and the socio-political situation in Serbia during the 1990s. Thereby, the symbolic travelling through time in the space of the caves established a triadic relationship: the *now* of the performance(s) – the *then* of the historical events – the *now* of the historical events. Moreover, the festival became a model which examined not only what happens when different histories meet each other in one space (Rothberg 2009), but also the occurrence when a new phenomena of popular culture appears in the space. It showed itself as a productive, intercultural event.⁹²

⁹¹ When I say *indirect* memory, I mean that not all the participants had knowledge of the historical facts related to the caves, nor that such a space existed in Belgrade.

⁹² This relationship clearly emphasised the connection between the festival and the context within which it took place. In addition, it should be mentioned that the model *inside* (the festival) – *outside* (the socio-political situation in Serbia during the 1990s) significantly differs from the model established at the Techno Therapy performance which took place in 1994. As opposed to Techno Therapy, where the situation was embodied and emitted from the *outside* into the performance, in the Back to the People Festival the situation only initiated entering *inside*, into unknown, hidden space and its symbolic liberation.

Conclusion

An analysis of the three selected examples shows that the link between them can be determined as going back to the past. As we have seen, the aim of the first (Techno Therapy 1994) and the third example (Back to the People) was to shed light on the ways in which young people during the 1990s in Serbia, or during the *redressive action* phase, created live EDM performances. It needs to be said that on the symbolic level, participants in EDM culture were clearing and opening spaces for the incursion of a new popular culture with these performances. Also, it was shown how in these performances EDM trends were re-shaped and how young people added their local meanings.

Firstly, as the Techno Therapy performance which took place in 1994 showed, an EDM party in a particular context was conducted as a ritualised performance and became the reaction of a live experience. On one hand, the performance was also a comment on the situation in the country, while, on the other, it showed how an EDM party has the symbolic potential to heal the bodies of the participants. Besides, throughout the chapter I illuminated how the accumulated energy in the socio-political ambience of the 1990s in Serbia found its way of being re-shaped: through the development of the EDM scene as well as through the first Techno Therapy which materialised the energy into a ritualised performance.

Secondly, analysing the second Techno Therapy performance from 2012, I illuminated the ways in which a performance from the past can be staged using both theatrical protocols and protocols of performance. As we have seen throughout the analysis, by creating a theatrical atmosphere at an EDM party using re-enactment as a key, Techno Therapy attained the features of a unique performance as well as an important document of the existence of EDM culture in Serbia. In addition, Techno Therapy 2012 also showed the party's historical significance.

Finally, the liberation of energy during the 1990s opened new spaces in which EDM and the bodies of the participants entered, creating a multidirectional memory flow. Namely, the third example – the Back to the People Festival – showed how symbolically liberated bodies began discovering hidden spaces which bound diverse histories as well as the functions which the spaces had throughout time. In that way, EDM showed its performativity, linking body movements, music, video and the primal sounds of caves and

marking the importance of entering into such a space in a particular socio-political moment. In addition, this example, as well as the first Techno Therapy performance, sheds light on the collective unconsciousness which opened up the space for a symbolic collective connecting among participants.

In the next, final chapter of this study, EDM, as an authentic pop-cultural phenomena in Serbia, will be examined by using the results of the analysis from Chapters 2 and 3, and by examining the ways in which authenticity is manifested.

Chapter 4 | Toward the other authenticity.

In the final chapter of the study, I draw attention to the concept of authenticity, while the starting point consists of three theses. The first thesis illuminates the fact that authenticity does not show up *per se*, but it develops, or to be more precise: *it has to be created*. It means that authenticity is created by the act of performing in the moment of performing the artwork, or conducting the event. The second thesis puts on the front line the fact that the aura,⁹³ as a main signifier of the authenticity of a work of art (Benjamin 1974), is not lost by reproducing material from the past. Rather, it can be created in the new context with the material taken from the past. It means that the aura is not lost with the strategies and tactics of ready-made, photography, film, video, or processing material using digital technology. Finally, the third thesis sheds light on the fact that authenticity is created not on the primary, object level of the artwork, but on its meta-level of referentiality (Belančić 2008).⁹⁴

The aim of Chapter 4 is to demonstrate how the selected examples analysed in Chapters 2 and 3 can be thought as authentic, and what makes them authentic, respectively. To prove the aforementioned theses, the analytic focus is directed on two levels. Namely, on the first level I re-read the analysed examples using the lens of the clearly defined concept of *the other authenticity*. On the second level, I illuminate the facts which led me to conclude that EDM in Serbia at the turn of the 21st century should be perceived as an authentic pop cultural phenomenon, which was being shaped and developed in a specific socio-political

⁹³ Aura (Lat. breath) in medicine marks a sign for an upcoming attack; in occultism – the fluid of a person that can recognise only psychically sensitive people; theosophy and anthroposophy highlights a triple aura in relation to the body, soul and spirit (Rečnik filozofskih pojmova 2004: 54-55). It is a miraculous and elusive feature that goes beyond work understood as a piece, becoming the effect of authenticity, excellence, magic, nostalgic, as well as a certain presumed heat and closeness. We have no knowledge why some artworks affect us as listeners or beholders, and that effect is an “aura.” It also illuminates some distant trace and residue of what would be marked as a magical power given to the object in ancient rituals. It seems as if the aura makes artwork become more than just a present piece, for the (authentic and unrepeatable) way of how it is set in the world (Šuvaković 2008: 172, 173).

⁹⁴ Namely, the meta-level of referentiality stands as the basis of the idea and forms the other authenticity, as will be seen clearly in this chapter. According to the determination that *meta* means change of place (relocation) or order, or it can relate to the fact that is something behind or after something, in EDM it shows the ways of examining and considering EDM not only from the level of music, but also having in mind all appearances which are closely related to EDM but do not belong to the music *per se*. At the meta-level of referentiality, it is possible to determine the unique correlations established between music and performance, film, video, rituals, etc., and therefore to determine the other authenticity, as I will illuminate in the following sub-chapters.

situation, as elaborated in Chapter 1.

However, before re-reading the examples, I wish to present the line which clearly marks when and how the question of authenticity came into focus among theoreticians. It is important to show because it will be the starting point in creating the concept of the other authenticity. In the discussion of authenticity, I refer to Walter Benjamin (Benjamin 1974), [Theodor] Adorno (Adorno 1979) and Yves Michaud (Michaud 2004). Using their interpretations and understanding of the terms aura and authenticity, I will demonstrate how the idea about the “authenticity of a work of art” shifts through time. I attempt to crystallise the line shifting about the idea of authenticity, marking it as moving from the aura with artwork toward the aura which is created as a specific atmosphere and becomes an event. The select theoretical backgrounds used for the interpretation are significant for the study. Namely, they give a solid platform that will open up a path and crystallise the space for developing the new concept which I consider important in the present times.

4.1 | Transformation: from the aura within an artwork toward the aura as an event.

Although at the turn of the 1970s, the idea of authenticity as well as related terms of difference and repetition began to be reconsidered, the concept has been a subject of fascination from ancient times. Namely, the Latin word *origo* refers to origin, primary, primordial, indigenous. Concurrently, the noun means model or example, even though it indicates the origin of something that has arisen without a model – independently. Moreover, originality or authenticity refers to the *creative ability* of producing something new (Rečnik filozofskih pojmova 2004: 513). In that way, authentic means something that is first and as such completely new, respectively, it is the primary form, while the authenticity of the artwork always relates to the originality of the artist as an individual author. Furthermore, authenticity continually means connection and a mixture of the new (*innovation* and *invention*) and the first (*initial*) in a given series. The criterion of authenticity presupposes a mechanism which on one hand adds actuality and attraction to the artistic phenomena, while, on the other, it subtracts them (Belančić 2008).

In the contemporary world, we practically cannot talk about a material distinction

between the original and copies. This is supported by the fact that the author as the *ingenious creator* who shapes art “out of nothing” is obsolete with the appearance of structuralism. However, we would be wrong if we claim that originals do not exist today. Authenticity has not disappeared, but the term and concept have become stratified (Belančić 2008). For example, a copy becomes only one element that allows binding with other elements, therefore the field which the copy represents expands itself and opens up the space for interpretation in various ways and in different contexts. From this determination, the shift becomes evident. Namely, when the copy gains the characteristics of the model or fragment in order to create a new piece, the situation changes. Bearing this fact in mind, contemporary art and popular culture illuminate an important circumstance. Namely, they highlight that the term authenticity becomes multifaceted and that today it is neither unusual or rare to declare as authentic works or pieces those based on copies or pre-existing models and materials, as it was presented in Chapters 2 and 3 during the discussion of the phenomena of the sample, remix and re-enactment.

Coming to this point of interpreting the concept authenticity, important questions open up: is it possible to extract popular cultural evaluation from art, which starts from the division of old-new, or different-the same? Is evaluating based on the division of old-new or different-the same possible in art and popular culture today? Also, is it at all possible to establish such a value system, bearing in mind that the works of contemporary art and popular culture include all those who (in)directly participate in their creation, such as the performers, the audience, the promoters, critics, etc. How to evaluate an artwork when this shift from an individual author toward *creating as a collective process* becomes evident? Maybe this situation today rejects the previous understanding of authenticity, of the privileged role of authenticity in evaluating art and pop culture pieces. In this light, Milorad Belančić pointed out that, “The return to the previous, or back to the past, does not reject the possibility of the new. It redefines the conditions of its creation” (Belančić 2008: 286). Finally, when considered from the time-space framework, the concept of authenticity becomes fluid, as will be presented in the following paragraphs.

In the essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” written in 1935, Benjamin indicated the theoretical construct of “authentic art” and introduced the idea of the aura. Benjamin pointed out that art from ancient times had a particular aura and

has been linked to tradition.⁹⁵ Nonetheless, he defined the aura as a metaphysical occurrence, as the actual effect of a sensual impression that appears from the uniqueness and unrepeatability of an artwork. He explained: “The authenticity of a thing is the quintessence of all that is transmissible in it from its origin on, ranging from its physical duration to the historical testimony relating to it” (Benjamin 1974: 118, 119). By the term aura, Benjamin marks the continuum between the tradition of art and the actuality of artistic work. Aura is the occurrence of some distance, no matter how close it is and connects with a presence in the “here and now” which creates the artwork’s authenticity (Benjamin 1974: 133).

However, the appearance of mechanical and technical apparatuses which enabled a multiplication of artworks and developed new artistic praxes such as photography and film, opened up important questions relating to transformations in the art world. This situation was directly linked to the aura and the authenticity of the artwork, respectively. According to Benjamin, on one hand, the aura disappears and is lost with the appearance of the mechanical reproduction of an authentically and manually created artwork, while on the other hand, this brings the copy closer to the recipient(s). Considered from this angle, it can be noted that the (technical) reproduction has changed the nature and function of art. The process of multiplication indicated by technical reproduction had material consequences that, looking through Benjamin’s lenses, opened up a space for thinking about authenticity.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Although in ancient times the aura was connected to magic and religious cults, from the Renaissance it breaks away and begins a new life in the “secular ritual.” Benjamin reminds that, “As we know, the earliest artworks originated in the service of rituals – first magical, then religious. And it is highly significant that the artwork’s auratic mode of existence is never entirely severed from its ritual function. In other words: *the unique value of the “authentic” work of art has its basis in ritual, the source of its original use value.* This ritualistic basis, however mediated it may be, is still recognisable as a secularised ritual in even the most profane forms of the cult of beauty” (Benjamin 1974: 122).

⁹⁶ It should be reiterated that, except for the appearance of photography (and film afterward), the concept of authenticity was also in focus when ready-made products were presented in the art world. Namely, at the 1917 Paris exhibition introducing the urinal and naming it “Fountain,” Marcel Duchamp anticipated the idea of “artist as consumer.” Duchamp’s artwork opened up issues of rethinking authenticity in the art world: the ready-made marked a turning moment in understanding the original. The author showed that the meaning of the artwork is in how an artist employs it in the world and culture, using these as mechanisms for producing meanings. Also, understood as a repetition of material in new surroundings, it expanded and extended the art sphere and linked art with life. Also, it shed light on the difference in relation to the pre-existing material. The material, therefore, is presented through different interpretations and concepts, whereby it moves and transforms the idea of authenticity. Nonetheless, adding pre-existing materials into art did not mean that the representative function of artworks got lost, but on the contrary - it was redefined. As a result, the paradigm was changed. Namely, the ready-made did not signify the end of representation in art, but showed that real objects from life can assume the role of representation. Very avant-guard when it was introduced into the art world, this shift of artwork at the end of the 20th century became the basis of artistic activity. In addition, the destiny of “artist as consumer” was anticipated by Arthur Danto in his theoretical discussions about “The End of Art: The

On one hand, reproduction disconnects from the traditionally reproduced material while, on the other, mass produced materials replace the unique appearance of the artwork. In that way, reproduction creates actualisation. Benjamin indicated that the receptivity of mass culture is based on a lack of demanding, unlike art that calls for contemplation; therefore, mass culture does not offer but demands (Benjamin 1974). New reproduction forms open up for consumers, inviting them to take part in artwork, and they participate and enjoy recognisable themes, a leisurely and comfortable understanding of forms. The audience recognises itself in a new culture, and a new culture opens up to them. At a time when the cultural industry sets the base for development, Benjamin saw the main paths that will shortly follow a transformation from the cult of art to consumption, as well as from artwork to entertainment.

The process of dissolving the aura began in the area of cultural industry when the aura gradually began to turn toward new possibilities provided by the technique of innumerable copies of art products. The cultural industry, understood as “an enterprise for entertainment,” soon began to concentrate on questions not only about art as an autonomous field of human action, but also on ideas of art as a *social fact*. In that light, Adorno and Max Horkheimer asserted that the cultural industry was developed by “supremacy of the effect, tangible achievement, and technical detail over the artwork... The whole world passes through filters of cultural industry” (Adorno and Horkheimer 2008: 71). Transforming the sphere of art and its social effect, art as its own truth and mimetic reflection of the (actual) social relations, outgrew its former cult status by losing the aura. As a result, the aura gradually began moving into other fields of action.

In his study *Aesthetic Theory*, Adorno took Benjamin’s idea of the aura, but he exposed it to analysis. Adorno identified the process of distancing from one’s own being in art, with mechanisms of art alienation in itself and named it *Entkunstung*, using the German term. It resembled the processes of losing the aura of the artwork mediated by a technical reproduction of innumerable copies. Adorno elaborated that “... it is not only the *Here* and the *Now* of an artwork that makes up its aura, but also that which always exceeds its character of pure givens and its contents. We cannot abolish it and want art. Even demystified artworks are more than what is simply expressed by them” (Adorno 1974: 94). Moreover, the aura is an uncertain dialectical tension that occurs in the correlations

Philosophical Defence” (Danto 1998). The idea of “artist as consumer” can be directly linked to DJs.

individual – general, traditional – new; something that is realised as whole, as well as something that eludes the whole and remains a fragment. According to Adorno, the aura is tension between the artwork and the artwork as a “cultural package.” It follows that the effect of the tension confirms the exceptionality of the artwork. Nevertheless, Adorno highlighted that a magical aura is different to autonomous artwork, and puts an emphasis on the fact that the centre of the autonomous artwork does not belong to the mythical side. Consequently, he interprets the aura as an expression of the struggle *for artwork* and *with artwork* in life. Also, Adorno differentiates two appearances of the aura. The first is similar to a magical effect, thereby *Entkünstung* of art becomes not only a phase of the aura’s elimination, but also a tendency of its evolution. The second aura appearance represents the effect produced in the cultural industry (Adorno 1979: 147). At this moment, it is important to emphasise that this review is a significant step in creating the concept of a new authenticity. Namely, interweaving different interpretations of the aura and authenticity will illuminate the significance of the concept of the other authenticity and its applicability in the present time. Also, it will help to build the framework in which the examples analysed in Chapters 2 and 3 will be re-read, as it will be seen more clearly in the following sub-chapters.

Nonetheless, an important question is opened up. Namely, what happened with the aura after Benjamin’s and Adorno’s analysis from the 1930s and 1960s of the 20th century? Yves Michaud refers to Benjamin’s idea as if there is no changeable essence of the artwork, but a historical importance that depends on social circumstances and technical findings. He also refers to Adorno’s assertion that “... if we want to analyse artworks, it means that we have to understand the immanent history accumulated in them.” These references led Michaud to state that “... we entered into a different world of aesthetic experience and another art world – the world where aesthetic experience tends to colour the totality of experience, where the lived must be shown as beauty, the world where art becomes a smell or decoration” (Michaud 2004: 15, 16). So much beauty and aesthetic triumph maintains, spends, extends and is celebrated in a world without artworks, having in mind that the artworks had an aura, a magical characteristic for creating unique and sublime aesthetic experiences. Michaud interprets the transit of beauty into the live, happening, bio-technologically produced world of globalisation as *a shift of art into a gas condition* where art disperses into an aesthetic ether. The theoretical determinations of this French philosopher are important for my work, as through his concept of *art* which shifted *into a*

gas condition it was clearly visible how authenticity is created in live EDM performances. In creating these artworks, as presented in Chapter 3, there is an equal participation of DJs, VJs, the performers on the stage and the audience, while the space-time context greatly contributed to making a specific ambience and atmosphere of an EDM party.

The shift of art into a gas condition has arisen from two dominant processes. The first is the process of artwork disappearing as an object and the centre of the aesthetic experience. In the process, artistic production changes with the mechanisms and procedures that operate as artwork and provide an experience of art. Thus, only experiences remain from works. Michaud noted that the modern age time follows a process of re-defining art. He illustrates the argument with a video installation that can be found in small galleries or fancy boutiques. The installation presents a paradigm for the assemblies that produce aesthetic effects (Michaud 2004: 9).

In addition to this, contemporary artists address designers due to a common interest for space ambience. They also turn to fashion designers with whom they share a “style renewal” concept as well as to DJs whose sets and tracks are based on models of sampling. The models, as elaborated in Chapter 2, present the type of sound design that occupies a musical space and contributes in creating performative spaces at live EDM performances. As a result of a successful correlation between music/sound, video/light, body movements, space and time, performative spaces contribute in achieving a certain level of social connection: artist – work – audience – space – time.

The second process relates to the inflation of artwork caused by overproduction, while industrial production also leads to the disappearance of artworks. Michaud notices that “Rarity is given in a large quantity while fetish is piling up on shelves of cultural supermarkets” (Michaud 2004: 11). The change of art to “a gas condition” enabled the transformation that occurred from the modern industrial society to the phenomena of spectacles. For this reason, the actual processes of an auratisation of commercial products are increasingly present as a marketing attribution of the aura in products for everyday use. Artworks, therefore, become multiplied and standardised objects that are derived from the world of mass communication. Finally, these two processes are followed by mechanisms of an industrial production of symbolic forms that lead to thinking about the world of popular commercial culture, about the world of products and signs that make (an intangible) link with society. It seems as if contemporary art, becoming a series of product, lends an aura to

commercial products.

Art turns into a gas condition in two directions. Firstly, toward mass culture, and secondly in relation to human behaviour. Michaud indicates that “Installations envelop the viewer in a frame where he has a swaying and fuzzy experience which at the same time depends on the intentions of the artist... In everyday life, the video and television are, similarly as in art, transmitters of the aesthetics of one representation and a discontinuous view. We also entered into the world of interactive hypermedia where the most widespread examples are electronic games. Moreover, we are talking about repeated works that blend sound, image, text, video, that are open to action and audiences intervention. The audience chooses the way of moving, marks the preferences, and in real time adds their reactions” (Michaud 2004: 95). Today anyone can record and can be recorded, thereby Benjamin’s “reception in the pastime” becomes an interaction in entertainment.

And last but not least, Michaud points out one important problem related to the aura. Namely, he marked the importance of “auratic” influence in culture and stressed that, “We need an aura no matter how unnatural it is. We need feeling, even if it means feeling to feel. We need identity and benchmarks even if they have to change the same as fashion” (Michaud 2004: 145). Spirit or effect came out from the artwork into the world. This fact leads to the conclusion that a separation of artwork and the aura illuminates the shift from autonomous artwork into a social event as well as into performance and performing. As a particular genre of popular culture, EDM, as already indicated in the study, asks *how* music works (Reynolds 1998), and makes a major step out from music into a live performance. In the following sub-chapter, the focus is on explaining the concept of the other authenticity, which will be the base for creating a framework for re-reading examples analysed in Chapters 2 and 3.

4.2 | Authenticity at the meta-level: determination of the other authenticity.

The postmodernist concept of the other authenticity, which in the best way presents a shift from the aura of the artwork toward the aura as an event, came into the focus of discussions among theoreticians at the turn of the 21st century (Michaud 2004, Bourriaud 2007, Belančić

2009). For instance, considering the status of painting today, Belančić in his book *Smrt slike* (“Death of the image”) stressed that the image today is not denied, destroyed, or destructed despite the rapid development of digital technology, but rather “moved, transferred, metaphorically situated in the level of new (primarily screen and digital) spaces” (Belančić 2009: 6). What the author implies is that the term ‘the other authenticity’ should be thought of as *cumulative achievement* in which new ideas often reflect the accumulated layers of previous understanding (Belančić 2009: 220). It means recognition of the material, a whole layer of recognisable traces of the past. In that light, it can be pointed out that the meta-level of referentiality offers another interpretation of artwork, and it determines the other authenticity.

The determination of the other authenticity sheds light on two important facts. Namely, the first fact excludes the modernist understanding of authenticity which highlights the origin of certain artistic creation. The second fact illuminates that “authentic, inventive and innovative work becomes the work of the other in the same, different in the identical” (Belančić 2008: 289). The criterion by which certain phenomena, based on pre-existing material, can be noted is to be different, to stand out by their specificity in a new context. The phenomenon or work should be evaluated from the perspective of time when performed, appeared or when presented. To understand the specificities of a new praxis in the production of art and popular culture, we have to determine the ways in which contemporary works produce new meanings using the processes of cultural recycling. Nevertheless, it is necessary to indicate the ways that lead to reaching the otherness of the same. In other words, it is important to realise and show how the procedures of recycling, displacement and deployment of the existing (produced) material guide to new (post produced) work, as I particularly presented in analysing the remix *Why Don't You* in Chapter 2, as well as when re-enacting *Techno Therapy 2012* in Chapter 3.

The concept of the other authenticity is specific for several reasons. Firstly, it distinguishes the act of *selecting materials* from the past. In that way, a return back to the past determines the conditions of creating the new. The principle of re-organising the pre-existing, finished, recorded and already made material prevails in contemporary art and popular culture. A reorganisation implies a division of the old/unoriginal on the object level and the new/authentic on the meta-level. Therefore, the principle of *re-organisation* means re-contextualisation and openness for possible intervention. In this light, it can be pointed

out that contemporary artists, among which are DJs and VJs as well, no longer ask what novelties they can create, but how to do that with the pre-existing material. Bourriaud remarked that contemporary artists no longer produce, but rather, they re-organise (Bourriaud 2007).

Secondly, the concept of the other authenticity contains *strategies of innovation*. Namely, the strategies derived from the aforementioned idea are that new-as-always does not need to be dominant, but that the authentic can be old (Belančić 2008: 285). In that way, re-presentation opens up a vast space for numerous innovations. While the authentic can be understood through the known, or something that we recognise in a thing already existing, innovation is achieved in a visible deflection of faithful repetition. Consequently, each displacement (re-contextualisation) and repetition (in space and time) causes the same losses of commonality with itself. For this reason, the other authenticity appears through a different interpretation or concept of the one that is firstly introduced. In a broader sense, the same is not exactly the same when positioned in another place. Finally, the interpretative transformation of the original (sample, the fragment, the whole work) creates a new possibility for disclosures of its visible and hidden meanings. They complement and replace one another with a number of potentially multiple meanings.

Thirdly, the other authenticity is characterised and mostly achieved by *stepping forward* (Belančić 2008: 283): by relocating and moving the concept, e.g. music into a live EDM performance and multimediality. In that way, the possibility of exploring new artistic and performative spaces opens up. Thus, it shows how ideas about authenticity have an opportunity to “move” and “relocate,” extending in that way its effect. Nonetheless, stepping forward from music into performance, multimediality, the dance floor, or a collective experience may be understood as going back to the past, to rituals or collective feasts. Therefore, as shown in Chapter 3, analysing the live performance Techno Therapy 1994 and stepping forward from EDM into performance, should be marked as going back to the past. In this particular context, the materials had elements of sacrifice and ritual energy. With the act of stepping forward (music), the concept of re-presentation is also re-defined. Nonetheless, moving music into performance, video and dance signified the further progress of music. Furthermore, recognised as a pop-cultural phenomenon that entered the world of multimediality and body experiences, EDM also gives feedback: the entry of multimediality into music. In addition, EDM ventures into the contemporary digital technology used by DJs

and VJs. For all the above-mentioned facts, it can be highlighted that EDM is a multimedia phenomenon and an authentic genre of popular culture.

Embedding their own interpretation and intention in the act of repeating and relocating an object, model, sound or video fragment from one to another context, artists have opened up numerous possibilities for creating new forms. These forms obtained the characteristics of *hybrid forms*, which in the broadest sense refer to postmodern forms composed by elements of different origin, or taken from different sources. In that way, repeating and playing various and different pre-existing materials permits, metaphorically speaking, “a game with a meaning.” As a result, the meaning that will appear depends on the one who conducts the game. Therefore, in EDM it depends on DJ skills. Thus, several important facts are highlighted. First, the act of performing creates a situation in which a particular material or phenomena achieves the other authenticity. The situation occurs in Benjamin’s “here and now” time, respectively, in the performative present such as live EDM parties which take place in real time.

Second, the cult of the author and authorship as well as authenticity as an individual manifestation of creating a subject remains. As I showed throughout this study, by sampling, remixing or making recognisable musical spaces, DJs create author figures on the meta-level. Moreover, they become authors with nomadic strategies. In that way, they express authenticity using the pre-existing materials and working with them skilfully. Thus, it can be noted that by the act of exploring and selecting sound materials, they receive the symbolic roles of explorers/investigators/researchers. Finally, the symbolic role of the artist as historian may be, in the broadest sense, attributed to DJs. Namely, they provoke by using various modes of re-archived sound recordings for the audience to think about the past, or to sense and detect the elements of the past by involving whole bodies into EDM performances. Third, the triadic relationship becomes significant. It takes place between the following: the original material/artist that created it – the select material/artist who re-organises the material and uses it in a new context – the receiver of the material/the audience that creates its meanings through it. And fourth, the audience participates in the act of producing and performing new artwork. The audience is not a passive observer, but directly influences the course, flow, appearance and the meaning of a performance, simultaneously becoming a constituent member in the creation of the other authenticity. The audience as a creator is the significant component of producing the other authenticity,

which is directly linked to the meta-level. All these facts show the end of the aura isolation. The situation results with contemporary art and popular culture approaching life.

Observing the other authenticity in a time context in which certain phenomena appear is a field for a possible understanding of the author's intentions and the reason for creating opens up. Also, if something has the intention to be a work of art, to get the other authenticity, it has to be presented as an object, situation, event, a performance or a project. Moreover, it has to be set in an outstanding and successful way into the world and be simultaneously opposite with the world. Although, as already indicated, Benjamin claimed that there is no copy of an aura, and that through the concept and determinations of the other authenticity we can notice that the aura is always recreated and extended. In the following sub-chapters, light is shed on considering and re-reading the examples analysed in Chapters 2 and 3, from the perspective of the other authenticity.

4.3 | Re-reading the analysed examples using the lens of the other authenticity.

During the elaboration of the examples in Chapters 2 and 3, I noticed certain similarities between them and some particular ways of how the other authenticity is manifested. Therefore, in this segment, it is shown how, by re-producing material (in the broadest sense understood as an original with a difference) new ways of performing (and thereby the other authenticity) is opened up. My starting point is based on the opinion that authenticity is not lost by repetition of the material or the artwork. On the contrary, repetition becomes the primary constructive principle in the other authenticity and, at the same time, it increases the possibility for repeating material. Repeated structures may, but does not need to have allusions to pre-existing material.

Otherness (otherness as different) is understood as a category that allows us to see for the first-time new materials/objects as versions of the previously known. Also, otherness on the first level illuminates the interweaving of old and new material. Re-reading examples and using the lens of the previously defined concept of the other authenticity will shed light on the specificities presented through the concepts which surround the EDM genre (sampling, remix, musical space, ritualised performance, space/VJ, and re-enactment). It will,

hopefully, also elucidate the ways of original performing and becoming authentic in a particular space and time. My aim is to show that the selected examples can be analysed through the criterion of the authentic. Thus it will enlighten the possibilities for creating and achieving the other authenticity. By separating meta-positions and levels, I will highlight the point-places that allow the creation of the other authenticity, or make the examples authentic.

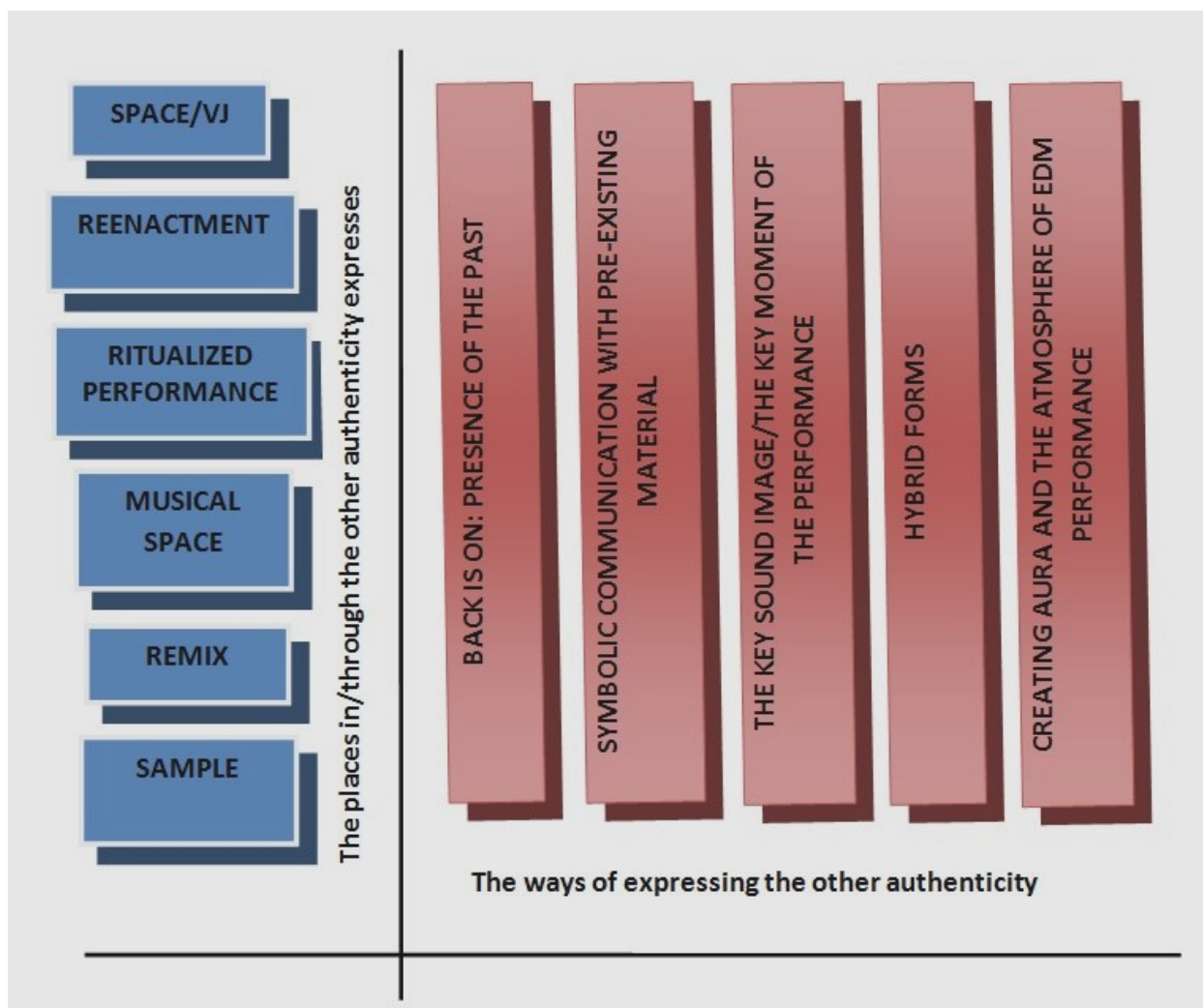


Figure 54 | The ways and places *in* and *through* which are expressed by the other authenticity.

The characteristics of the select examples are conceptualised within the cultural context they refer to, and are presented through music and performance. Therefore, by using the lens of the other authenticity, the re-reading of the examples takes place by

crossing two axes. Namely, as Figure 54 shows, the horizontal axis marks the ways of “expressing” the other authenticity and it is directly connected with the term and concept. Moreover, this thesis is based on the notion that the other authenticity of the EDM phenomenon is shaped by interweaving and compounding several important points. Firstly, it relates to a return to the past (or back to the past). Secondly, it refers to a symbolic communication with the pre-existing material. Furthermore, it is linked to the key image or the key moment of performance, hybrid forms and, finally, creating an aura and building up a particular atmosphere at a live EDM performance. On the vertical axis, the discussed phenomena were set in the order conducted in Chapters 2 and 3 and marked as places *in* and *through* expressed by the other authenticity. Within the chart and in regard to the ways of “expressing” the other authenticity and the places *in* and *through* it as it expresses itself, I observed the crossing points of the two axes.

4.3.1 | *Back is On: Presence of the Past.*

The first characteristic of the analysed examples observed from the perspective of the other authenticity emphasises *back to the past* or *presence of the past*. It takes place by using, or in a broadest sense *reviving*, a pre-existing material. As the analysed examples have shown, the material is a sample, an old object, a space and a re-shaped fragment of the previous performance. In that way, the continuity of repetition, as the relevant characteristic of the other authenticity, creates the situation in which we recognise the material, but it appears with a difference. Namely, repetition as a form of energetic flow, as well as a marker for sameness and difference (or change), happens and occurs in the performative present. In this manner, light is shed on the core of the concept the other authenticity: to perform the material or event from the past in Benjamin’s “here and now” time and space. Besides, Richard Middleton remarked on an important fact: “Ceasing to repeat is to die: this is true for individual organisms, for genes and species, for cultures and languages. Yet repetition without renewal is also a kind of death — the royal road to extinction” (Middleton 1996). As support for Middleton’s observation, it can be highlighted that when repeating something, we always upgrade it and make it *new* in another context. Performative re-doing in a particular context becomes one of the most important hallmarks of and for conducting the

other authenticity. The aim of repeating and referring to the past is not only to illuminate the differences between the pre-existing material and repeated version, but to create and point out new form(s).

It follows that the presence of the past occurs through the act of performing and presenting pre-existing material. In the analysed examples, the material appears as selected, with a difference, modified or transformed. The reorganisation and transformation of the material that is repeated also illuminates a transfer of music, theatre and film historiography. In the examples analysed in Chapter 2, we saw how DJs used the pre-existing material. It was presented how they re-shaped it, following their own sense and taste, as well as pursuing their own mode of interpreting, aiming to create new forms. Hence, as seen in Chapter 3, when an EDM party takes place as a performance that resembles a ritual (Techno Therapy 1994), a theatrical play (Techno Therapy 2012) or when it enters into new/old/hidden space (Back to the People) – something recognisable at the moment of conducting the performance changes. In that way, reviving and re-activating the pre-existing material makes a particular sense of the past. It is experienced through sound (auditory), the stage (visually) or space (bodily), respectively, depending on the way of its appearance.

As dominant in the examples, the presence of the past distinguishes the process of *transformation*. It takes place on three levels: re-shaping sound and video material, and then space (musical and physical), aiming to create particular performative spaces and audience perception not previously planned or anticipated. As a result, transformation or rather, the transformativity of the person who observes, listens, or looks takes place by bodily movements in an EDM performance, and contributes in creating the energy of the performance. Performative space creates a particular atmosphere and “marks the performative space as a liminal space of transformation” (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 120). Having in mind that EDM is a distinct genre of popular culture, all the ways of materialising the material from the past can be perceived and experienced bodily, through movements. According to these facts, it should be pointed out that time is always back (back is on) but we live, perceive and experience it in the “here and now” of time, space and context. Thus, experience of the art has precedence over objects and actions. Exactly that experience of the past in the “here and now” moment makes the situation in which the pre-existing material becomes new and different in a new environment. In that light, as shown through all three analyses, the presence of the past distinguishes EDM from popular music.

The analysed examples show that the presence of the past is conducted in several ways. Firstly, it takes place by linking the music and the non-music material (*Laki je malo nervozan*), respectively, by changing the sample source and, as a result, extending the music. Secondly, by linking, matching and embedding different genres into the space of EDM with the aim to create sound form that incorporates diverse musical genres such as jazz and folk music (*Why Don't You* and *Folkstep*). Thirdly, the presence of the past takes place by binding different times by returning into the ritual (Techno Therapy 1994), an old and hidden place (Back to the People) or the recent past (Techno Therapy 2012). The return into the recent past comes about by playing one segment taken from the previous performance and placing it as a base for constructing a complex structure. Finally, the revival of the past is realised by embedding a jazz song into EDM (*Why Don't You*), by opening space (Back to the People) and by presenting the period from the recent historical past at the new party (Techno Therapy 2012). It is important to highlight that the phenomena of sampling, remix and re-enactment are placed as different techniques of repetition characterised by an evident performing of the old, pre-existing material in the new. As shown through analysis, these techniques adapt various forms of historical representation. On the next level, the aim is to illuminate how the DJs in the examples presented approached the past, pre-existing material and how they performed it.

The presence of the past in the example *Laki je malo nervozan* becomes visible by using sound samples from the cult film and a recording of a theatrical play. As already shown during the analysis of the example in Chapter 2, not only do the samples receive a new representation in the track, but, as surface elements, they help and contribute in achieving dramatic action. This is supported by the fact that the material taken from the past does not function similarly in different times, but it is rather, specified by the context. By repeating the material with a difference, the sound experience of the sample or material taken from the past becomes necessary in presenting tracks as music phenomena. Therefore, the pre-existing material gains a special place in the track. The authenticity of the example is reflected through a skilful use of samples and their fitting into a musical base in the context of space and time, as well as stepping forward from music to video, aiming to create new dramatic action.

Through sound and pre-existing material whose meanings are moved to another context, old, local time and space is illuminated. As we have already seen, by a skilful

positioning of samples, Noise Destruction developed specific dramatic characters, which on the symbolic level refer to relations that existed on the socio-political scene in Serbia after the fall of the former Yugoslavia in 1991. Using the material from the past, Noise Destruction gave their concrete comment on the socio-political situation in the country and upcoming crisis. Moreover, stepping forward from music into the sphere of video, the sample became a multimedia phenomenon that served as a basis for creating meanings. In new audio-video surroundings, the taken samples gained newly built roles and created a network of new meanings and forms. The presence of the past in the video is conducted by using the video material of samples, as well as other materials that relate to the past. Also, as the analysis has shown, the content of music video also presented the beginning of EDM development in Serbia during the 1990s.

Understood as an explicit praxis of the presence of the past, the remix *Why Don't You* revives the pre-existing material by selecting a jazz song and fitting it in EDM. In that manner, two different times and music genres bind not only to create a new sound space but also to expand it. Material taken from the past is repeated in a “new light” and translated from one to another context while the transfer from one to another time gained the characteristics of selective repetition. The central idea of the remix as performing/presenting the old in the new is embodied in an official music video where the image follows the text and skilfully plays with elements that stand in the relation past – present. The elements of the past in the official video appeared in several ways. Firstly, using a female character which is similar to a ghost who in the track receives the commanding voice of an emancipated woman. Secondly, using the sequences of an old gramophone, and finally, using the doors positioned as a borderline of two times. A comparison of the video and the music showed that Gramophonedzie gave to the pre-existing material a significant and recognisable role in the remix. Nonetheless, using the remix as a primary “tool,” the author illuminated the importance of the presence of the past, or back to the past. The recognition of pre-existing material in a new remix may also be related to the status of Gramophonedzie on the international DJs and EDM scenes. Finally, at a live performance, as presented in Chapter 2, back to the past implies the interpretative transformation of the pre-existing music and video material for the purposes of an EDM party.

In the track *Folkstep*, the presence of the past is realised by using samples of a brass band. In that way, the voice of the past is marked as a surrogate of voices. The voice

expresses the local character, highlighting an interval of an augmented second in a horizontal melodic order as a marker of Oriental music, as well as a syncopated rhythm and irregular rhythmic division that relates to the sound image of the Balkans. Secondly, adding live samples recorded on the street and pointing out the murmur of people, Shazalakazoo made a clear link to the past aiming to present old Balkan cobblestone as well as making an aesthetisation of reality in their track. As a result, they showed the atmosphere and ambience of local space. Also, binding the old (samples of brass band) and the new (EDM) with a sporadic appearance of live street recordings, they extended the musical space. Namely, fulfilling musical space with content conceptualised in this way, they achieved a musical dramaturgy, while sound plans contributed in the creation of spatiality in the listeners' perceptions.

The Techno Therapy 1994 performance realised the presence of the past through a ritual and collective experience. The return of the past may be explained as a specified exotic experience that allowed an escape from everyday life. Conducted as a ritualised performance, Techno Therapy 1994 achieved a back to the past in three ways: through space, objects positioned in space and actions in the objects. As first, reshaping and redefining the space of a sports hall created a particular ambience of ritual space. Entering into a "special" place different from everyday life that recalled the cave presented a place of rebirth. On the symbolic level, it related to the development of EDM in Serbia and the shape of a new, urban audience. Second, performed in a particular socio-political moment in 1994, the participants at Techno Therapy, by arranged spontaneity, entered an old object and positioned it into the centre of ritual play. The entry evoked the elements taken from other (music) genres, such as heavy metal, while the destruction of the object (old car) on the stage appeared as a moving element of the performance. The return to the ritual illuminated a symbolic healing with the aim of creating a unique EDM party. Finally, the act of cutting up the old car, positioned as a symbol of the old socio-political system, resembled a sacrifice to the gods while performing the ritual death of the car meant that the victim was a necessary prelude to reintegration. All the participants of the performance on the symbolic level followed the principle that the old has to disappear in order to create the new.

Furthermore, the Techno Therapy 2012 performance is linked with Techno Therapy 1994 in several ways. Firstly, through an exhibition of photography and flyers positioned in the front of the hall. In that way, the audience had the opportunity to return to the past and

an impression about EDM scene development, as well as seeing select moments from various performances that took place in Serbia during the 1990s. Secondly, the link to the previous performance is achieved by way of the name of the performance (Techno Therapy), the space (the Ice Hall of the Spens Sports Centre in Novi Sad) and the performers (Noise Destruction). The ritualised space as it was at the first performance is transformed into a clubbing and theatre space for entertainment. Finally, the segment taken from Techno Therapy 1994 was set through a re-enactment as a part of a larger, trans-genre structure of Techno Therapy 2012, around which and in relation to was created the dramaturgy of the entire performance.

In this case, the representation elucidates the fact that the first in a series (Techno Therapy 1994), as an authentic ritualised performance within the time it took place in, became a model for shaping the other authenticity of Techno Therapy 2012. Re-enactment served as memory, a validation and document of the theatrical presentation of the performance from a recent past. Nonetheless, the presence of the past conceptualised through a scenic theatricalisation of the segment taken from the first Techno Therapy highlighted a clearly defined position of the performers (on the stage) and the audience (on the dance floor). Achieving a theatricalisation of the repeated material, on a symbolic level, the act from the past was revived (cutting up the old car) and was reminiscent of a previous performance. In other words, it showed the most important elements in the new form in which theatricality met performativity. What might be interesting at this moment is to point out that through a presentation of the past in this re-enactment, we also find a shift of the EDM performance toward a theatrical performance. Namely, it can be marked as a *genre* shift. Finally, the link with the past was also made through the video that referred to the first Techno Therapy, as well as to the development of the EDM scene in Serbia during the 1990s.

Lastly, the Back to the People Festival achieved a return to the past in two ways: directly and symbolically. Firstly, it was revealing, opening and entering into Tašmajdan caves, layered with historical traces. The space organisation for the purposes of the festival conceptualised as a *cave – hangar – room* allowed a descent and entry into the depths of a space more than two millennia old. It also allowed a transformation of experience among the audience. On the symbolic level, the entry into caves sheds light on the importance of reaching a depth, perception and a knowledge of the past. Secondly, on the symbolic level, the entering meant travelling through space from an one-time determination to another and

allowed the participants the creation of performative spaces. Also, the VJ performances contributed to the return of the past. Namely, taking fragments from old movies and emphasising the movement of performances in a GOA cage, the VJs drew work on the walls of the cave which also contributed to achieving a unique experience of performance.

The entry into the caves, the movement of bodies and the entire bodily experience of the music and video, as well as the space and atmosphere gave the impression that every participant experienced a special change. Not only were new experiences and possibilities for creating a relationship between performers (DJs and VJs) stimulated, but also those between the *space – audience – and performers*. Moreover, the return to the past through space skilfully linked the caves with layered traces of history and the contemporary phenomenon of EDM that was developing in Serbia during the 1990s, as well as other genres of the musical underground. Therefore, as already marked in Chapter 3, the caves became a “meeting place” of the pop-musical phenomena, and the DJs, VJs and audience with history, at the same time illuminating the importance of such a space. Furthermore, the return of the past was also indicated indirectly through flyer (which uncovered the importance of the festival in a particular socio-political moment) and the name of the festival (which referred to space reintegration and indicated the end of the country’s isolation).

4.3.2 | Symbolic communication with the pre-existing material.

On the next level, as Figure 54 shows, the other authenticity sheds light on a symbolic communication with the pre-existing material. Namely, as an echo of one time in another, symbolic communication forms syncopated the time model, while the transfer from one time into another also indicates the specificities of selective repetition. This determination leads to my second thesis that a syncopated time model in a new form binds the actual, or the *now* and the *past* in that way making the time transfer more dynamic. Nonetheless, by linking various times, contexts and realities not only through music examples, but also at live EDM performances, newly shaped space-time dimensions intertwine the music – DJ – video – and the performing audience. Although a symbolic communication in the example *Laki je malo nervozan* is realised by using samples or voices from films and recordings of a play, Noise Destruction did not cover its source as DJs often do, but emphasised the origin of the

samples. It means that Noise Destruction positioned re-contextualised and recognisable samples as important markers of a particular space and time. As a result, they drew attention to the sound atmosphere of their own, domestic space. It can be said that Noise Destruction wove the “aura” of the domestic space into EDM, binding it with the socio-political moment and making comments on the situation.

Furthermore, not only did the example *Why Don't You* show DJs the need for interpreting one music genre with another, but also the symbolic communication with pre-existing material and musicians from the past. As the analysis of the example in Chapter 2 demonstrates, a remix became the space for expressing Gramophonedzie's creativity. Besides, at a live EDM, as presented during the analysis of a short video recording, performing a remix took place through repetition in “the performative present,” in that way creating particular performative spaces and illuminating a significant shift. Namely, not only was the music remixed by repeating material and emphasising the key moment of remixing, but it also projected video images taken mostly from the official video and mixed with other materials, making an intermusical relationship and multimediality. In that way, a remix at a live EDM performance became remixed. Through the communication of two ages, a live performance upgraded a remix. Thus, mainly through the music idea, the remix made a step forward from music and went into video. Moreover, the video, as we have seen, was further remixed. As the third analysed example in Chapter 2, the track *Folkstep* showed how a symbolic communication of two musical spaces created a new sound space which can be marked as the *third* space. The positioned samples of a brass band brought into the track the aura of domestic space, as well as embodied voices of the past, which were set hierarchically.

As shown in Chapter 3, the Techno Therapy 1994 party created a specific performative space that allowed both the audience and the performers' transportation and transformations. The space also allowed a mutual linking between them, as a type of desire for social solidarity. Entering into the space of Techno Therapy, which was separated from everyday life, light is shed on a significant fact. Namely, the reception of Techno Therapy's performative and multilayered space, which consisted of sound, physical space, scenic space, the dance floor, gestural and mental space, became a part of the total experience of the performance. On the symbolic level, it meant a transition from one into another time, in a “unique space” and in the collective unconscious. Sacrifice, or the ritual murder of an old car

on the symbolic level, as the analysis showed, enabled the participants a transit or shift into other roles while they also entered into another level of perception. Shaping and creating the space contributed to this, as well as loud music and a socio-political context. Commenting on the situation “orchestrated” and connected several media: music, scenography and video. This performance demonstrated the other authenticity by using an anti-structure that Turner defined as suitable for forming new models and new forms of recognisability (Turner 1989).

A symbolic communication with the material from the past was also conducted by way of cutting up an old car at the re-enactment of Techno Therapy 2012. The old car was the only object which directly related to the first performance. Nevertheless, Noise Destruction, as the main performers, the space of the Ice Hall and tracks mostly similar as they were used at Techno Therapy 1994 were also the links to the first performance. Nonetheless, the transfer from one time into another had the characteristics of selective repetition (in this light, it can be reiterated that Chyron, as “the voice of the performance,” was missing). Furthermore, using artistic elements in the performance, Techno Therapy 2012 fluctuated between the real actions that took place, and the theatrically determined roles of costumed AlterNacija performers. As a result of that, re-enactment was also a time performance and, as opposed to the first Techno Therapy, had performers on the stage as an *organised group* that performed according to the synopsis. At another level, a symbolic communication was carried out through photos and flyers presented at the exhibition, as well as through video material which highlighted the previous performance during the re-enactment.

Finally, at the Back to the People Festival, as already noted, the symbolic communication took place through a triadic relationship: the “now” of the performance – the “then” of historical events – the “now” of historical events. The audience, through bodily movements and while involved in creating performative spaces, could feel the energy, or the atmosphere of the caves. In addition, the act of entering into the space, as the analysis in Chapter 3 showed, meant a desire for discovering memories related to caves. Also, it contributed to a strong sense of the past. Furthermore, in the performance in the GOA cave, the VJ projected images to the walls, highlighting the movement as a linker between people. Thus, the VJ allowed the participants to accomplish a symbolic communication by mixing diverse materials, mostly taken from old movies. Therefore, the audience accomplished a

symbolic communication also with video material from the past. By projecting images onto the cave walls, not only did the VJ symbolically paint on them, but he also emphasised a return to the past and the symbolic act of taking stone blocks for building a new, urban community. In that way, indirect symbolic communication was accomplished through a video image and cave walls.

4.3.3 | The key sound image and the key moment of the performance.

The key sound image (marked in analyses as “C”) or the key moment of performance,⁹⁷ presents not only the climax of dramatic action and, consequently, a significant moment at a live performance, but also the clearest point which sheds light on the return to/of the past. This fact leads to my third thesis: the key sound image/moment as the culmination and meeting point of old and new material opens up the space for expressing new meanings and the other authenticity. Thus, in the track *Laki je malo nervozan*, it becomes a space for communication and binding musical and non-musical contents. Also, the key image in the video, for the first time, highlights the dialogue between the material used from film and theatre. Further, in the key image, the vocal effects of the original track link and create a dialogue with added samples, which brings about the presence of “the third voice,” as determined in Chapter 2. In that way, centring between the vocal effects of the original track and added samples opens up a new perspective for communicating music and non-music contents. Finally, when positioned to a higher level of interpretation, in a particular socio-political context the key (sound) image sheds light on the reflection and dialogue of two voices.

The key sound image in the remix *Why Don't You* was created by fragmenting the material taken from the original song. Focusing on repetitiveness, a transformation of the material and playing with fragments, Gramophonezie's aim was to achieve a climax of dramatic and sound action. Also, at the textual level, he created the impression of a transformation and emancipation of a female voice – from the voice who appeals for a commandment-singing voice. In a broader sense, this shift could relate to gender equality. In the official video, faster image flow emphasised the woman and arranging a young man's

⁹⁷ Determination of the key sound image I marked in Chapter 2 during the analysis of the track *Laki je malo nervozan* (page 89).

apartment, while the key moment at the live performance was achieved in this segment. It leads to ascertainment, as already remarked, as the key image at the live performance was extended, aiming to create particular dancing effects among the audience. By repeating and emphasising the material, the audience through bodily movements in this segment had the opportunity to enter deeply into an EDM performance. At that moment, they had an explicit experience of the remix as an audio-visual form and an opportunity for communicating through bodily movements. In addition, they also had the experience of interweaving one musical genre into another.

The most explicit moment of meeting the old and the new in the track *Folkstep* takes place in the fifth sound image presented in Chapter 2, Figure 36 (page 140). It happens in the sound space of the old cobblestone through which the caravan passes, also showing the clearest interweaving point. Besides, linking EDM with samples of brass bands makes a new, third, unique segment on the meta-level where the interaction of these two disparate sounds refers to the spatial story.

Furthermore, the key moment in the Techno Therapy 1994 performance shows a tension that additionally connects the participants. The moment potentiates the participants' corporeal comment on the situation in the country. On one hand, in the key moment of the performance, when the symbolic sacrifice (cutting up the old car) ends, the climax was achieved accompanied by the remixed fragments of Orff's "O, Fortuna." On the other hand, it is the highest point of ritual transformation in which the old is sacrificed for the sake of the new.

Finally, Techno Therapy 2012 was specific when viewed from the perspective of the key moment of the performance. Namely, at the macro level, re-enactment was the key moment of the entire Techno Therapy 2012. At the micro level, or in the re-enactment, the segment *ecstatic* was the peak. As Figure 48 in Chapter 3 shows (page 196), it presented the most important point where the old and the new material meet, as well as the past and present. Nonetheless, it was a point which unveiled several important facts. Firstly, the act of the theatricalised presenting of the ritual of cutting up an old car on the stage referred to the past, to the first Techno Therapy. The act expressed the joy of a successfully completed sacrifice both between the stage performer and the audience, although the "sacrificing" lasted shorter than at the first Techno Therapy. The car represented a symbol related to the recent past, while the specific ambience accompanied by lighter images in the projected

video also had various lighting effects and abstractions. Secondly, in a moment of ritual “murdering,” theatricality met performativity, as already indicated through the study. Furthermore, a high contrast was made between futuristic elements and artefacts from the past, alluding to an act carried out within the performance. Thirdly, this segment also showed the finale of re-enactment by achieving the climax at the level of music (remixing fragments of Orff’s “O, Fortuna”). It was a moment of reshaping or transforming the performative space and creating an entrance into a regular EDM party. In addition, it may be worth reminding that when the re-enactment ended, Noise Destruction also finished their performance, and other DJs came onto the stage.⁹⁸

4.3.4 | Hybrid forms.

Selecting, (re)mixing, transforming and adapting pre-existing material in a new context opens up possibilities for creating hybrid forms. Namely, these postmodern forms do not achieve the essence in revealing the difference of interpretations in relation to the “original” (respectively original – copy), but in creating new, *third* forms. These facts open up my next thesis which sheds light on the fact that the third forms illuminate the act of innovation, or in other words, the change is not necessarily to be visible at the first, object level, but it becomes significant at the meta-level of referentiality. As the analysis in Chapter 2 showed, tracks are realised by making a genre mix (*Why Don’t You, Folkstep*), by linking and interweaving old and new material (*Why Don’t You*), by using non-music samples (*Laki je malo nervozan*), and remixing or creating particular musical spaces (*Why Don’t You, Folkstep*). Therefore, these forms with hybrid elements shed light on the presence of audio memory.

In the analysed examples in Chapter 2, hybridity achieves mixing and binding music and non-musical material (*Laki je malo nervozan, Folkstep*). Thus, the music space of EDM is extended by adding film and theatre voices in music (*Laki je malo nervozan*), fragments taken from diverse genres such as jazz (*Why Don’t You*) and folk (*Folkstep*), as well as colouring the music space with sound ambient samples (*Folkstep*). Not only is a new form

⁹⁸ Unfortunately, due to not having the complete recording of the performance in the GOA cave which took place within the Back to the People Festival, it is not possible to determine the exact key moment of the performance.

characterised by various, different sound material shaped and divided into thematic blocks, but also additional *Intro* and *Outro* segments. Finally, the relation of different music spaces established by combining material opens up the possibility for sound experience of spatiality that creates mental images in listeners' perceptions. Conceptualised in this way, new forms contribute in reaching "new dimensions." This means that mixing aspects taken from different sound spaces create hybrid music space as a unique experience.

As examples in Chapter 3 have shown, by focusing on a live EDM performance, one important fact comes to the fore. Namely, each EDM performance has the possibility to be understood as *independent multimedia artwork* or an *event*, created in the moment of conducting the performance, or in other words, during the flow of the performance. The names of EDM performances also indicate hybrid elements in these new forms. The Techno Therapy 1994 performance, for example, aimed to enable participants healing through bodily movements and performative actions on the symbolic level. Similarly as in ancient rituals, dance achieved therapy effects. In that way, an EDM performance becomes a compound of actions and entertainment. Nonetheless, Techno Therapy 1994 showed a hybridity marking transition, or a border examining the correlation between the socio-political life and the situation in the country and a new performative genre of popular culture that was developing at the same time while the ritualised action of sacrificing the old car potentiated the innovative elements of the performance. On another level, as already indicated in Chapter 3, an EDM party can also become a "performance within a performance," binding DJ and VJ performances, the audience, space and time. Moreover, as a trans-genre superstructure such as Techno Therapy 2012, it can contain an exhibition as well. Furthermore, entering into an old space such as a cave, the Back to the People Festival and the performance in the GOA cave also demonstrated the innovative aspects of the performance. The points are expressed through a symbolic passage in an almost undiscovered space and drawings on the walls of the cave. In that case, the VJ, similarly as the DJ, gained the role of a mediator within the community. Finally, these examples suggest that new, hybrid forms of an EDM performance become "performances of events." Namely, time is always present as a connector of the actuality of the moment and an EDM performance, while the audience experiences it "now." Indeed, all significant EDM parties, as it was remarked while exploring this pop cultural phenomenon, form and are based on the actuality of time and are expressed through performative actions, by using the latest

technology, and so forth.

4.3.5 | Creating an aura and building up the atmosphere at a live EDM performance.

As the analysed examples in Chapter 3 have shown, to create an aura and build up the atmosphere at a live EDM performance, it is necessary to realise several conditions. First of all, it is important to emphasise that this act takes place during the performance, in Benjamin's "the here and the now" time and space determinations. Secondly, a significant condition puts an emphasis on the space where the performance takes place. Namely, as the analysed examples indicated, reshaping and transforming the physical space creates a "ritualised space" (Techno Therapy 1994), shedding light on the cave (Back to the People), and illuminating the theatre space and the club (Techno Therapy 2012).

Thirdly, the transportation of participants in an EDM performance stands out as the important condition in the process of creating an aura and building up the atmosphere. Not only do the participants entering into the transformed space sense a difference from ordinary life, but they also enter into the roles of the DJ, the VJ, the performers on the stage and the performing audience, where the emphasis is on *playing* new roles. By entering into the space and time of an EDM performance, as select analysed examples have shown in Chapter 3 as well as the example of the fragment taken from the live performance in the remix *Why Don't You* in Chapter 2, the participants together transit on the symbolic level from everyday roles into newly established, temporary roles created for the purposes of the party, in which (improvised) costuming also contributes (Techno Therapies 1994 and 2012). With the new roles of the DJs (VJ/performers on stage), the performing audience extends an awareness of themselves and begins a mutual bodily interaction.

Furthermore, the contact which is established between the DJ and the audience becomes the most important condition for creating an aura and building up the atmosphere of an EDM performance. Moreover, the VJ's performance and various visuals also contribute to a better contact between the artists and the audience, as well as to achieving a specific ambience of an EDM performance. Bodily communication, or the interaction between the DJ and the audience, leads to an intensification of circular energy, based on the *sending* –

receiving principle, and it also flows through the whole performative space, making alternative, different realities in which pleasant energies and experiences are shaped. Namely, the bodily inclusion and connection into the flow of performance starts when the symbolic entering of performers into the space and time of the EDM party is completed. Although it does not happen at every EDM performance, as already mentioned in this study, the bodies of the DJs (VJs), the performers on the stage (if any) and the audience reach a level of “spiritual unification.” In that way, collectivity contributes in creating one energetic, pulsing body in the moment of achieving the peak of connecting, or the moment of an intensive atmosphere build-up. Nonetheless, this climax point sheds light on a bodily experience, or the sense of binding with the ambience. The rhythm becomes the base for creating audience movements and can be seen in their bodies. The collective body in that sense becomes one organism with the same aim in a real experience of the performative flow.

Finally, ritualised actions that take place on the stage, the lighting, strong sound, whistle players, and the ovations of the audience not only contribute to the bodily experience of the music, but also in building up the unique atmosphere of an EDM performance. Also, as we have seen in the analysis of Techno Therapy 1994 and the performance at the GOA stage at the Back to the People Festival, the broader (socio-political) context of the performance is also important in building up the specific atmosphere at the party.

4.4 | Final consideration: translating the phenomenon, the third space and liminality.

In the final consideration, there are two significant points. Namely, while the first explains what determined EDM as an authentic pop cultural phenomenon in Serbia at the turn of the 21st century, the second elucidates which set a stable base for its rooting. The appearance of the phenomenon and shaping the scene within a particular socio-political context in Serbia has been determined as being primarily authentic. My explanation highlights the fact that a specific space and a particular time allow the authenticity of transposing a certain phenomenon from one context to another. In order to illuminate this argument, firstly I

focus on the determinations which Boris Buden explained in the study *Vavilonska jama: o (ne)prevodivosti kulture* (Der Schacht von Babel. Ist Kultur übersetzbar?) (Buden 2007). He centres on the issues of translation in literature. Using his interpretation as the base, there is an aim to focus on this translation process in considering EDM. On the next level, my focus is on the third space, the concept developed by Homi Bhabha (Baba 2004). It will, hopefully, open up a field for a possible interpretation of specificities linked to the translation or transposition of the cultural phenomenon in a different space. Finally, the ideas of liminality used mostly related to Turner's definitions discussed in Chapter 3, that were furthermore developed by Fischer-Lichte (Fischer-Lichte 2008) and which additionally put an emphasis on the importance of EDM in Serbia at the turn of the centuries.

The transmission, transposition, or translation of a particular cultural phenomenon from one context to another take place through a continuous process of change, while the act of translating becomes a form in which the creator's processes occur. Although primarily related to the field of literature, the idea of *translating* (translating as a culture, and the culture of translating) today means more than just a transposition of texts from one into other language. In translation, as Buden noticed, every text gains a new life and, therefore, a new authenticity. It is not about "miming" the original, but developing its inherent tendencies. Buden highlights that a foreign language "affects the language of translation, making with it an extension, deepening it, even transforming it" (Buden 2007: 79).

Observed from these theoretical frameworks, the incursion of EDM in Serbia during the 1990s can be interpreted through the translation process. Namely, this trans-territorial and transitional pop cultural phenomenon, as it was marked in the introduction of the study, shows up changes and re-shapings. As it was also presented in the study while shedding light on the development of the EDM scene in Chapter 1 and through analyses of select examples in Chapters 2 and 3, EDM in Serbia showed "a new life." From the late 1980s in Western Europe and the USA, transposing and translating in Serbia showed how the phenomenon began its further (re)shaping. In other words, the used models primarily from Western Europe and then from the USA, contributed on the symbolic level in the translation of the phenomenon, and formed it mostly by adding local meanings. Thus, it showed that "a literal translation" of the phenomenon is not possible because it is always contextually determined. Accordingly, the context brings changes in translation, which is understood as a creative act, as already discussed in Chapter 1.

Drawing on this view, I would like to highlight that the stable base developed within the Yugoslav pop cultural space contributed in successfully forming the scene and rooting the phenomenon in Serbia during the 1990s. Considered from this angle, the space of popular culture, as it was then in Yugoslavia, was specific and endorsed, developing ideas more freely as opposed to other Eastern European countries. However, no matter how EDM can be seen in broader correlations in regards to the achievements of the Yugoslav New Wave and electro-pop, from the early 1990s EDM in Serbia started developing as a new form of popular culture. This fact also uncovers the specificities of EDM in Serbia. In other words, when EDM began taking shape in Serbia, the country was in a transitional space that enabled not only rooting, but also illuminated the importance of its further development.

Furthermore, it can be noted that EDM came to Serbia as a direct and linear wave that used a stable base and began (re)shaping through circular repetition. While repeating, it started a creative forming and shortly became an important pop cultural phenomenon in the country, firstly in the cities of Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš, and after that in other towns as well. The aim of transposing the phenomenon and its symbolic translation was fuelled by the idea of it being as similar as possible as in other countries, in other words, to follow the trend, but to make it different. In that way, placing EDM in a new context was not a mere copying of the trend, but it also began gaining contours of the other authenticity. Creating a network – DJ associations, promotion in media, organising (thematic) performances – contributed in the creating of EDM event(s), or happening(s). At the very beginning of its development in the early 1990s, the other authenticity of the EDM phenomenon was reflected in the fact that DJs, or in some cases, history and historiography were performed as events. Namely, they led history in the present following a socio-political context and adding into the pop-cultural phenomenon an aura of domestic space. Therefore, EDM, as the analysed examples have shown, was coloured by local meanings, while the local content shed light on a new level – otherness.

Performing an aura of the domestic space takes place in two ways. Firstly, in the track *Laki je malo nervozan*, the used samples from the film and the play related to Serbia. Using samples of the brass band, as shown in the analysis of the *Folkstep* track, associated the listener to Serbia on the level of sound as a geographical space, and the Balkans in a broader sense of the word. Secondly, the aura of domestic space was shaped and uncovered at live performances as well as during the creation of performative spaces. Namely, referring to the

socio-political moment and commenting on it (Techno Therapy 1994), the opening hidden places (Back to the People) testified to the local character of the EDM phenomenon. Furthermore, an act of memory of the previous performance (Techno Therapy 2012) rendered to the performance a local colour. Finally, the DJ's recognition and acceptance in EDM world frameworks (Gramophonedze and his remix *Why Don't You*) made a large incursion on the local EDM scene. It also contributed to a greater visibility of the genre in the field of popular culture in Serbia.

The specificities of EDM were reflected in the connection with the "outside world" during the 1990s. This fact was confirmed by guest performances of international DJs, who gathered a large number of people during the period when the country was the most isolated. It created a strong correlation between the local – global, as well as the outside – inside. Namely, in the period of absolute isolation (which lasted from May 15th 1992 until November 21st 1995), the cultural life of the country was reduced to a minimum. There were no official external visits, performances; nevertheless, international DJs performed in Serbia. EDM artists such as DJ Savvas, Barney York, Keith Fielder, Riccardo Rocchi, Laurent Garnier, Mrs. Wood, Lady B, The Prodigy and others presented for the first time their DJ skills to the Serbian audience (CD examples 16 – 18). Everyone was quite surprised by the good reception, the audience's understanding of EDM culture as well as the openness of the media for the promotion and presentation of their performances.

Nonetheless, on June 24th 1995, in the Film Town situated in the park forest of Košutnjak in Belgrade, the first rave named EnlitEment (Enlightenment) took place (Figure 55). It was organised as a collaboration of several international DJs and Belgrade DJs from the association Integra (CD example 19). The special media guests were MTV production from London and MCM from Paris. Even the state newspaper *Politika* published an article about this event, marking it as an *international* spectacle (Figure 56). Furthermore, EnlitEment presented a paradox. Namely, during the sanctions imposed and other limitations, an official EDM rave was held in Belgrade with international artists and international media support. It can be noted that in the field of popular culture, the rave broke through the sanctions, as it was a symbolical linking with the world. It can be said that EDM developed within an *in-between* space in Serbia during the 1990s, the space that rejected all kinds of bans, hatred, limitations, war and misunderstanding, as presented in Chapter 1.



Figure 55 | Flyers for the EnlitEment Party

(available from <http://www.facebook.com/groups/7643956007/photos/>).



Figure 56 | The article *Veliki techno žur* (“A great techno party”) published in *Politika* on June 24th 1995

(taken from *Politika*, 24. 06. 1995: 22).

Also, as a unique example of cosmopolitanism in Serbia during the 1990s, EDM indicated two important facts. First, it showed that the space of popular culture in Serbia was enriched, thus spreading the culture in which the phenomenon had entered. Drawing on this view, it can be noted that EDM also spread popular cultures in global frames. In that light, it is interesting to make a link to Buden's interpretation. Namely, when considering the issues of translation from one to another language, Buden highlights that with a translation of the text and its input into a new context, three things happen. Firstly, entering into a new context, the text spreads into the new culture within which it enters. Secondly, in the external sense, the culture from which the text originates also spreads. Finally, the point of intersection becomes something new and hybrid (Buden 2007).

The symbolic translation and rooting of EDM in Serbia created a new urban community of young people who received a new identity. In other words, the development of the EDM scene caused by a strong desire to discover the new contributed to making an "organ" of the community of young people, admirers of this phenomenon of popular culture. They added their own symbols on flyers, as well as dress styles, DJ associations, (thematic) performances and promotions in media shows. The symbols contributed to transferring the EDM phenomenon and shaping its meaning within the community that was different from the others. In that way, EDM formed a "space of intimacy." In such a space, they created a sense of belonging that was especially visible during the 1990s, and the space was a platform for connecting with the younger urban generation. Also, they created performative spaces at live EDM performances together with those who were similar to them. Nonetheless, all those gathered around the EDM phenomenon in Serbia conveyed the message that they were part of a great family of EDM culture, consequently achieving trans-cultural symbolic communication with the world, something which was particularly emphasised during the 1990s.

On the next level, attention is drawn to the concept of the third space and the EDM phenomenon in Serbia is discussed. As Bhabha convincingly showed in his book *Location of culture*, the processes of cultural translation take place within the third space. In the spaces, he sees the possibilities of a new, international culture that does not identify with multicultural exotics (it stands opposite it as a critique), but allows articulation and the shaping of hybridity. The culture is formed within the in-between space in which "translation" and "negotiation" processes take place. As Bhabha added, in the in-between

space something new always occurs, becoming a space for cultural expression. Therefore, the third space opens up the possibility of avoiding the politics of binarity and appearing as the other by itself (Baba 2004: 80). Moreover, the third space establishes the discursive terms of showing that meanings and symbols of culture do not have primordial unity and immutability. According to the concepts of the third space, the same signs can be appropriated again, as well as translated, historicised and read (Baba 2004: 79). The third space follows an “assimilation of differences” and creates an almost occult instability that is a herald of powerful cultural change(s). In this space there is established the path for “entering and articulating the hybridity of culture” (Baba 2004: 80).

As shown in Chapter 1, after the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991, Serbia was in a sort of third space. This can also be contributed to the geographic position of the country as well as the whole Balkans, positioned as the space between the East and the West. Therefore, Bhabha’s concept of the third space is necessary while interpreting ideas about EDM in Serbia at the turn of the centuries. The socio-political situation in the decade from 1991 to 2000 - at the time of the toppling of the Milošević regime - opened up the possibility for EDM development within its hybrid cultural space. As already indicated, the EDM scene started to shape itself in the place of a “cleft,” setting the base and beginning further development. An important fact follows from it. Namely, at the beginning of its development, the phenomenon of popular culture was conducted in the third space, as a third space, or, the third space was created within the in-between space. There it was possible to experience the atmosphere of turbulent changes that were happening on the socio-political level. Parallel with this, the atmosphere of a growing EDM culture was being created. As a support for this thesis, it can be noted that EDM performances (until the year 2000) were conducted as one of the ways of an *intervention* in the third space.

A greater and freer presence of EDM in the media and the media promotion of the genre also contributed to creating a uniqueness of the phenomenon in the third space. Not only was the media represented but it also participated in the assembly and demarcation of the EDM genre. Micro-media such as flyers and DJ listings were the means by which the organisers brought the young audience together while the niche media (writings about the EDM phenomenon in the popular press) also had a significant role in the construction, the creation of style as well as documentation of EDM. Finally, appearing on state television and radio stations (and after that, the independent media as well), TV and radio shows were

crucial to the construction of EDM culture in Serbia. Thus, this information shed light on an important fact. Namely, the authenticity of the EDM phenomenon in Serbia and its uniqueness compared to the world highlighted the fact that the culture was not only shaped as an underground one, but also as a culture that took place within an *in-between* space. In the third space (the space of translation and negotiation) the media promoted the genre, gathered an audience and influenced the further development and shaping of EDM.

As a contemporary artistic and cultural phenomena inseparable from social and political events, EDM appeared and was shaped in Serbia in the decade of big social-political changes. It shed light on the fact that the uniqueness of EDM is closely linked to the moment of political “metamorphosis,” the period of transition that came after 2000. In that way, it can be said that the time of “the metamorphosis” was followed by the development of a new popular culture that symbolically “communicated” from the in-between space of historical change. The decade of a major change that followed the turn of the centuries, entering and transitioning toward a new era, was marked on the local level by the epochal collapse of communism that led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the civil war. On the global level it referred to several important circumstances: the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the Eastern Block, a rapid development of technical and soon after, digital achievements – a period when the whole world began to resemble a global village, as determined by Marshall McLuhan (McLuhan 1967).

The existence of the third space in Serbia allowed the translating of the EDM phenomenon. Namely, rooting, shaping and developing EDM in Serbia was possible because the country at the turn of the 21st century was in a period of liminality. The liminality and the third space, or the productive space of translating the phenomenon, contributed and made possible the creating of a popular culture with a difference that reflected the sense of otherness. Thus, translating the EDM phenomenon in the third space in the period of liminality cleared up several relevant facts. First, the accumulated energy allowed the opening of new spaces, which was materialised through movements and sound, uncovering the performative potential of the EDM phenomenon. In alternative spaces, EDM performances were re-shaped into certain spaces that soon after received a recognisable role in promoting popular culture in Serbia.

Second, the specific nature of EDM in Serbia at the beginning of the development was also reflected in the fact that the performative elements from clubs reshaped their

appearance on the streets in the moment of changes. Namely, as already discussed in Chapter 1, bodily movements, noise, whistles, walking – all of this contributed to creating performative spaces not only in clubs but on the streets as well. The energy that was being shaped around the EDM phenomenon was an important element during the protests. Therefore, rhythm and whistling sounds which marked Serbia as a country of noise in the 1990s correlated with EDM. And finally, collective performative actions that illuminate the bodily experience of music and the entire EDM performances also marked the transition and change from narrative to performative structures. Thus, the performative turn in the field of popular culture in Serbia was clearly highlighted.

In the period of liminality which lasted until 2000, a paradox came to the foreground. Namely, the isolation and dark ambience of everyday life did not stop the translation, incursion, and development of EDM. The more the country was isolated, the more grew the energy and wish of younger people to shape a new popular culture. In this period, creativity was evident and marked by the fact that young people accumulated energy in a “limited” space, strengthening and sharing it among themselves. This fact led to the discovery that the state of the spirit among the younger urban generation in Serbia was reflected in the EDM phenomenon during the period of liminality. In addition, at the beginning of its development, EDM had a social and general political role, the political referring to the unspoken comment of the younger generation about the socio-political situation in the country. Furthermore, the social role of EDM was a form of connectivity among fans. Above all, EDM was not politically engaged but rendered an unspoken comment and created “oases of salvation” for young people that were following the phenomenon.

In addition to this, as it was presented while analysing several examples taken from different phases of EDM development and looking through the perspective of the present, EDM in Serbia was formed in three waves. Namely, the first lasted from 1992 until 2000, the year when the first EXIT Festival was held in Novi Sad as a sign of the end of the Milošević regime, connecting Serbia directly with the world contents in the field of popular music and culture. At the first festival (referred to as The State of Exit), it exploded its accumulated energy while EDM continued to shape itself and develop. The second wave from 2001 until 2011 promoted the EDM phenomenon through various parties and festivals not only in Belgrade (Urban Experience, Echo), Novi Sad (EXIT Festival) and Niš (Nisomnia, Back to Nature), but also throughout the entire country (Love Fest in Vrnjačka Banja, Summer 3p in

Palić, Sound Lovers in Zrenjanin, parties organised by Tuborg across the country, etc.). The festivals that were completely or largely devoted to EDM gradually began to influence the forming of a new DJ generation. Nevertheless, the spectacular phenomenon which was formed in Amsterdam in 2000, White Sensation, an international multimedia festival, recognised Serbia as a country with a good EDM tradition. Therefore, the organisers positioned Serbia on the list of 20 countries in which they organised a one-night performance using innovative high audio and video technology, lasers, fireworks, live DJ and dance performances while the audience wore only white.⁹⁹

From 2012 to date, the third wave of EDM in Serbia mostly followed the general trend of re-enactment, taking place in several ways. Firstly, marking 20 years of performing as a duo, in 2012 Noise Destruction re-performed the Techno Therapy party, which was an important marker for opening a new phase in the development of EDM in Serbia. Secondly, reviving the spirit of the (recent) past also took shape as organising exhibitions of party photos, flyers and posters from the 1990s (Dom omladine in Belgrade, Ledena dvorana in Novi Sad and Technokratia's exhibition in Mixer House in Belgrade). Furthermore, a Facebook group as part of a social network for sharing material and memories from Industria during the 1990s as well as parties organised to celebrate anniversaries of DJ associations (e.g. Happy people, Technokratia, and Kozmik with Laurent Garnier as a guest DJ) contributed to the fact that we can claim that the concept of re-enactment is present in EDM in Serbia. Three waves of EDM development were also emphasised at the New Year's party named *Time Machine: The Past – The Present – The Future* (Figure 57), which took place in 2012 in the Belgrade club Depo Magacin, and both pioneers of EDM in Serbia, DJs from the second wave and younger DJs performed:

⁹⁹ Two White Sensation performances took place in Belgrade: in 2011 – Ocean of White, and in 2012 – Innerspace.



Figure 57| The Past – The Present – The Future: *Time Machine*, New Year Eve performance (private collection).

Hence, the question remains: how will this trend take place in the future? Finally, numerous performances of national, international and regional DJs confirm the fact that the tradition of EDM is deeply rooted in the pop cultural space in Serbia and that it is still being (re)shaped. Above all, it contributes to creating a vivid and colourful image of the EDM phenomenon worldwide. As we have seen in this study, EDM attained its status on the stage of popular culture in three waves – not only locally, but worldwide. Numerous performances, festivals, and international awards confirm this fact.

And last but not least, it should be pointed out that the correlation between select analysed examples in Chapter 2 and the phases of EDM development are reflected in the performer names. Namely, my opinion is that the names used by the DJs emerged as an indication of the ways they see themselves on the stage as well as in the space of EDM. Noise Destruction, as one of pioneers of the genre in Serbia, wanted such a name as EDM started to develop at the time when they began performing together. Nikolić recalls: “In that moment, techno was associated with very loud music. We liked it because in that moment we wanted to make noise” (Noise Destruction/Nikolić, interview, October 25th 2012). Without doubt, it was during the first phase of development that EDM existed in the *in-between* space, being created during the circumstances of isolation and developing ideas of social change. Noise, therefore, was the powerful tool. It referred to destruction with sound

and with noise that led to a clearing of the air and providing a space for the rooting of a new culture. Moreover, they used recognisable material as the identifier, connector and platform for young people. After 2000, the new generation entered the EDM stage in Serbia. Similarly with their predecessors, they put an emphasis on a skilful manipulation of instruments (Gramophonedzie), but also the use of DJ tools/instruments showing their craft. By using the “magical pipe” (Shazalakazoo is the name of the pipe),¹⁰⁰ the sound of EDM began to change. Adding local sound elements into the EDM environment, they began to set the base for a possible, new EDM wave in Serbia.

¹⁰⁰ The idea for the name Shazalakazoo came from the cartoon The Smurfs which presents a story of tiny blue people living in a village of big forest mushrooms. The cartoon was popular in the former Yugoslavia during the 1980s.

EDM: new perspectives.

The key idea of this study was to present how new popular culture was developed during the changes within a system and a country. I considered and examined EDM as an *authentic* phenomenon which began developing in Serbia on the achievements of the popular culture of the former Yugoslavia, after the country's disintegration in 1991. This study showed how in a period marked as a dark and even the most difficult in the contemporary history of Serbia, the *new* phenomenon of popular culture developed, as well as how it gave its followers a space for belonging, a space that enabled a sense of freedom, a link with the world and displacement from reality. In that way, I additionally emphasised the importance of researching pop cultural phenomena in the countries undergoing transition, as well as examining the contextual framework in which these phenomena appear. Nonetheless, due to the fact that EDM made a *performative turn* in the field of popular music in Serbia after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, I illuminate how the *performative acts* performed by participants at EDM parties (and in which there is a stress is on body, dance, movement and creating noise) spread from clubs and alternative spaces into the *events* on the streets.

Shedding light on EDM in Serbia, a phenomenon unknown to wider audience, I showed the ways in which young people, especially at the beginning of the shaping and developing of this popular culture during the 1990s, experienced, understood, presented, expressed and created their worlds, making in them specific performative spaces. Therefore, the historical overview of EDM development within a specific socio-political moment has its documentary significance, emphasising a cultural perspective in research, but it can also serve as a base for a further research of the phenomena from the historiographical perspective. Also, it is important to highlight that this study is significant not only due to extensive field research, but it also includes the *personal experience* of the researcher as a participant in EDM culture from the early 1990s as well as a contemporary of the socio-political situation related to that period.

Furthermore, through detailed analysis of select examples I developed a methodological framework conceived in an interdisciplinary manner and based on elaborating the concepts of samples, remix, musical space/spatiality in music, ritualised performance, re-enactment, multidirectional memory and the other authenticity.

Furthermore, this new platform can be applied to the further research of EDM. First, as a main point of departure for consideration, I suggested the model of *concentric circles* which illuminates EDM as a *transitional* phenomenon of popular culture which has to be understood as a connection of sound/music – performance/theatre. The system of analysis of the separated EDM tracks were set on three levels. On the first, there are musical characteristics analysed from the level of the architectonics of music flow in which the focus is on considering the ways of using the pre-existing sound material and the location of the stress upon the aesthetic qualities of the newly created tracks. On the second level, the focus was on examining the correlation between the music and video image of official music videos, as well as examining the ways of creating the musical spaces of EDM tracks. On the third level, light is shed on examining the ways in which the performed old material becomes new, how ideas from music enter into a live performance, or creating new dramaturgy. The phenomena of samples, remix, musical space/spatiality in music was presented as a significant contemporary praxis in creating the EDM flow, but also as symptoms which show the essential aspects of creating, expressing and presenting which are specific for popular culture at the turn of the 21st century.

Also, through the study I marked the importance of a DJ as a *performer* and *mediator* into Other worlds and EDM as a specific genre due to the fact that stress moves from the stage, as it is in other genres of popular music, to the dance floor, the *performing* audience, as well as to creating a strong relation between the DJ and the audience. Through an analysis of select live EDM performances, it was shown how the performances become multivalent forms, events and open works of art which can be performed as ritualised, in a specific, unique alternative space, at the same time creating multidirectional links with the past, but also as *third forms* in which theatricality meets performativity. It was additionally emphasised considering re-enactment (which put emphasis on the cultural-historical significance of the first wave of EDM in Serbia). In that way, I indicated the importance of examining the space and position of scenography objects in it, the performers on stage and their costumes, the meaning of colours and the consideration of the entire performative process of an EDM party. Also, I demonstrated how at such events as DJs/performers on the stage/VJ/the audience created by contemporary communities, indicated that all of them enter into established roles for the purposes of the party, different from everyday life, which altogether contributes in creating a particular atmosphere. Finally, the concept of the other

authenticity explained in this study can be applicable as a tool for other researchers not only in EDM, but also in other phenomena of (popular) culture and contemporary art.

Having in mind the fact that this is the first study of EDM in Serbia, even in the whole post-Yugoslav cultural space, it is important to indicate that it has its limitations. Namely, an analysis of some more examples with a clearly marked existence of three waves of EDM in Serbia and a detailed research of development in Niš are missing, as well as examining the ways in which this phenomenon of popular culture was developed and shaped in other cities in Serbia from 2000 until today. However, this work has identified a number of areas for future studies. In that light, further research may include a more detailed analysis of creating a “spiritual unification” at live EDM performances, analyses of DJ sets as a part of a whole live performance, as well as illuminating the importance of the VJ in creating more complex performances in which a VJ’s work becomes *performing in a performative space*. It is also important to conduct research whereupon the main focus is on the *performing audiences*, their roles at live EDM parties, the ways in which they create body movements, how they express themselves by entering into *dancing personae*, etc. I sincerely hope that a further, more comprehensive research will continue to uncover, complete the image and open up more issues for a profound consideration of this *transitional* pop cultural phenomenon.

Appendix

Chart 1

***Laki je malo nervozan* track**

M.M. = 133 (Intro, A, B, C, A1, A2, Outro)

macro	Intro							
micro								
duration	00.00 – 00.49							
structure	4+4							
scratching								
sample			sample 1		sample 1			
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	Intro							
micro								
duration								
structure	4+4							
scratching								
sample	sam. 2			sam. 2			sample 3	
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	Intro							
micro								
duration								
structure	4+4+1							
scratching								
sample	sam. 2		samp. 3		samp. 2		sample 4	
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1	*melody is doubled; the second, higher layer is stressed by rhythmic repetition of tones!							
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	A							
micro	a1							
duration	00.49 – 01.04							
structure	4+4							
<i>scratching</i>								
<i>sample</i>								sample 4
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	A							
micro	a2							
duration	01.04 – 01.19							
structure	4+4							
<i>scratching</i>								
<i>sample</i>					sample 1			
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	A							
micro	a3							
duration	01.19 – 01.33							
structure	4+4							
<i>scratching</i>								
<i>sample</i>				sample 5			sample 1	
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	A							
micro	a4							
duration	01.33 – 01.48							
structure	4+4							
scratching								
sample			sample 7				sample 7	
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	B							
micro	b1							
duration	01.48 – 02.03							
structure	4+4							
scratching								
sample			sample 6					
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	B							
micro	b2							
duration	02.03 – 02.18							
structure	4+4							
scratching								
sample		sample 8				sample 8		
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	B							
micro	b3							
duration	02.18 – 02.33							
structure	4+4							
scratching								
sample								
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	C							
micro	c1							
duration	02.33 – 02.48							
structure	4+4							
scratching								
sample	sample 9				sample 9			sample 4
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

macro	C							
micro	c2							
duration	02.48 – 03.02							
structure	4+4							
scratching								
sample					sample 1			
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4								
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line								
beat								

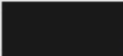
macro	A1							
micro	a1				a2			
duration	03.02 – 03.10				03.10 – 03.17			
structure	4				4			
scratching	█		█		█		█	
sample	sample 2				sample 3			
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4					█	█	█	█
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
beat	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█

macro	A1							
micro	a3							
duration	03.17 – 03.32							
structure	4+4							
scratching								
sample	sample 2				sample 4			
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
effect 4	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
melody 1								
melody 2								
bass line	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
beat	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█

macro	A2							
micro	a1							
duration	03.32 – 03.47							
structure	4+4							
scratching		█		█		█		█
sample		sample 1		s.10				
effect 1								
effect 2								
effect 3								
effect 4	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
melody 1	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
melody 2								
bass line	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
beat	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█

macro	A2						
micro	a2						
duration	03.47 – 04.10						
structure	4+4+4						
scratching							
sample				sample 6			sample 1
effect 1							
effect 2							
effect 3							
effect 4							
melody 1							
melody 2							
bass line							
beat							

macro	A2			Outro			
micro	a2						
duration				04.10 – 04.17			
structure							
scratching							
sample				sample 11	sample 12		
effect 1							
effect 2							
effect 3							
effect 4							
melody 1							
melody 2							
bass line							
beat							

 = Building block

 = 1/4

effect 1	sound effect with the signal role
effect 2	various rhythmical effects
effect 3	various vocals as sound effects
effect 4	a permanent and continuous tone as a sound effect

Chart 2

Folkstep track

M.M. = 178 (Intro, A, A1, B, A2, A3, A4, B1, A5, A6, A7, A8, Outro)

macro	Intro													
duration	00.00-00.21													
structure	8 + 8													
2 nd theme														
1 st theme														
ambience														
motif														
clap rhy.														
loop rhy.														
beat														
cont. bass														

macro	A													
duration	00.21-00.42													
structure	8 + 8													
2 nd theme														
1 st theme														
ambience														
motif														
clap rhy.														
loop rhy.														
beat														
cont. bass														

macro	A1													
duration	00.42-01.04													
structure	8 + 8													
2 nd theme														
1 st theme														
ambience														
motif														
clap rhy.														
loop rhy.														
beat														
cont. bass														

macro	B							
duration	01.04-01.14							
structure	8							
2 nd theme	[Red]							
1 st theme	[White]							
ambience	[White]							
motif	[White]							
clap rhy.	[White]							
loop rhy.	[White]				[Red]			
beat	[White]				[Grey]			
cont. bass	[Black]							

macro	A2															
duration	01.14-01.36															
structure	8 + 8															
2 nd theme	[White]															
1 st theme	[Blue]															
ambience	[White]															
motif	[White]															
clap rhy.	[White]															
loop rhy.	[Red]															
beat	[Grey]															
cont. bass	[Black]															

macro	A3															
duration	01.36-01.57															
structure	8 + 8															
2 nd theme	[White]															
1 st theme	improvisation															
ambience	[White]															
motif	[White]															
clap rhy.	[White]															
loop rhy.	[Red]															
beat	[Grey]															
cont. bass	[Black]															

macro	A4															
duration	01.57-02.18															
structure	8 + 8															
2 nd theme	[White]															
1 st theme	[White]															
ambience	[Green]															
motif	[Light Blue]															
clap rhy.	[Yellow]															
loop rhy.	[Red]															
beat	[White]															
cont. bass	[Black]															

macro	B1												
duration	02.18-02.45												
structure	8 + 8 + 4												
2 nd theme													
1 st theme													
ambience													
motif	motif core of the 2 nd theme												
clap rhy.													
loop rhy.													
beat													
cont. bass													

macro				
duration				
structure				
2 nd theme				
1 st theme				
ambience				
motif	1 st theme			
clap rhy.				
loop rhy.				
beat				
cont. bass				

macro	A5												
duration	02.45-03.06												
structure	8 + 8												
2 nd theme													
1 st theme													
ambience													
motif													
clap rhy.													
loop rhy.													
beat													
cont. bass													

macro	A6						
duration	03.06-03.17						
structure	8						
2 nd theme							
1 st theme							
ambience							
motif							
clap rhy.							
loop rhy.							
beat							
cont. bass							

macro	A7													
duration	03.17-03.38													
structure	8 + 8													
2 nd theme														
1 st theme														
ambience														
motif														
clap rhy.														
loop rhy.														
beat														
cont. bass														

macro	A8								Outro			
duration	03.38-03.52								03.52-04.00			
structure	8 + 2								4			
2 nd theme												
1 st theme												
ambience												
motif												
clap rhy.												
loop rhy.												
beat												
cont. bass												

Building block (4/4)

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