# Sounds of Attraction

## Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Popular Music

EDITED BY MIHA KOZOROG AND RAJKO MURŠIČ

SOUNDS OF ATTRACTION:
YUGOSLAV AND POST-YUGOSLAV POPULAR MUSIC

Sounds of Attraction: Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Popular Music

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Ljubljana 2017

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# Various Communities of Feeling in (post-)Yugoslav Popular Music: An Introductory Reflection

Rajko Muršič

A quarter of century after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, its popular music has clearly survived. It is not only a part of the memories of the good old days, and thus limited to people over 40; it is perhaps even more attractive for the younger generations than for those who were part of its development after WWII. Younger artists and audiences produce and consume popular music in their new respective countries, but their music still expresses some common structures of feeling. The authors in the present volume, all of whom come from the region, address issues of similarities and differences in the various popular music scenes and audiences across former Yugoslavia.

Music is an especially good and useful indicator of social relations and their transformation. This volume discusses the use of music and its social existence as a marker of social change in a country which has survived only in memory – and in music. Despite enormous recent

shifts in music production, distribution and use, music is still the main indicator of social relationship, especially in times of rapid change. It is an excellent indicator of barely visible commonalties and differences across space and time.

In Yugoslavia, popular music played an important, though ambivalent, role. We can claim that it served as a medium for the transmission of dominant values (festival spectacles of discipline, regime songs), but at the same time it was also a medium of expression of highly varied interests among various social groups and their identifications (youth, rebels, women, ethnic minorities, national identities). Popular music was an important part of the system, but at the same time an island of confrontation and experimentation with the system. In the proclaimed multiethnic or multinational state it at the same time connected people and exposed their differences, which were understood by audiences throughout the country as local exceptions.

Despite the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the numerous interethnic conflicts and processes of development of the post-Yugoslav nation states, the legacy of popular music is still very vital. In the area of former Yugoslavia, many forms of cooperation are emerging: between musicians and booking agents; the revitalization of certain musical expressions with reference to the Yugoslav past, as well as the informal exchange of documented products and experiences from this past via social networks.

Former Yugoslav popular music has acquired, especially during the post-Yugoslav period, the status of national production in the individual countries (e.g., "Serbian rock" or "Croatian pop"), but there are also examples of a truly shared, multinational legacy. Despite their originally apparent "Bosnian note", Bijelo dugme, for example, became a representative of the common, i.e. multinational legacy. Some centres of popular music and their popular music venues became transnational places of memory – e.g. SKC (Student Cultural Centre) in Belgrade. In the time of the dissolution of Yugoslavia and after, some regionalisms or localisms appeared as a form of rejection of musical nationalisms, for example "*ča val*" in Croatian Istria (see, e.g., Kalapoš 2002; Ćaleta 2003).

To a certain extent, popular music in former Yugoslavia served as a field of affirmation of otherwise de-privileged minorities, for example the Roma. The (Serbian-Roma) singer Šaban Bajramović, known as the king of Roma music, was considered by some fans to be the most important Yugoslav personality after Tito. The recently deceased "queen" of Roma music, Esma Redžepova, was similarly appreciated. The musical production of the Roma is still among the most important linking mediums in the whole area.

Emancipatory processes in the popular music of former Yugoslavia are nowadays present in the vigorous attendance youth music venues (for Slovenia see Muršič 2000a, 2011b; Muršič et al. 2012). In many cases, these venues are a direct legacy of Yugoslavia, i.e. self-management of the local youth organizations. Grassroots youth centres are still around and they provide a high level of direct contacts with performers of contemporary non-commercial popular music throughout the entire area of the former country, perhaps, but only to a certain extent, with the exception of Kosovo.

Audiences which welcome any revival of the legendary performers from former Yugoslavia are exceptionally good markers of the former "structures of feeling" (Williams 2005). It is now more or less obvious that the aesthetic preferences of Yugoslav popular music audiences have had a much deeper impact on the development of Yugoslavia than is usually thought.

It is not possible to understand the recent instrumentalization of popular music in the countries of former Yugoslavia without a better understanding of its origins and political history. Ordinary people reflect these trends in their everyday lives.

There have been many anthropological studies done on the history of Yugoslavia and its violent dissolution (e.g., Bowman 1994; Bakić-Hayden 1995; Silber and Little 1995; Halpern and Kideckel 2000; Muršič 2000b; Allcock 2002), as well as of the post-socialist transition in former socialist countries (e.g., Kürti and Skalník 2009), but not many have addressed the continuity between the past and the present, especially not in the field of popular culture and popular music (with noticeable much later exceptions, e.g., Perković 2011; Velikonja 2013; Perica and Velikonja 2012). The previously underestimated field of popular music studies therefore appears as a perfect subject for studying these processes, because popular music is at first sight neutral, but in its social effectiveness is a heavily politically charged area of cultural production. The articles in this collection compare contemporary (everyday) life in the countries of former Yugoslavia from the perspective of their present or past popular music. They focus on a seemingly trivial part of everyday life, its popular music. The field of gender studies, especially studies of women in popular music, who have so far been almost completely neglected, is also touched on, although this topic deserves special attention and therefore will be presented in another volume.

Interestingly, the academic production of analyses of popular music during and after socialism is relatively sparse. There are a few important exceptions, such as Eric Gordy (1999), who analyses the destruction

of alternatives in Serbia, Alexei Monroe's work on turbo-folk (2000) and Neue Slowenische Kunst (2005), and others, such as Petra Sabrina Ramet (1994), Carol Silverman (1996), Mark Slobin (1996), Jane C. Sugarman (1997), Mattijs van de Port (1998), Ljerka Rasmussen (2002), and Catherine Baker (2011). It is difficult to define Mišina's work (see 2013) either as domestic or foreign, but in any case, domestic researchers have been more productive. One early attempt was the research on music in the Croatian war by Svanibor Pettan (1998) and his study of Roma musicians in Kosovo (1992). Also worth mentioning are some other works on music and music-related topics from the area (Kulić 1980; Dragičević-Šešić 1994; Čolović 1994, 2006, 2008; Hujić 1996; Zlatanović-Cvetković 1997; Ceglar 1999; Longinović 2000; Vogrinc 2000; Grlja 2002; Andree Zaimović 2004; Kronja 2004; Žolt, Višnjevac and Vučurević 2004; Jeffs 2005; Ceribašić 2007; Milojević 2007; Volčič 2007; Mijatović 2008; Vuletic 2008; Lukić-Krstanović 2010; Kostelnik 2011). Finally, we should also mention some of the important contributions to the topic from the writers in the present volume (Muršič 2000a, 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2008, 2011a, 2011b; Petrović 2011, 2012; Hofman 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2015; Petrov 2016).

Over time, there has also been an increasing number of popular memoirs and historical overviews (Malečkar and Mastnak 1985; Luković 1989; Barbarič 1996; Janjatović 1998; Žikić 1999; Lovšin, Mlakar and Vidmar 2002; Jakovljević 2003; Kostelnik 2004; Mirković 2004; Škarica 2005; Bašin 2006; Collin 2004; Vrdoljak 2008; Đekić 2009; Perković 2013; Pogačar 2013, etc.)

This volume brings writings that touch on a longer historical framework, beginning with early Slovenian recordings between WWI and WWII by Drago Kunej, followed by an overview of Yugoslav rock music in the 1970s by Irena Šentevska. Tanja Petrović presents the important parody band Rokeri s Moravu, while Urša Valič presents the rich photographic archive at the Museum of Recent History in Ljubljana, covering the development of popular music in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Petra Hamer writes about patriotic songs in besieged Sarajevo, while Ana Petrov presents the emotional attractiveness of present-day concerts of popular former Yugoslav acts. Miha Kozorog writes about a Bosnian refugee rock band in Slovenia. Ana Hofman and Martin Pogačar write about partisan songs in the present, in the repertoire of younger music performers. And, finally, Rajko Muršič writes about music, memories and imagination.

The collection Sounds of Attraction will hopefully contribute to further discussions on the relationship between the development of the popular music scene and the Yugoslav socialist system. As noted

above, from what we know about popular music in former Yugoslavia, the aesthetic preferences of music audiences appear to have had a much deeper impact on the development of the socialist state than is usually thought to be the case.

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# Feelings

# Partisan Resistance Today? The Music of the National Liberation Struggle and Social Engagement

Ana Hofman and Martin Pogačar

> *They kept trying to smother the songs of resistance, but they did not smother them, ever, nor the spark of resistance, which was constantly smouldering here and there and burst into a flame of rebellion.*
> (Hercigonja and Karakljajić 1962)

Any interpretation of the past can only be a dissonant and dynamic, always political and without doubt a performative process. This spurs the emergence of and competition between alternative interpretations of the past that may also be understood as acts of opposition and even resistance to dominant and/or competing narratives. This is particularly clear when references to particular historical periods or events are problematised in daily political struggles and media discourses: recourse to alternate histories or the search for alternative visions of the past can thus be regarded as an attempt to devise a potential conceptual framework within which an articulation of alternative politics

(visions of the future) is possible. This carries with it certain (political) connotations that in the post-Yugoslav context are powered by the historical experience and perpetual reinterpretations of the national liberation struggle and antifascist resistance, as well as the entire period of socialist Yugoslavia – these periods have notably defined Yugoslav and contemporary social, (pop) cultural and political milieux, and the responses to it.

In this essay, we discuss the shifting meanings and ascribed interpretations of the historical experience of the Yugoslav antifascist resistance as expressed through music. In an attempt to encourage this reflection on the musical expressions of the partisan resistance from a historical perspective, we primarily analyse scholarly works and media discourses and combine historical, musicological and cultural studies approaches. Although we aim to cover quite a broad historical period – from the end of World War II to the present – we focus on the key periods which brought important ideological shifts in the notion of partisan resistance as expressed through music.

Taking this as our starting point, we first engage with the musical revolutionary legacy of the National Liberation Struggle (hereafter the partisan resistance) and its dominant reinterpretations and reappropriations during socialist Yugoslavia. In the second part, we discuss the uses of this past in the post-socialist context, marred by perpetual crisis and precarity that often encourage taking recourse to the past in the search for a source, tool and approach to revolutionise the present and voice viable alternatives. We attempt to discuss several broader questions related to thinking and practicing resistance in the past and in the current moment and to reflect on the wider questions of technologies of power and social engagement in contemporary society.

We therefore highlight the importance of certain ideological and mythological elements found in partisan songs, which once played an important role in public discourse (and, of course, the dominant ideology), but have become, after the collapse of the country and through the 1990s, the unwanted, irrelevant or superfluous "rubbish of the communist past". In the post-Yugoslav present, these subjects are being reinterpreted, re-contextualised, redefined and reused in a wide range of practices and discourses: from commodification and political purposes to various public uses that aim to (re)articulate the values or set the parameters for potential alternatives to the present conditions. In view of the various (ambivalent, controversial, unexpected) references to this music in public discourses, we therefore discuss its value, importance and mobilising potential in the current moment.

## "SONGS OF RESISTANCE": FROM THE WOODS TO THE STAGE

Musical activities in Yugoslavia between 1941 and 1945 were an important part of the artistic endeavours that supported the antifascist resistance.[1] The songs sung during the liberation struggle were a way to motivate, support and mobilise soldiers for combat, share the news and cope with the extreme harshness of the wartime experience. Contemporaries of the time wrote that these songs were honest and mostly factual testimonies about the course of the partisan resistance and life therein (Hercigonja and Karakljajić 1962). In the circumstances of the wartime situation, the songs represented an important means of communication and a channel for spreading news that were "broadcast through verses, from troops to troops, from village to village" (Marjanović and Milošević 1961). The majority of partisan songs were typically created "along the way" and spontaneously, through the interaction among the soldiers, who also made a bricolage of folk or "foreign" tunes, adapting the lyrics as well. This also meant that over time new (current) content was added: "During our glorious liberation struggle, amidst the raging war and the smoke of burnt homes, from the blood and tears and heroic ventures of thousands of our fighters, new songs have emerged – fight songs, songs of new aspirations, that give us faith in victory" (Naše pjesme 1942, 1944).

Given that the partisan resistance was not only a resistance against occupation but also a revolution – a radical transformation of the existing social structure – partisan songs were not only a weapon in the fight against the occupying forces; they reflected and mobilised a revolt against the incumbent system and promoted a new social structure. They celebrated the fight against the class enemy, capitalism and exploitation: "The spirit of reproach, of protest, of resistance was becoming increasingly alive and powerful, it was reflected in the songs with a growing vigour" (Hercigonja and Karakljajić 1962).

Musicmaking within the partisan movement was characterised by the dynamism (a large number of songs in a relatively short period of time) and heterogeneity of the musical material: it drew upon folk songs (with new content), work songs, revolutionary songs and combat songs from previous wars, e.g. World War I (Bošković-Stulli 1960). The partisan resistance also revived songs of peasant uprisings or used them as references in writing new songs. Foreign revolutionary songs from the French Revolution, the October Revolution and particularly

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1 On the role of music in the Slovenian National Liberation Struggle see Križnar 1992; Pirjevec and Repe 2008; Komelj 2009; Hofman 2011, 2015, 2016.

the Spanish Civil War were an important part of the repertoire of the combatants, and had spread throughout the entire territory of Yugoslavia. And it was these songs that most notably emphasised the international aspect of antifascism, and solidarity with other nations in a common struggle. The meshing and adaptation of lyrics, music and genres indicates both the specificity and the international nature of the Yugoslav antifascist resistance.

An important part of the making of the partisan repertoire were adaptations and the mixing of two main groups of songs – folk songs and fight songs (see the prefaces of the songbooks *Naše pjesme* (*Our Songs*) (1942, 1944); *Slovenske partizanske pesmi* (*Slovenian Partisan Songs*) (1942); *Krajiške narodne pjesme iz NOB-e i socijalističke izgradnje* (*Regional Folk Songs from the Struggle for Liberation and the Period of Socialist Reconstruction*) (1949); *Zbornik partizanskih narodnih napeva* (*Collection of Partisan Folk Songs*) (1962)). The folk songs brought by fighters from their home villages and towns gradually acquired political, combative and revolutionary content, but were also, in the extreme circumstance of war, interwoven with pre-war memories. Folk songs were adapted to the physicality of marching and fighting, thereby approaching the aesthetics of fight songs. Following Matija Murko, Marija Klobčar points out that "the war itself evokes memories of the long forgotten songs" (Murko in Klobčar 2012: 27–46) and also of the various different songs that reminded them of their home or entertained them. Despite the different Yugoslav partisan units and regions having their own specific repertoires, a large number of songs were shared throughout the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia, particularly in the case of the "foreign" revolutionary repertoire. Several songs were translated from Slovenian and Macedonian into Serbo-Croatian and vice versa, and it was precisely this exchange of songs or "mixing" of the repertoire across nations and regions (usually not through direct contacts with the fighters, but through songbooks) which was presented as one of the important features of music-making within the partisan movement (Hofman 2011).

On the other hand, the composers of the fight songs frequently used elements from folk traditions and composed them in "the folk spirit", in order to mobilise the masses more effectively. A large part of this music was in fact produced by well-known composers and poets, such as Oskar Danon, Nikola Hercigonja, Karol Pahor, Karel Destovnik-Kajuh, Matej Bor or Radovan Gobec, who were themselves active participants in the liberation struggle and supporters of the resistance against fascism.

The relationship between guidance and spontaneity is one of the central issues that indicate the complexity of the rebellious

potential of partisan songs (it should be noted here that this complexity also refers to different uses in different regions of Yugoslavia). Researchers label 1943 as the year of the turning point, after which the balance between spontaneity and guidance was challenged. After the second AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) meeting in Jajce that year, it seems that the original spontaneity had given way to institutionalisation: it was slowly taken over by guided performances and propagation of the songs (Karakaš 1974: 112). In this respect, a comparison between the songs from the war period and those published after the war – regardless of the dominant discourses of spontaneity – shows distinct changes (especially) in the lyrics: In one of the partisan songbooks (*Naše pjesme* from 1944), the song 'Hej Slovani' ('Hey, Slavs'),[2] which later became the official Yugoslav national anthem, features new lyrics, co-written by Vladimir Nazor, which celebrated Stalin and the Soviet army:

*Oj Slaveni, zemlja tutnji*
*s Volge i Triglava*
*istim glasom huče Visla*
*Jadran, Timok, Sava.*

*Hey, Slavs, the earth is rumbling*
*from the Volga and Triglav,*
*the Vistula, the Adriatic, the Timok, the Sava,*
*all roar with the same voice.*

The song was given its now-familiar form in a 1949 songbook, in which the "ideological orientation" was overtly emphasised and new lyrics introduced. It is therefore important to note that a large part of the genre of partisan songs was actually produced in the post-war period (Hofman 2011: 100). Official post-war discourses in fact contributed to the creation of the notion of the "music of resistance" as an important part of the creation of the partisan myth as one of the foundational narratives of socialist Yugoslavia and Yugoslav cultural identity (this creation included a selection process and various interventions into musical material).

Therefore, in the period after World War II, a large part of this music held an important place in the "official" culture and politics. In

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2 The song was written by Samuel Tomášik in 1834 and was used as an anthem, among others, by the Pan-Slavic movement. The melody is the work of the Polish composer Josef Wybicki dating to 1797. Given the song's long history, we do not have the space to further explore the intricacies of translations in different periods and into different languages.

addition to film, partisan songs became the most powerful and most widely-used medium in the process of the mythologisation of the national liberation struggle. They were a regular part of official commemorations and ceremonies, which made them an important sound marker of the official politics of memory. The songs were arranged by well-known composers, mostly for mixed choirs, symphonic orchestras and military bands. The main characteristic of the partisan songs – their formation and use in spontaneous resistance and collective singing – was eventually replaced by large ensembles, a specific monumentalised approach to this music in a highly ritualised context of national celebrations. Over time, the "resistance" component, revolutionary and engaged, was increasingly dissipating into empty form: "Saturation with the NOB [National Liberation Struggle] has often resulted in the exhaustion of the antifascist struggle and its reduction to the level of ossified official ideology without any power of mobilisation ..." (Kirn 2011: 239).

Because cultural policy was primarily focused on the "education and enlightenment of the masses," the "appropriate" and "artistic" representation of music produced during the national liberation struggle was of utmost importance, especially in the first years after the war. Later on in the 1950s, the ideological tensions between mass and "high" culture and art persisted, but it was popular culture that increasingly seized media spaces and subcultures. Cultural policy insisted on the "modernisation" of the mass culture through importing elements of "high culture", whereas the latter was to be "de-elitised" and adapted to all working people (see AJ-142: 47–164). The attitude towards partisan songs in public discourse therefore gradually changed and the methods of its representation became more "open". Eventually, this repertoire, generally characterised by highly ideologised rhetoric and reserved for "high art", found its way into popular music, largely adopted and instrumentalised for "ideological needs".

## INSTITUTIONALISATION OF THE NOB AND PARTISAN RESISTANCE THROUGH POPULAR MUSIC

Popular music in socialist Yugoslavia was quite a powerful ideological tool (to varying degrees, depending on the period) and at the same time an instrument and a field of subcultural resistance. After the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform in 1948 and the purported abandonment of socialist realism through the dismissal

of Agitprop in 1952, the country increasingly started opening up to the West, which by the early 1960s resulted in the importing, and often smuggling, of goods, including food, clothing, cars, electronics, music and musical instruments. In this atmosphere, official ideologists began to accept the musical genres deemed morally suspect immediately after the war (especially jazz and other genres of Western popular music), which have thus become part of Yugoslav everyday life (Vuletic 2008; Vučetić 2009). But revolutionary and partisan topics still inexorably infiltrated the popular culture through the media, education, youth labour campaigns and other collective activities. As a result, not only were partisan songs rearranged for jazz ensembles, they became a regular feature of everyday consumption of music – at concerts by amateur bands and parties in the late 60s (Vasiljević 2013: 125). Therefore, the creators of pop-cultural content themselves were also not passive or even subordinate recipients of the ideology, largely accepting and implementing partisan and revolutionary content in their works.

The "march" of partisan and revolutionary content can be observed from the 1960s onwards, at the latest, even within the genres that were largely seen as "light entertainment" or "consumer culture".[3] "Revolutionary music" was no longer the exclusive domain of formalised events, but had penetrated, with the help of popular groups, into the everyday. Dean Vuletic notes this was the result "of entrapment among the tolerance, imitation and rivalry" of Yugoslav cultural policy, which was trying to go beyond Cold War politics, satisfy the citizens' desire for entertainment, and at the same time remain true to the principles of socialist ideology (Vuletic 2008: 862). Meanwhile, the partisan struggle and its values had to be "de-elitised" and presented to the younger generations. As an example, at a festival of war songs in 1970, Majda Sepe performed a song titled 'Dolgolasi partizan' ('Long-Haired Partisan'), which combined the genres of military marching songs and 1960s chanson:

*Kdo je to, s kuštravo glavo*
*poje, na kitaro si igra?*
*"Ali ta dober bo vojak?" vprašal se bo, kdor ga ne pozna*
*Mlad je še, a vendar dobro ve,*

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3 The mid-60s were also a period of crucial transformation of the Yugoslav economy, with the introduction of the market reform in 1965 and workers' self-management. Economic governance underwent a substantial shift in focus, especially with regard to capital management and redistribution of capital (for more on the market reform and class struggles within Yugoslav society see Kirn 2014).

*kaj je mir in kaj svoboda.*
*Tudi on je vojak bataljona, ki je zdaj skrit,*
*ki čaka, le tli.*

*Who is this, with his dishevelled hair,*
*singing, playing guitar?*
*"Is he going to be a good soldier?" may ask one who does not know him.*
*He is still young, and yet he knows*
*what peace is, and what is freedom.*
*He too is a soldier of the battalion, now hidden,*
*waiting, only smouldering.*

In this respect, the intertwining and overlapping of the two traditions of resistance – the partisan rebellion of the 1940s and the youth rebellion of the 1960s – is particularly interesting. Throughout the lyrics, the partisan resistance is a somewhat marginalised, or latent, but nonetheless significant power that is "waiting, only smouldering". The pop-cultural rebellion, on the other hand, was typically represented by long hair and a guitar, two of the trademarks of popular culture for at least the past fifty years. Though searching for rebellion in a pop song may seem a bit strange, it is in fact entirely reasonable if one accepts the interpretation that post-war Yugoslavia drew upon emancipatory socialism, an ideology in which the future is in the hands of the young. With the generational change of the 1960s, the partisan narrative was adapted to address contemporary problems and to establish a new connection between the state and personal responsibility, morality and ethics (Jakiša and Gilić 2015: 24).

In the late 1970s, in the context of the revival of partisan themes, rock music became a central staple, the distinctive youth subcultural channel of resistance that at that time remained quite firmly within the parameters of the regime (see Raković 2011; Ramet 1994; Muršič 2011). In 1978, for example, Djordje Balašević released the single 'Računajte na nas' ('Count On Us'), while that same year the Slovenian punk band Pankrti released 'Lublana je bulana' ('Ljubljana Is Sick'). Counterpoising the two songs reveals a significant difference in the worldviews, politics, ideology and music of the time. Partly due to the attitude of Yugoslav official policy of toleration for the popular genres, many pop and rock groups and musicians – from Hazard, Bijelo dugme and Indexi to Djordje Balašević – ideologically remained within the Yugoslav framework, singing songs that openly expressed a commitment to the idea and ideology (or were at least not deconstructing it openly). Balašević's verses from 'Računajte na nas' ('Count On Us') speak for themselves:

*Sumnjaju neki, da nosi nas pogrešan tok,*
*jer slušamo ploče i sviramo rok.*
*Al' negde u nama je bitaka plam,*
*...*
*Kroz vene nam protiče krv partizana,*
*i mi znamo zašto smo tu.*

*Some suspect that we are carried by the wrong stream,*
*because we are listening to records and playing rock.*
*But somewhere inside us, a flame of battles is burning,*
*...*
*The blood of the partisans flows through our veins,*
*and we know what we are here for.*

Similarly to Sepe in Long-Haired Partisan, Balašević refers to rock music, but concludes at the same time that the liberation struggle is not a distant mythical past but rather a significant "organic part" of the first generation that did not have first-hand experience of the antifascist struggle (*somewhere inside us, a flame of battles is burning*). However, such cases are hardly isolated. Other examples of references to the partisan resistance in popular musical are, for example, the Yugoslav Festival of Revolutionary and Patriotic Songs and the War Songs Festival, featuring singers and musicians who transcended the differences in music genres to unite in the "idea". In 1977, it included pop stars Oliver Dragojević and Neda Ukraden, and pop-rock group Indexi, among others. A song titled 'Jugoslavija' ('Yugoslavia'), dedicated to glorifying the partisan fighters, was performed in Slovenian:

*V melodiji slišim davni šum,*
*skozi dež gredo junaki,*
*samo zamišljam si lahko,*
*ker videl tega nisem.*
*...*
*Podajmo si roke, ljudje,*
*in spomnimo tistih se dni,*
*ko smo gradili deželo*
*in jo branili s krvjo.*

*I hear a distant crackle in the melody,*
*heroes walking through the rain,*
*I can only imagine,*
*as I have not seen them.*
*...*
*Let's hold our hands together, people,*
*and remember those days*
*when we were building our land*
*and defending it with our blood.*

Thirty years after the war, references to the resistance and the partisan movement were still very common, but also excessively (over-) communicated. It cannot be argued here that it was a matter of a mere performance of form without content (Yurchak 2006), nor, on the other hand, that this mythical theme had actually established itself so firmly in everyday life. These processes were much more dynamic and linked to generational affiliation, which is reflected in the above-mentioned songs.

By the late 1970s, the young were already born deep into the post-war period and were occupied with considerably different problems and immersed into different lifeworlds than those that had afflicted their parents' generation. This was the right moment for the "social deafness" (Tonkiss 2003: 304) – the unresponsiveness and lack of understanding among the political elites, and among the generation with the experience of World War II in general, for the situation in which the youth found themselves – to receive an answer. New musical genres emerged, particularly punk and new wave, which moved away from the liberation struggle romanticism and professed urban subcultures and identities, starting off with the Slovenian Buldožer in 1975 and continuing into the 1980 with Pankrti (see Pogačar 2008), as well as industrial avant-gardists Laibach and new wave bands such as Disciplina Kičme, Ekatarina Velika and Azra, among others. Rock music, punk and new wave in particular, was one of the main instigators of debates over social problems and criticism, as well as for the infiltration of new political ideas and concepts (Mandichevski in Spaskovska 2011: 360).

The mid-1980s brought other important movements – "New Primitivism" and "New Partisans" – that conceptualised revolutionary topics in a new way, either in order to deconstruct them or to revitalise them. In their work and approach, both movements reflected a Bosnian context and Sarajevo's specific place in the cultural imagination within Yugoslavia. New Primitivism, a subcultural movement from 1980s Sarajevo – whose legacy includes three icons of popular culture that remain popular today, the band Zabranjeno pušenje (No Smoking), Elvis J. Kurtović and the Bosnian TV show (initially a radio programme) *Top lista nadrealista* (*The Surrealist Hit Parade*) – used humour to address more-or-less topical issues, while not forgetting the partisan struggle and the legacy and achievements of the revolution. The song 'Neću da budem Švabo u dotiranom filmu' ('I Will Not be a Kraut in a Subsidised Film') from the first album by Zabranjeno pušenje, *Das ist Valter* from 1984 contains one such response:

*Slavni režiser je u našem gradu,*
*snima novi film, kažu, bit će dobar,*
*strani glumci, prijemi i lova*
*nema sumnje, smiješi mu se Oskar.*
*Neću da budem Švabo*
*u dotiranom filmu,*
*neću da budem statist*
*u životu i u kinu,*
*neću da budem Švabo,*
*Švabo da budem neću.*

*There is a famous director in our city,*
*making a new film, it will be good, they say,*
*foreign actors, receptions and money,*
*no doubt, the Oscar is in sight.*
*I will not be a Kraut*
*in a subsidised film,*
*I will not be an extra*
*in life and in the movies,*
*I will not be a Kraut,*
*I don't want to be a Kraut.*

Despite the subversive (for the time) rock form, a certain continuity can nonetheless be observed, an intertwining of an alternative form with the Yugoslav/partisan mythology. The song refers to the pop-culturalisation of the past as a tool of chronological perpetuation on one hand, and to the children's play "Partisans and Germans", which served as a subtle transmitter of certain ideological values.

From the late 1980s, perhaps the best known is the ironic 'Dan republike' ('Republic Day') by Zabranjeno pušenje (from the album *Pozdrav iz zemlje Safari* (*Greetings from Safari Land*), 1987), where a few telling verses expose the sadness and tragedy of the post-revolutionary situation:

*Danas je Dan republike i stari kaže*
*otvorite prozore, pijan je i čini mu se,*
*da logorske vatre u daljini gore ...*
*Danas je dan, Dan republike*
*i stara kaže jesi l' normalan Dragane,*
*zatvaraj prozore, ne radi grijanje.*

*Today is Republic Day, and my old man says*
*open the windows, he's drunk and it seems to him*
*that campfires are burning in the distance ...*
*Today is the day, Republic Day,*
*and my mother says, are you insane, Dragan,*
*close the windows, the heating is broken.*

Zabranjeno pušenje elucidates the generation gap between the youth of the early 1980s and their parents, who were born during the war or its immediate aftermath, but were in any case heavily affected by its recentness. At the same time, the lyrics express the experience of the degradation of the values of the partisan resistance and its exploitation in the light of the dysfunctionality of late-socialist Yugoslav society. It can be argued that to some extent, the mythologisation of the partisan resistance led to the exhaustion and alienation of the population. On top of the imminent economic crisis this further propelled the ideological crisis of the system, giving ample food for the new young performers to chew on and channel into critique.

References to the partisan resistance in these cases were in fact less explicit, although hardly absent. And it is precisely the continual presence of this subject in New Primitivism – which represented a deviation from and a criticism of the system and its basic orientation – that indicates the difficulties caused to the younger generations by the institutionalised, ideologised and instrumentalised treatment of the partisan struggle and the revolution. Far from claiming they were devoted Yugoslavs, and despite their vocalising disappointment and criticism over the situation in the country, new wavers, punks and also New Primitives nevertheless remained within the context of Yugoslavia. Ljubica Spaskovska asserts that "one could claim that the progressive Yugoslav rock bands which previously did not hesitate to create songs with political and engaged messages, even the mainstream Bijelo dugme, certainly wanted a different Yugoslavia, but a Yugoslavia nevertheless" (Spaskovska 2011: 366).

More explicit references to the partisan resistance and revolution can be found in the musical movement called New Partisans, largely uninfluential in terms of music (but much more so in terms of popularity), which originated in a genuine enthusiasm and desire to re-evaluate the fading values of the partisan resistance and revolution (Velikonja and Perica 2012). It seems that unlike the above-mentioned movements, the New Partisans took the values of the revolution and World War II as their basic starting point. However, their unique call to "return to the roots" faded into an ultimate devaluation, due to the (nationally and globally) radically volatile socio-political climate in the second half and at the end of the 1980s, which could not be satisfied by such an anachronistic answer.[4]

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4 Dalibor Mišina argues (in our opinion a bit over-theorised, since such intentionality can hardly be attributed to these groups) that the "original Yugoslavism" movement, roughly represented by the groups Bijelo Dugme, Plavi orkestar and Merlin, contained

The music of late socialism, despite its often-expressed social engagement, was more than anything else simply entertainment, jokes and more or less random social rebellion (if at all). Ever since its inception it had been part of the vortex of consumerism and fame. In this context, the various musical scenes, spanning new wave, punk, New Primitives and New Partisans, have proved to be an important milestone in the (musical) history of Yugoslavia, and this music turned out to be one of the last major and influential social phenomena. The analysed genres and performers reveal that through canonisation, the revolutionary potential and value of the partisan songs in new renditions and reinterpretations became a tool for a wide variety of uses, simultaneously ascribing multiple meanings to the representations of the partisan resistance. However, through the canonisation, formalisation and "mainstreamisation" after World War II, the music's revolutionary potential and charge was lost, as was the opportunity to re-evaluate its rebellious potential and adapt it to the changing socio-political situation.

## POST-SOCIALISM: NEW USES OF THE PARTISAN RESISTANCE IN MUSIC

After 1991, and based on the events from the late 1980s, the whole concept of antifascist resistance changed to the extent that it was largely discarded as an emancipatory ideology, while the very idea of liberation and freedom was reconstituted as a rebellion against totalitarian communism. The future-oriented socialist interpretation of antifascism, until then seemingly deeply infused in the everyday life, politics and even pop-cultural activities of Yugoslavia, gave way to a "re-nationalising", "re-traditionalising" resistance, which – while ostensibly referencing the future – drew its strength as the alleged remedy for ills inflicted upon the present by the "corrupt" socialist past.[5]

However, we should not forget how the performers who positioned themselves in opposition to the nationalisation and, in Ugrešić's

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three related logics: the socio-political logic or the fight against de-Yugoslavisation, which stemmed from a multitude of not necessarily consistent voices and views; the socio-cultural logic, which presumed the consolidation of revolutionary Yugoslavism in relation to cultural chauvinism; and the moral-ethical logic, which built on the absence of a general normative field as a reason for the Yugoslav crisis (Mišina 2010: 268).

5 According to Yurchak in his analysis of the artists and musicians who are "reviving" the Soviet past in their artistic engagements, their main motivation is to return to "authentic revolutionary idealism" (Yurchak 2008: 265).

words, the confiscation of memory (Ugrešić 1996) used partisan songs. Soon after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, musicians such as Zoran Predin ('Počiva jezero v tihoti') and Branimir Štulić ('Partizan'), recorded covers of partisan songs. In 1995, Branimir "Johnny" Štulić, the former singer of the Croatian 1980s rock band Azra, recorded a rearrangement of the famous partisan song 'The Partisan' (originally a French song from World War II, better known in Leonard Cohen's rendition), which shows an interesting take on the revitalisation of the musical legacy of the partisan resistance.[6]

Simultaneously, the commodification of the partisan resistance (particularly from 2000 onward) is also significant, if for no other reason due to its increased exposure in the media. For example, a number of DJs, folk, pop and rock performers (Rock Partyzani, Zakloništče prepeva, Tijana Dapčević, Lepa Brena) openly relied on partisan iconography (and to a lesser extent on its actual musical heritage) in their songs and external appearance, although at the same time they often vigorously manipulated and sanitised it. With the song 'Yugo' alone, the group Rock Partyzani, for example, communicates two things – that they are a rock group and that they lean on the partisan tradition – while at the same time introducing a word play by replacing the letter "i" with the letter "y" in the word "partizani", transforming partisans into entertainment. Thus, they refer to two important pop-cultural and historical phenomena: rock (and also "Yugo-rock", as their music reveals) and the tradition of the liberation struggle. It is interesting that during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the leader of the band was actively involved with the group Agropop, which was at the time riding on the waves of nationalist feelings of the "de-Yugoslavising" Slovenia.[7] It is hard to avoid the impression of a very clear commercial orientation. On the other hand, their use of the music shows that the formation of meaning is not entirely in the hands of the "artist", but – to a large extent – depends of the audience that invests different meanings in the performed content. As Mitja Velikonja and Vjekoslav Perica point out, at the level of Rock Partyzani music's public life and considering the fact that they were addressing current social problems, this music can also provide a critique of the present (Velikonja and Perica 2012: 123).

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6 On the role of new media in the revitalisation of partisan songs and building communities see Pogačar 2015.

7 However, in a documentary titled *Nekoč je bila dežela pridnih* (*Once There Was a Land of the Diligent*), one of the main protagonists of the band distances himself from any "organised" nationalism and describes the group Agropop as a "mockery" of the system.

Nevertheless, problems of the post-socialist transformations in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, especially after 2000, led to a revaluation of the attitude towards the legacy of the national liberation struggle, including music. Self-organised choirs, such as Kombinat and Zborke (Ljubljana), Le Zbor (Zagreb), Zbor Praksa (Pula), Horkestar, Prroba, Svetonazori (Belgrade), Raspeani Skopjani (Skopje) and 29. November (Vienna) are significant in this respect. It should be noted that each of these choirs has its own specific agenda and its own interpretation and contextualisation of the partisan songs, which is also dependent on the context in which it operates. By reviving the tradition of choral singing they aim to revive the collective spirit, but also seek to revitalise the musical tradition of the partisan resistance, with an emphasis on the revolutionary aspect and on its resistance and emancipatory potential (Petrović 2011: 319; see also Hofman 2015, 2016). The object of these strategies is not (just) a nostalgic attitude towards the Yugoslav past (although it does arouse such feelings in the audience), but, on the contrary, a focus on the active and radical use of the partisan and socialist heritage in the present. The members of these choirs see social activism as an essential part of their music. Through various activist campaigns, they practice resistance in both the local and global contexts. In the case of the choir Kombinat from Ljubljana, reference to the revolutionary potential is most evident in their involvement in the 15 October/Occupy movement, various actions related to global issues in Slovenia and elsewhere, but particularly in the Slovenian protests at the end of 2012 and early 2013 (see Hofman 2015, 2016). The choir draws attention to the disregarded values of the partisan resistance in the post-socialist era and mobilises the revolutionary potential of the partisan songs as a response to current societal challenges.

## INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION – A NEW INTRODUCTION?

After the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia in 1991, the legacy of the partisan movement was actively minimised and neutralised, and considered a part of the totalitarian propaganda. Revisionist processes in the countries of the former Yugoslavia conflated the concepts of antifascist resistance, socialism, communism and totalitarianism. Since the breakup of socialist Yugoslavia, partisan songs and the music that thematised partisan resistance later on have often been interpreted and devalued as a strictly ideological practice, the social engagement of which was guided by officials and party elites.

As we presented in the previous section, new voices in the last few years reflect the need to reconceptualise our view of the partisan resistance and put it into the framework of social engagement. In light of these reinterpretations, partisan songs and their contemporary reinterpretations are acquiring new meaning, in the context of the struggle against social and economic changes and inequalities, and the abolishment of human and worker's rights. This music offers new understandings and a new potential in the post-Yugoslav context, yet raises the question of how to conceptualise the new meanings and tactics of resistance in order to respond to current challenges. Hence, we must be very sensitive about the definition of resistance, so that we do not find ourselves in a situation where we will not be able to recognise it anymore due to the "inflation" or "romanticisation" of the concept in a world of universal conformism and opportunism. The events in Slovenia around the celebrations of the Day of the Uprising holiday in April 2013 testify to the complex and highly contradictory conceptions and practices of resistance. On the eve of the public holiday, partisan songs were performed at the President's Palace, on the streets in front of the "insurgents" taking part in the 5th Pan-Slovenian People's Uprising, and at a sold-out concert at the biggest stadium in Slovenia (Stožice). Politicians were conspicuous protagonists of the dramaturgy of the resistance, either among the audience in the front rows, or as active participants of the "unorganised" celebration of the Day of the Uprising, or even as the benevolent guardians of the tradition of the resistance.[8] This short vignette shows us all the complexity of the current meanings, reconceptualising and reimagining of the partisan resistance. Finally, this points to the conclusion that, much like our ancestors, in the lived historical moment we are in no position to assess the consequences of our actions from a point in the future. Instead, we can only do so through an often inadequate and romanticised comparison to the past, which makes it increasingly difficult to conceive resistance and even harder to practice it.


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8 For more about these events and the problems with the concept of musical resistance today see Hofman 2015, 2016.

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# Ideologies of Love at Concerts: Yugoslav Popular Music on Post-Yugoslav Stages

Ana Petrov

## INTRODUCTION: THE AFTERLIFE OF YUGOSLAV POPULAR MUSIC

In this article I deal with the ways Yugoslav popular music serves as a means for producing ideologies of love at concerts in the post-Yugoslav era. Less than a decade after the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991, several musicians from the territory of the former country gradually started giving concerts in Belgrade, the capital of the former country. Most of them had been quite popular in Serbia and most of them continued to perform there regularly after 2000; they included the singers Kemal Monteno, Boris Novković, Goran Karan, Massimo Savić, and Josipa Lisac, and groups such as Crvena Jabuka, Hari Mata Hari, and Magazin.

There were also many musicians who adamantly refused to perform in Serbia after the wars, the most well-known of them being

Oliver Dragojević, Tereza Kesovija and Dino Merlin. However, Tereza Kesovija and Dino Merlin decided to perform in Belgrade in 2011, thus provoking new reactions, especially in the nationalistic discourse, which was particularly (but not only) evident in the case of the supporters of Serbian extremist groups. The concerts were even classified as high-risk events. The reactions against these particular musicians were prompted due to both of them having supposedly promoted hate discourse against Serbs, since they were both directly affected by the war.[1]

Furthermore, some of the first comeback concerts provoked emotional reactions, most commonly of a nostalgic and Yugo-nostalgic nature. There were also a few concerts that included a significant number of performers and produced a moderate but clearly expressed (Yugo)nostalgic atmosphere, such as the concert in honour of Đorđe Novković, which I will discuss below.[2]

This article puts forward the thesis that audience experience is a relevant and appropriate part of certain musical events.[3] It draws on research that shows how the perception of the audience's role has changed. Instead of the understanding of the audience's role as being mostly passive, recent research has acknowledged that the audience also contributes to the production of the atmosphere[4] and the meaning of certain events (Petrov 2015a, 2016). Setting out to prove the thesis about the relevance of the audience experience, this article is based on research done through participant observation at popular music concerts in Serbia, in addition to discourse analysis of the press relating to particular events. Drawing on the recent tendencies

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1 Tereza Kesovija's house near Dubrovnik was ruined during the bombing of the city by the Yugoslav People's Army, while Dino was a participant in the war conflicts in Sarajevo (for more on this issue see Petrov 2016).

2 Among the performers, one specific musician profile has drawn the attention of the Serbian audience – musicians from Dalmatia whose music is recognized as "typically Dalmatian". This kind of pop music regularly elicits positive reactions relating to universal categories (love, the past, youth, and summer), and also can trigger specific Yugo-nostalgic recollections of the past. Two kinds of concerts of this sort have been held in Belgrade in the twenty-first century: those clearly labelled as Dalmatian, such as the "Evenings of Dalmatian songs", and those given by various singers from Dalmatia (Petrov 2015b).

3 In dealing with the musical event I draw on this concept as defined in Tia DeNora's approach – as an event that is equivalent to the concept of the social event in social theory (DeNora 2003).

4 Drawing on Teresa Brennan's concept of "affective atmosphere", I also want to point to the types of networking in the discourses on certain kinds of music, and the affective atmospheres produced through this networking. According to Brennan, atmosphere is the same as "environment" and it literally "gets into the individual" – something becomes present that was not there before, but it did not originate *sui generis*: it was not generated solely or sometimes even in part by the individual organism or its genes (Brennan 2004: 1).

in cultural studies, and especially memory studies, collective memory studies, and social memory studies, I wanted to identify the ways in which Yugoslav popular music is intertwined with ideologies of love in post-Yugoslav space and time. It is of crucial importance to emphasise that the concept of ideology is not considered as a hegemonic discursive narrative that is reflected in a society. Rather, ideology is here understood as a practice of producing everyday life by all agents in a society. With this in mind, this article probes the ways a certain ideology (here the ideology of love) shapes musical practices, and it addresses the issue of networking the concepts of love, Yugoslav music, and memories relating to the Yugoslav past. The audience is analysed as an entity which is capable of producing ostensibly intimate feelings and making them common and public. In this regard, I follow Sara Ahmed's approach to the analysis of emotions. She sees emotions as a capacity to secure collectives, through the way in which they read the bodies of others. Emotions that are carried through the body work to align subjects with some others and against others, playing a crucial role in overcoming the boundaries between the individual and collective bodies. Thus, emotions are not considered to be a "private matter", but rather, as Ahmed puts it, they "define the contours of the multiple worlds that are inhabited by different subjects" (Ahmed 2004: 25).

I also want to point to the relevance of the theoretical consideration of the ideological potential of sound in certain cultural politics. In this regard, it is relevant to emphasize that, although it is of great importance, it is not only the regional association that makes this music work as it does. I draw here on research that deals with the ways certain kinds of music sound (supposedly naturally, i.e. due to the characteristics of the music itself) in accordance with their cultural background.[5] In my research, I do not deal (or at least not only) with the ways in which music reflects a particular cultural politics, but rather focus on the productive ideological function of this sort of music, arguing that the common Yugoslav background contributes to the formation of a specific kind of post-Yugoslav collectivities.

From this perspective, I analyse the ways in which the collectivities are made in a specific space, at a certain time, as a result of listening to the same music. The focal question is how the audience is shaped

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5 Geoff Mann showed how "raced sound is surely among the more effectively imposed 'obviousnesses' that constitute ideology's 'effects': there is little in contemporary American popular culture more 'obvious' than the 'colour' of music". Because of the complex cultural and historical background, it is now literally possible to 'hear', as the author asserts, "the blackness of hip-hop or soul, the whiteness of heavy metal or country" (Mann 2008: 77).

through the music and what kind of collective feelings are being produced during the concerts. Furthermore, I address the issue of the role of the concerts in the construction of the sentimental remembrance of the past. In constructing love as a political concept, I also concur with Michael Hardt, who states that a political concept of love would, at the minimum, reorient our political discourses and practices in two important ways. Firstly, it would challenge conventional conceptions that separate the logic of political interests from our affective lives and oppose political reason to the passions. A political concept of love would have to deploy both reason and passion at the same time. Secondly, love is a motor of both transformation and duration or continuity. We lose ourselves in love and open the possibility of a new world, but at the same time love constitutes powerful and lasting bonds (Hardt 2011: 676). With this in mind, I argue here that love is not apolitical and anti-political, but rather a very powerful political force.

More specifically, I address a very specific concept of love – love for the former country. There is a large amount of research on the concept of Yugonostalgia. The most generally accepted thesis regarding this issue goes as follows: the past (Yugoslav) experiences – initially very familiar and strongly felt – are lost, but constantly returning to trouble the stable boundaries, representing something that challenges and resists the (spatial and temporal) dichotomies in the former Yugoslav republics.[6] Even though highly controversial and full of contradictions, the term itself can be in the broadest sense understood as "nostalgia for Yugoslavia" and for the lost "golden age" (Palmberger 2008: 359). I will use it in this connotation, and I will connect it with the issue of (re)producing feelings of love and thus creating new collectivities via the concert venues.[7]

## YUGOSLAV POPULAR MUSIC AND LOVE?

The concept of love is very important in the production of the specific atmospheres at the Belgrade concerts. In order to underscore the relevance of the concept, I will single out two symptomatic indicators

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6 Yugonostalgia can be manifested in space (Petrović 2007), time (Volčič 2007, 2009), and people (Bancroft 2009).

7 The role of nostalgia in post-Yugoslav space has been discussed elsewhere, and there are numerous approaches to the concept. I draw here on the authors that understand nostalgia as a phenomenon with emancipatory potencial. See e.g. Velikonja 2009, 2010.

that drew my analytical attention, specifically to the problematization of the types of love (as well as the types of discourses on it) that were made via the concerts. The first symptomatic moment was Tereza Kesovija's statement at a press conference in Belgrade in December 2010:

> [...] it is not right that I have been punishing both those who want to hear me and myself for twenty-five years. I did not want to be punished. There is a cruel time behind all good people. There is no sense in digging through the past and punishing each other. I want to transmit the message of love and peace through song, because love is the most important of all. (Tereza Kesovija 2010)

Another relevant symptomatic statement was made by Doris Dragović on her official Facebook page four days after the concert given in Belgrade, on February 14, 2014:

> It was wonderful, a delightful experience, a meeting with the people that were sending their love directly to my heart. It is precisely because of that kind of pure and honest energy and love that it was worth coming to Belgrade and giving this magical and unforgettable concert. (Dragović 2014)

Two crucial questions are posed when analysing love at popular music concerts: firstly, what kinds of love are being produced through the music at the concerts; and secondly, how is this process possible?

Analysing the concerts given by famous (post)Yugoslav stars in Belgrade (such as Tereza Kesovija, Dino Merlin, Doris Dragović, Gibonni, and others), I concluded that there are narratives of the past according to which the audience experienced the concerts as simply a continuation of the perfect past in Yugoslavia. More specifically, there is also a seemingly neutral concept of love embedded in the memory practices of the Yugoslav past. However, there has also been a tendency, expressed by interlocutors, to ignore the nostalgic references to the former country, both by the performers and among the members of the audience. This refusal of nostalgia is evident in certain concert-goers' tendency to distance themselves from the past by claiming that the music is transcultural, transnational and trans-temporal. The non-nostalgic "loving atmosphere" was produced due to the fact that some of the performers gave concerts on St. Valentine's day, thus promoting the transmission of the message of love and peace, or they clearly referred to supposedly "universal" love produced during the concerts. The following sorts of love were mentioned by the performers and the audience both in the press and at the actual concerts: for the music, the performers, the former country, the past in general, youth, romantic

love or love among friends, as well as "universal" love among all people (for more on the issue see Petrov 2016).

There are two ways of producing the concept of love: the discursive and the affective. That is, the concerts themselves were sometimes labelled as being connected to love (such as Doris Dragović's concerts held on February 14), but there were also examples of this kind of labelling connected with the performers themselves, such as Tereza Kesovija's second solo concert in Belgrade after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, given in 2013 and entitled 'Gdje ima srca tu sam i ja' ('I Am There Where There Is Heart'). On the affective level, certain concerts act as triggers for affective atmospheres, so that the venues themselves can be transformed into the places for emotional reactions and the production of recollections of the past.

Having in mind the above-mentioned ways at which memories and feelings of love can be intertwined, I systematize the emotional charge of the concerts in the following fashion:

1. The concerts as channels for producing (Yugo)nostalgia;
2. The concerts as places for promoting love;
3. The concerts as places for dealing with war trauma and bad recollections from the Yugoslav past;
4. The concerts as places for new beginnings.

In all the above-mentioned categories, these concerts are construed as musical events that offer complex platforms for (emotional) dealing with the contested past. It is relevant to point out that the list of concerts does not imply that the events always appear as examples of one of the groups; rather, they are often mixtures of a few of the listed categories, being simultaneously places of healing and the places for producing some kind of love (romantic, universal, Yugonostalgic etc.).

## CASE STUDY: THE CONCERT IN HONOUR OF ĐORĐE NOVKOVIĆ

I will now focus on the concert held in honour of Đorđe Novković, a famous Yugoslav pop music composer.[8] The concert can be taken as a typical example of the first and second concert types listed above:

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8 The analysis presented here is a part of my broader research dealing with the audience issue. See Petrov 2015.

it certainly served as a place for promoting love, namely love for the former country. Held on November 5, 2014 in the prominent Belgrade concert hall Sava centar, it drew a significant media and audience response, and it was sold out, possibly because it included some of the most famous Yugoslav musicians who rarely perform together. As was stated in the press, it was a "meeting of the great musicians from former Yugoslavia" (Ilić 2014),[9] including Boris Novković, Kaliope, Gabi Novak, Tereza Kesovija, Željko Bebek, Vlado Kalember, Tijana Dapčević, Goran Karan, Kemal Monteno, Neda Ukraden, and Hari Varešanović, as well as a few younger performers, such as Bojan Marović, Tijana Dapčević, and Nevena Božović. Bringing together such a large number of well-known performers, the concert attracted a great deal of media coverage and freely evoked associations with Yugoslavia, so that the dominant kind of love produced that evening was love for the former country, which was manifested through love of Yugoslav music. Furthermore, the love for the music helped (through suitable songs) to produce the impression that love was in fact transmitted among the people at the show.

The analysis of this concert brought me to the following conclusions. First of all, as I mentioned, the love narrative connected to the concerts was promoted on the discursive and affective levels. In accordance with that thesis, I would first like to point out that the concert was not politically problematic, and it was unequivocally discursively labelled as an homage to the whole of Yugoslav popular music. The process of connecting the past, the emotions and the music is clearly visible in an article entitled 'Emotivni muzički vremeplov' ('Emotional musical time machine'), which states that "the biggest Yugoslav stars are gathering in honour of Đorđe Novković" and that the evening represented "a kind of nostalgic time machine" (Ilić 2014), but is was also implicitly present in the ones such as 'Eks-Ju zvezde u čast Đorđu Novkoviću' ('Ex-Yu Stars Tribute to Đorđe Novković') (Eks-Ju zvezde 2014), and similar.[10] Furthermore, the press emphasised that the composer's greatest hits would be performed, and that these songs "defined the Yugoslav era, but are actually timeless". The concert was also promoted as a "real treat for all Yugonostalgic people" (Estrada peva 2014), but also for the younger

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9 It was regularly stated how many important performers were appearing, as can be seen in the article 'Skup velikana na jednom mestu: Koncert Đorđu Novkoviću u čast' (Skup velikana 2014).

10 As I mentioned in relation to the case of Tereza Kesovija, it is a common practice that concerts by former Yugoslav musicians are given titles, either by the performers themselves or by the media.

generation, since some of the songs were performed in modern arraignments by younger singers.[11]

Being the Yugoslav songwriter who truly defined the sound that has become recognisable as Yugoslav, Novković has posthumously became a symbol of the (Yugoslav) past. Similarly to the period of the war, when performers of different ethnic origins underwent a process of recontextualization in the light of the ethno-political conflict (Baker 2012), in the post-Yugoslav era there has been a revitalisation of the "great" names of Yugoslav popular music history. An especially touching moment was the performance of the song 'A gdje si ti' ('But Where Are You'), which Boris Novković composed for his father. It was announced by the performer as "very emotional" and "an unusual dialogue between a father and a son", because, as he stressed, "certain things had to be said". This scene is relevant because it triggered the remembrance of personal memories among the audience that were associated with the remembrance of the late composer.

The cult of personality which was created around Novković due to the presence of the composer's son, as a channel for the remembering process and a means for blurring the boundaries between the public and private feelings present that evening, was further empowered by another symptomatic moment – a scene in which all the singers present invited, in their own words, "a legend of Yugoslav popular music" to join them on the stage: Đorđe Marjanović.[12] Helping the singer up onto the stage, the performers almost stopped the whole concert, focusing on this single emotional moment. This moment was dedicated to the cult of personality – from the present Boris, through the implicitly present Đorđe Novković, to Marjanović, who served as a unique bond between all of the discourses and affects produced on the stage and in the audience that evening. The atmosphere in the audience was not overly emotional – a certain level of emotion was usual at these sorts of events, as already pointed out. However,

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**11** There are numerous examples of this discourse in the press, since the concert was almost regularly labelled as an homage to the great Yugoslav composer. See e.g. the article entitled 'Đorđu Novkoviću u čast' (Koncert za 2014). It is indicative to note that this concert was not a unique event held solely in Belgrade, but a kind of a replay of a similar concert held in Zagreb in 2009. The announcements and comments in the Croatian press, however, did not promote the connecting of Yugoslavia and emotional reactions to this music. On the contrary, the concert was described merely as an homage to the late composer, with some comments on the emotional reactions of his son Boris Novković. A comparison of the discourses in the press also shows that the Croatian press wrote about Novković as a famous "Croatian composer", whereas the Serbian press regularly used the term "Yugoslav composer".

**12** Kemal Monteno even committed a faux-pas during his performance, referring to Đorđe Marjanović instead of Đorđe Novković.

the choice of the songs was conducive to the creation of a warm nostalgic atmosphere, as well as similar commentary after the concerts. The escalation of the emotional reactions of the audience was obvious during the mentioned scene with Marjanović, as well as at the end of the concert, when the song 'Nek živi ljubav' ('Let Love Live') was performed. The combination of the channelling of the emotions through the cult of personality, and singing a song that is a prayer for peace, finally created a platform for the further strengthening of the collective. Leaving the concert hall, people talked about the past, the music that helped them feel better, and the last song they heard. "Let Love Live" was a sort of refrain in the conversations among the audience members after the show.[13]

While the collective of the audience was produced during the concerts as the result of common reactions, there were other types of listener networking both before and especially after the concerts.[14] Using social media, new virtual communities have been created, coalescing around the groups of fans and opponents of certain types of music. The headlines in the press also helped to connect the past, the emotions and the music; these could be formulated either explicitly or implicitly, but the connections were most certainly present. One typical example was the article entitled 'Emotional Musical Time Machine', whose comments section resonated with the discourse of the text. Thus, the people discussed how "timeless" the songs were and how they "defined the Yugoslav era". Furthermore, the comments on this concert mostly included expressions of gratitude, above all for the good performances and good music, often including labels such as "legends" of Yugoslav music, which referred both to the performers on the actual stage and those in whose honour the concert was organized. However, there were emotional reactions, as some people wrote about crying together with their partners and feeling emotional because of "going back in time" and "remembering their youth" thanks to the music.[15]

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**13** The people in the audience commented upon the lyrics of the songs in question, connecting them with their current personal issues.

**14** Unlike the usual sociological approaches to the analysis of audience, I do not pay particular attention to the issues of the age, gender and social background of the audience. Understanding it in the Latourian fashion – as the vibrant potential of the body – it is the capacities and actions of the body that are relevant here, rather than its social structuring (Latour 2004).

**15** All the comments are available below the article mentioned above (Ilić 2014). However, there are some exceptions to this nostalgic atmosphere from the members of certain virtual communities, i.e. there are comments quesitoning the reasons for holding the concert in Belgrade, since the composer was from Croatia (Estrada peva 2014).

## CONCLUSION: CONCERTS AND THE COMMODIFICATION OF MEMORIES AND EMOTIONS

In conclusion, I find it relevant to mention one fact, which at first I didn't consider to be of extreme importance to the issue at hand, but which appears to be a symptomatic moment for further analysis of concerts as sites of memories and producing ideologies of love. That is, from a musical perspective, the concert was bad: it was not well organized; one could tell that there was a lot of improvisation going on during the performances; there was no orchestral accompaniment to the songs, but just a small ensemble including keyboards, drums and guitar; the backing vocals were not very well prepared; and, most importantly, the performers themselves were clearly often improvising, the older and the more experienced ones managing to do it without being actually noticed (except from those in the audience with a musical background), whereas the younger ones often did not know the lyrics. The most telling example was Tijana Dapčević's performance, since she clearly forgot the words, and did not even manage to hide the fact that she was not handling the situation, as well as Kemal Monteno, who erroneously referred to "the late Đorđe Marjanović" (who was in fact present in the audience) instead of Novković.

Given this state of affairs, it seemes relevant to ask: how is it possible that a concert that was not musically representative was in fact successful? Have we reached the phase of commodification of emotions and banalization of memories through listening to music? In other words, is Yugonostalgia enough for the enjoyment of a concert and for its success, i.e. are we living in times when memories, combined with emotions and nostalgia (discursively promoted by certain events), are sufficient for meeting the needs of the audience?

As I mentioned, the usage of the concept of Yugonostalgia is both multifarious and ambiguous. Regarding musical practices in post-Yugoslav spaces, Yugonostalgia can refer to the capacity of (ex-Yugoslav) music to construct and (re)interpret the Yugoslav past (see Petrović 2007). Some authors have a more critical approach towards the promotion of the Yugoslav musical past, interpreting it as using the strongly-felt nostalgia as a means of manipulation. As Zala Volčič argues, even though Yugoslavia does not formally exist, it certainly exists in the memories of its last generation, together with the mix of nationalisms, globalizations and historical tensions that it contained. Volčič contends that the media and other cultural practices are mobilized in the former Yugoslav societies in order to attempt to remake the shared cultural memory, thus creating a sort of delusion.

She argues that the relevant aspects of this phenomenon are escapism and utopianism, since she deals with Yugonostalgia as a means of an imaginary escape to the Yugoslav past. Even though I do not concur with her critical approach to Yugonostalgia as a sort of consumerism, I do agree that certain practices can have such features, as well as an escapist potential.

The music I analysed obviously has a certain capacity to produce affective atmospheres leading to the construction of discourses on love, and that capacity functions as a way to preserve, reconnect, reconstruct and reinterpret emotions relating to the past. Still, that doesn't necessarily imply that there is nostalgia for Yugoslavia, since it can also be a general nostalgia for the past, for youth, for the times of "good old music" etc.[16] Thus, nostalgia is not only connected to the past, but rather, it is relevant to the present, since "when people are nostalgic about the past, it says so much more about their present than it does about the past" (Bancroft 2009: 6; see also Velikonja 2009: 367).

From this perspective, the concert discussed here suggests a need to address the question that Volčič posed: is there a need for Yugonostalgia as a means for the commercialization of Yugoslav products, including music? In this regard, the music is not just a product that has been used for the manipulation of feelings and memories, but it is quite commonly a crucial part of this process.[17] Regarding the audience comments, it appears that most of the people were aware of their own feelings and were ready to admit an emotional remembering of the past, despite certain aspects that clearly stood out during the concerts, such as the bad performances of the younger singers. This can be concluded from comments such as the following:

> I think that this is a concert that one will remember for a long time. I went back through time and I was again in my youth. I am grateful to the organizers for bringing these legends of the Yugoslav scene [to Belgrade]. My wife and I were crying, and there were also many people in the concert hall that had tears in their eyes that evening. As for the young female singers, I don't know what I should say. Tijana and Nevena are good singers, but Karić's daughter? Unfortunately, it is obvious that money makes the world go round [...].[18]

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16 Comments about the "good music from socialist Yugoslavia" were common during the concert as well as in the media discourse.

17 For a similar analysis regarding the concept of "Ostalgie" see Winkler 2011.

18 The comment was submitted to the comments section below the article 'Emotivni muzički vremeplov' (Ilić 2014).

Danijela Karić, a Serbian businessman's daughter, was one of the younger performers who visibly stood out from the group of older and more polished performers, as she was not on the level of the others in terms of both appearance and vocal ability. The comment addressing her performance points to one relevant aspect of both the concert in question and of the whole post-Yugoslav scene: on one hand, the concert represented the music of the past which obviously triggered (good) memories of the same past; on the other, a few younger singers, especially Miss Karić, were clearly not able to perform without having a great deal of preparation.[19] Thus, the comment points to the issue of quality of the old music and the singers that were the "legends" in the former country. Additionally, the comment pinpoints the moment of the production of feelings of nostalgic loss that was triggered due to this singer's poor performance: as if she at that moment represented the problematic present as being significantly different (on many levels: visual, vocal, and generally professional) from the good past.

In this regard, I would conclude by claiming that the concerts in fact do serve as places for nostalgia which certainly can have an escapist dimension, but this nostalgia does not, as Volčič argues, eliminate the potentiality for action; rather, it can offer a possibility for comparison of divergent practices (in this case, musical ones) from very different cultural backgrounds.[20] In doing so, they also offer the audience the possibility to make a change by choosing certain values from among the many that are promoted. This concert thus served as an opportunity for producing many ideologies and for addressing the musical values of the past and the present.

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**19** As I mentioned, the concert included many very famous performers and they certainly did not have time to get together to practice adequately for this occasion, which, however, did not matter for the more experienced singers.

**20** On the approach that addresses the potential capacities of Yugonostalgia see Petrović 2012: 122–154; Velikonja 2009, 2010.

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# Exotic Anthropological Perspectives and Yugoslav Popular Music

Rajko Muršič

## INTRODUCTION: ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE EXOTIC OTHER

Ethnographically informed social/cultural anthropology or ethnology is in many respects one of the fundamental disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. It started with studies of exotic "tribes", "primitives" and "savages", living their lives as naturally as possible, or "backward" but "pristine" preindustrial peasants. In recent decades, anthropologists have turned their ethnographic focus from exotic places and people to any situation human beings can face. However, despite its dramatic transformation, anthropology is in many respects still seen in its "savage slot" (Trouillot 2003), even if some anthropologists are trying to defend radical alterity (Hage 2012) or "poietic dimensions in the exotic" (Kapferer 2013: 818).

The main tropes were shaped through its continental and "Atlantic" development: variety and differences, ways of life of the exotic others or domestic "brothers", thick descriptions of otherness, understanding of the roots and evolution of civilizations, bridging the gaps between the ancient past and the present, or simply observing people from their point of view. These were obviously attractive starting points for the growth of the discipline, well known for its internal variety and the impossibility of its single international denomination and simple definition. Since its very beginning, anthropology has addressed modernity and the global changes provoked by the unbridled rise of capitalism, but these very processes were very rarely described in ethnographic monographs on the authentic geographic other. Long into the twentieth century, popular culture, as perhaps the most characteristic expression of high modernity, was mostly ignored not only by anthropologists and ethnologists, but also within academia in general.

Ethnographic method, the pillar of anthropological investigation and the fundamental source of anthropological knowledge, was mostly employed to ignore the dramatic changes in the world and to freeze the picture of an eternal ancient "now" in the ethnographic present. Ethnographically observed people were confined to other times (Fabian 1983) and other places (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). As academic disciplines, both continental or "European" ethnology and non-European anthropology were formed in modernity, yet for quite some time ethnologists and anthropologists pretended that modernity had never touched the people they described. With heavily charged ideological statements formulated in the seemingly objective language of the ethnographic present, they did not ethnographically describe the actually-existing world but their own inventive reconstruction of the past, mostly totally cleansed of any kind of modernity.

Ethnographic practice in colonial and imperial environments shaped specific epistemological lenses, not only to observe and perceive the world from a specific "native" point of view, or the view from afar on "the Other", but to build specific image of the researcher as a cultural hero (cf. Hayes and Hayes 1970). Even if the experience of the ethnographer is the primary source for understanding different ways of living, the basic phenomenology of everyday life in the field, with respect to modernisation, was only rarely described in ethnographic writing. There is a paradox that "engaged learning" (Carrithers 2005), stemming from engaging in experiencing radically different ways of life, may result in very biased narratives. The synchronicity of the ethnographic experience was too often transferred into ahistorical epistemological synchronicity. Contrary to expectations, historical processes of modernisation

became important topic of anthropological research only in the second part of the twentieth century (e.g., Eric Wolf and Sidney Mintz), together with popular culture (Powdermaker 1950).

Even current ethnographic monographs often present the world as if modernisation had not occurred at all, or at least did not substantially affect the studied phenomena. Despite the growing amount of literature, many anthropologists are still, despite their cosmopolitan rhetoric, romantic rebels against modernity, believers in "authentic" ways of life or the inherited "culture" of the people observed.

From an overall perspective, the Balkans, and the area of former Yugoslavia, are populated with people who are thought to have preserved various authentic and archaic characteristics, and their main cultural export has become music and popular culture. But music is never just music. As an exotic trademark of the Balkans, it may effectively reveal otherwise not so apparent processes of identification.

## THE ETHNOGRAPHIC GAZE AND THE PERMANENCE OF EVERYDAY TRIVIA

Continental ethnologies and imperial anthropologies emerged with the Enlightenment, and were the direct results of previous "discoveries" of "the new worlds". The fascination with exotic tribes was parallel to the search for authentic peasant roots in emerging European nations. The enlightenment project turned

> against the old society and with its constraints according to status promoted the idea of a natural authenticity. The slow was connected with nature, and herdsmen or farmers were seen in harmony with the rhythms of nature – not unlike today's perspective on foreign, exotic or utopian world-views. (Köstlin 2001: 167)

Since the beginning of the discipline, many ethnographers controversially romanticized staying "among isolated, exotic people", and doubted the "limitations of a methodology that at times has sought to answer all the essential questions regarding the human condition" (Nader 2011: 212). Until the late twentieth century, anthropologists did not consider colonialism in the field relevant, "focusing instead on exotic others in a global vacuum" (Bourgois 2002: 417).

Nevertheless, ethnography proved to be an invaluable source of situated knowledge. It paved the way to experiencing, observing, and comprehending social reality in different ways:

> [S]ome of our most basic sensibilities of temporality, individuality, and identity can indeed be suspended in favour of other people's intuitions of reality. By the same move our own categories are relativized. And by this dialogue of exotopy and endotopy is created a cosmopolitan anthropological consciousness of species being. (Sahlins 1997: 276)

These ambiguities are perhaps a constant source for the revitalization of anthropological methods and practices:

> With James Mooney (1896), we had the nineteenth-century beginnings of a critically engaged ethnography and ethnography as critique of Western thought. With W. H. R. Rivers (1906) and to a lesser extent Bronislaw Malinowski ([1922] 1984), the ethnographer proceeded as if conducting a laboratory-bounded natural-science experiment. With Gregory Bateson ([1936] 1958), and to some extent Sir Edmund Leach ([1954] 1965), the ethnographer proceeded much more like an ecologist. (Nader 2011: 212)

With postcolonial critique, Marxist anthropology, critique of gender blindness and the epistemological questioning of ethnographic poetics and politics from the 1960s to the 1980s, anthropologists turned away from searching for the most distant Other as the source of authenticity and human origins. But despite claims that Otherness was, supposedly, "no longer a synonym for exoticism, nor the exclusive property of foreign individuals or groups" (Rabinow 1986: 241), the rational core of the ethnographic challenge survived: "...We actually agree that the exotic is the domain of ethnography, but that's because good ethnography makes everything exotic" (Da Col and Graeber 2011: vii).

Anthropologists are nowadays often reluctant to search for exotic people. Nevertheless, from time to time, everybody becomes excited when the opportunity comes to meet the exotic Others. Such is the candid description of an Austrian historical anthropologist who finally discovered Balkan Serbs in Central Europe (Slovenia):

> The image of 'the Balkans in Central Europe' as a periphrasis for the Orthodox people in Bela krajina and their friends from Karlovac is only an unconscious reflection of the flair of exoticism and authenticity, the Western researcher – in this case me – wants to find in the Balkans. It therefore adds only a tiny ideological element to the broader pattern of Balkan Orientalisms. And the latter – even if it may sound blunt, this does not change its trueness – is only a small part of the general hegemonic ideology of the 'West and the Rest' (Stuart Hall) present since Capitalism asserted itself on the global scale and after 1989–91 anew. (Promitzer 2007: 97–98)

The introduction of urban anthropology in the mid-twentieth century only confirmed the "savage slot" perspective. The initial ethnographic

studies in cities were oriented towards studies of the exotic and the marginalized (Jacobs after Low 1996: 386):

> Most members of the dominant society rarely acknowledge themselves as cultural beings. They have no reason to. Culture is that exotic element possessed by 'minorities'. (Ladson-Billings 2006: 107)

Anthropologists were only sporadically interested in processes of cultural creativity (e.g. Wagner 1977; Liep 2001; Hallam and Ingold 2007). Doing research "at home", no matter how different their research field is from their experience "at home", may bring very interesting twists and shifts to the perception of the "exotic other". Anthropologists themselves may become exoticized. Philippe Bourgois, studying drug users in and around Los Angeles, reports that "sometimes they coddled us as exotic, high status outsiders and invited us on visits to estranged family members, scavenging expeditions, burglaries, and outings to the beach" (Bourgois 2011: 4).

## FROM THE NATIVE PERSPECTIVE: YUGOSLAV/BALKAN MUSIC BETWEEN ORIENTALISM AND OCCIDENTALISM

Perhaps the most unnoticed form of Orientalism is its twisted reflection in the Occidentalism expressed by "the Others" themselves, especially if other people's occidentalisms "serve to support or to criticize their own existing social and political practices" (Carrier 1995: 9). Below I will discuss examples of mirrored Occidentalism in Yugoslav popular music. Despite the well-developed variety of Ottoman urban music, and the quite robust culture of traditional music played in the area throughout the nineteenth century, we can trace the processes of the introduction of Western music into the area. The introduction of Western classical music was an integral part of the "national awakening". And a twisted Orientalism in the form of unnoticed or taken-for-granted Occidentalism accompanied the acceptance of Western music genres in all Yugoslav lands throughout their recent history. The process began with the introduction of Western classical music in the nineteenth century by the emerging local elites; the enthusiasm of the educated townspeople for jazz in the 1920s and 1930s; the introduction of popular songs (canzonas, Schlagers, chansons) in the first part of the twentieth century; the introduction of rock and roll in the 1960s; and the later domestication of other current genres (e.g. disco, rap, electronic dance music). These processes were an integral

part of the "Occidentalisation" of all Yugoslav regions before its establishment (from the beginning of the nineteenth century to WWI), throughout the whole historical period of existence of the South Slav state (1918-1991), and after the establishment of independent countries in the 1990s. The domestication of "Western" high and popular culture was an integral part of a long "self-civilizing" process, which in its final phase showed that the West itself would recognise only, or predominantly, the "Orientalised" or symbolically self-exoticized products of Yugoslav popular culture: Kusturica's films, Bregović's music, Laibach's totalitarian presence. These disturbed reflections of blended secondary Orientalisms/Occidentalisms are an integral part of more general historical processes of modernization, including the expansion of Western militaries, Western markets, Western legislation, Western art, and Western science.

This wider historical perspective confirms the need to understand local situations. Furthermore, not only do popular culture and popular music deserve ethnographic attention – scholars should study their impact both in the West and in the rest. We should ask ourselves how much ethnography can tell us about the Oriental/Occidental conundrum, if ethnographers observe only one end of exoticization.

When anthropologists finally began studying Western institutions, this extremely dramatic shift in anthropology remained almost unnoticed. Studies of Western institutions, especially scientific laboratories, state apparatuses, politicians and executives, investment banks, the military, media, art and popular culture resulted in ethnographies of "civilized" people as if they were "ethnos, this people, this culture whose study is supposed to be the actual subject of the discipline" (Latour 2010: 245).

> Yet once the jokes are over and the derisive smiles have been wiped off people's faces, this type of attitude may lead to nothing but the despicable form of exoticism that is called Occidentalism. By combining his inquiry with a distancing, the ethnographer of contemporary societies simply reproduces the sins of former anthropology which studied other peoples only because of their distance. Even if the Palais-Royal seems strange to us, we must refuse this cheap foreignness, like the mirages of Orientalism and the intricacies of unfathomable Asia. To do his work, the ethnographer cannot be content to treat his contemporaries, his closest neighbours, as badly as distant. (Latour 2010: 245)

Latour warns us against simplifications in self-positioning. It was surely not appropriate "to portray the peoples who were civilized as irrational or as archaic survivors on their way towards a single world", and it was

even more problematic "to describe the civilizing peoples as rational and modern" (Latour 2002: 42). This is a trap of inverted exoticism. In unprecedented dialectics of modernization and its parochial rearrangements, "'Modernism' or 'Occidentalism' in this context may be understood in the sense of 'Orientalism': it is equivalent to seeing the Europeans or the Americans with the perspective—all tropical palms, secluded harems and painted savages—that they themselves adopt towards other cultures" (Latour 2002: 42).

Anthropologists are constantly surrounded by the widest open field for studying human living – anywhere, at any time; they could even use their own daily life as a permanent and self-perpetuating natural laboratory to study the continuous emergence of human practices and symbolic forms, their transformations and disappearance. The late Croatian ethnologist Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin viewed her life in her hometown as her permanent ethnography (Rihtman-Auguštin 2000).

No matter where we find ourselves, Western and domestic popular culture is everywhere nowadays, especially popular music, "with its obvious links to culture, its shared concern with the world political economy, as well as its unavoidable involvement with the problem of the Other" (Grenier and Guilbault 1990: 390). Popular music might become a main field of such permanent studies of one's own, and others', daily life. An ethnographically unpredictable field, popular music seems "an ideal area of study" (Grenier and Guilbault 1990: 390) of the human condition in the present.

Music as a social practice, the intentional production of meaningful social shared sounds, which are not speech, is very efficient in marking social groups. On various mythical or historically reported occasions only music proved to be able to transform the horrible Other (even Death itself, e.g., in the story of Orpheus, which is in one or another form present in the folklore in the entire region) into a gentle fellow. The seductiveness of singing, whispering sounds, noises, and rhythmical repetition is widely known. However, it is not only the gentleness of music that matters. In the economy of desire, it constantly turns out that only the Other is capable of true enjoyment, as a Lacanian approach would indicate, especially in music.

Music is a symbolic practice, but not the same kind as language. It is not propositional and can express only the most indefinite expressions we usually mistake for emotions. What is at stake in music, as much as it is a symbolic, perhaps partly pre-symbolic and essentially bodily activity, is its socialness. Music is related to never-ending processes of identification:

> After the soothing of the main curiosities towards the discovered and studied 'savages', after the fading of the typical nineteenth century speculations more related to physical anthropology than to what is anthropology today, ethnographers began to take an interest also in recording cultural aspects of exotic peoples, one of which was, of course, music. The debut of musical anthropology can be successfully placed at that moment, at the beginning of an interest for preserving and studying the music of the so-called savages. (Cihodariu 2011: 184)

Any music we can imagine generates essentially unintended consequences: it stimulates the imagination of the exotic Other and the "exotic fellow". The exotic fellow is necessarily an ambiguous creature: a double-faced immature *bon sauvage* may at the same time be a threatening outlaw. In the USA, such an exotic fellow might have been a racialized black slave/servant. Nowadays such fellows are typically residents of inner city ghettos, threatening and dangerous, with the potential to challenge the existing order (Lipsitz 1994). In Europe, and especially at the Balkans, it used to be a Gypsy traveller. This is the source of the enormous success of Emir Kusturica's characters: the natural "Gypsy" actors are in the closest proximity to praise racism with impunity, even if it might be affirmative to the Roma.

Throughout its history, western popular music is related to the economy of desire. In the nineteenth century, "blackface" minstrels paved the way for its further development (Palmer 1976). In the first part of the twentieth century, "race records" were a continuous source of inspiration for the popular music mainstream. In the racialized social stratification of the USA, whites controlled the production of and the market for popular music. On the other side of racial segregation was a moralistic fear of black sexuality, which contributed a great deal to institutionalized racism:

> This treatment of black sexuality plays an integral role in the racist power hierarchy in America. By portraying African Americans as exotic, erotic, or oversexed, one decontextualizes their experience, marginalizes them, and removes the possibility of a self-defined sexuality. (Rebollo-Gil and Moras 2012: 121)

Similar racialized perspectives, predominantly in the form of ethnicized social stratification, were developing in Europe, where Romani musicians were treated similarly to blacks in the USA, especially in the Balkans (cf. Barbarič 1996). In any case, Yugoslavia was a culturally very diverse country, and its minorities (officially called nationalities), and even mountain pastoralists or just plain peasants, were also considered exotic neighbours.

## YUGO-ROCK, ETHNO-POP AND THE ILLUSIONS OF SELF-EXOTICIZATION

There are a plenty of reasons to study contemporary popular music. Being a very important part of contemporary life, it is never just music. Various facets of popular music production, distribution and reproduction can effectively reveal otherwise hidden processes of regional and local processes of identification.

As a scholar from former Yugoslavia, and thus an insider, I'll present a couple of examples dealing with the perception of the Balkans, primarily in Slovenia, and its construction, reconstruction and deconstruction through popular music. I'll try to do it while stressing the need to study everyday life in the area – and not necessarily ethnographically.

Music from the former Yugoslavia is a perfect example for providing views on how present-day societies invent and reproduce their myths. It is a very efficient interweaving of homeliness and alterity. For Western and Central Europeans, Yugoslavia and the Balkans, the polysemic region of "wild Europe" (Jezernik 2004), are the nearest nest of alterity. "Discoveries" of epic singers and their oral practices paved the way to intellectual fascination with the Balkans, followed by ethnographic studies of the "meeting ground of cultures" (Halpern 1958: xi). Furthermore, in American society, "the concept of international folk dance, ideas of peasantry, and ultimately 'Balkan music and dance' surface over the course of a hundred years" (Laušević 2007: 13). During that time, with the domestication of Western popular music and the introduction of Western musical instruments, musicians in the Balkans developed new genres, rhythmically just exotic enough to strike back. Balkan ethno-pop became an attraction in the West.

The Slovenian audience accepted Balkan ethno-pop similarly to Western audiences. In this regard, Slovenia was not only the westernmost part of former Yugoslavia, but, at least musically, the most attached to Central-European traditions. In Slovenia, the fascination with Balkan (i.e. Yugoslav) music grew with the dissolution of the state. The first Balkan parties for locals were held in 1990. These parties were held in a dance and relaxed party atmosphere at alternative or commercial music venues or disco clubs, with DJs who predominantly played Yugo-rock and other pop music from former Yugoslavia. The dissolution of the state was a turning point in the perception of Yugoslav music in Slovenia: what used to be an integral part of the domestic music scene, though musically quite different in the various Yugoslav republics, now became officially "foreign" and thus sort

of underground or rebellious (Ceglar 1999). The so-called "trubači" (Serbian and Roma brass bands) initially played at the Other Music (Druga godba) Festival, but were also incorporated into DJ-ing at Balkan parties. In the late 1980s, the Slovenian audience mostly considered this music to be a part of the emerging world music scene. Musically speaking, Slovenia can be described as "accordion-dominated Central European folk music tinged on occasion with Balkan tones" (Gow and Carmichael 2001: 5). Serbian turbo-folk entered those parties only later, in the mid-1990s.

While Slovenia and Croatia were never considered to be a part of the Balkans, the former Yugoslavia was without any doubt considered a characteristic Balkan country. Perhaps this self-identification is the reason why Slovenes and Croats make a very simple equation between former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. Balkan parties became a synonym for Yugo-pop parties and Balkan rock is in some occasions still used as a synonym for Yugoslav rock (cf. Velikonja 2013).

At least in Slovenia, anything related to the Balkans or the South may still become a matter of dispute and may stimulate highly ambivalent sentiments. Notions of corruption, hatred, blood revenge, wars and poverty are usually attached to the Balkans, especially in stereotypic presentations in popular culture, mostly in films. At the same time, various kinds of "Balkan music", in its various genres, forms and styles, especially ethno-pop, and revived traditional music, have become more and more popular, not only for the already-exposed Slovenian audience, but for the Western audience as well. Kusturica's films incorporated both aspects, primitivism and exoticism. Why were they so attractive to the international audience?

Goran Bregović's entire career rests on the premise that "primitive" Balkan shepherds and urban little people (in Sarajevan jargon, *raja*) are capable of unrestrained joy. He was the founder of the most popular and successful Yugoslav rock band, Bijelo dugme. The group from Sarajevo was tremendously successful in the mid-1970s, when they released their first records. One of their first mega-hits was 'Tako ti je mala moja, kad ljubi Bosanac' ('That's How It Feels Baby, When a Bosnian Loves [i.e. Makes Love]'). "Shepherd rock", as the journalists called it, played on pure and simple emotions with some hints of fulfilled sexual desire.

Not all bands and singers openly expressed such sentiments, but the expression of specifically "southern" sentiments, at least from the perspective of audiences in Slovenia and Croatia, remained popular. After Bijelo dugme, many rock groups and performers became popular across former Yugoslavia, e.g. Partibrejkers, Idoli, Azra, Zabranjeno

pušenje, Riblja čorba, Disciplina kičme, Električni orgazam, Plavi orkestar, Rambo Amadeus, etc. They survived the collapse of the state and its market. Rambo Amadeus (Antonije Pušić), the Montenegrin singer who lives in Serbia, remained perhaps one of the typical Yugoslav parody acts. New bands from the region were still considered "Yugo-rock" bands. The Croatian group Majke – far from sounding in any way "Balkan" – became a cult rock group in the 1990s. In Slovenia, at least, it was initially considered to be the most typical advanced Yugo-rock band, although it was later much more related to the specific local scene in Vinkovci, Croatia.

Although the term Yugo-rock is now more associated with albums released from the 1960s up to the 1980s, we can still consider the production of rock music in the region to a great extent as Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Macedonian, and to some extent Kosovar variants of the initial "Yugo-rock" sound. The Slovenian band Zaklonišče prepeva is a fairly typical example.

Similarly, Yugoslav pop survived throughout the region, not only regarding its continuous media presence. In Skopje, e.g., some radio stations would only play old Yugoslav pop music and pop produced after 1991 in former Yugoslav republics, especially in Croatia. This was perhaps a reason why the late Macedonian singer Toše Proeski attracted a fairly large audience in all of the countries of former Yugoslavia in the early 2000s.

With some exceptions to the rule, especially in Poland, Yugo-rock and pop are still limited to a specific transnational market, a network of online enthusiasts in the regions of former Yugoslavia, and their expatriates. The situation with Balkan-sounding music, which is more attractive to an international audience, is quite different. Balkan ethno-pop, an integral part of so-called world music, has reached a rather small but enthusiastic world-wide audience. It is popular in New York, Italy, Great Britain, Germany, Poland, Hungary, and even in Japan. It is, naturally, also popular in Slovenia. For Slovenes, rhythm is the basic fascination of Balkan music. Only sometimes it may be its "melos", its "rough" or close intervals, oriental melismas and virtuosity.

This kind of music has been incorporated into streams of so-called world music, and it still depends on specific Western-controlled distribution channels, starting with the Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares LP released by 4AD in 1986.

Balkan traditional music, especially Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbian, and even more so if its performers are Gypsies (e.g., the late Esma Redžepova, Ferus Mustafov or Ivo Papasov) has everything

Westerners striving for exoticism could wish for: complex but exaggerated rhythms (the famous 7/8 and other asymmetric meters in Macedonia, the *čoček*, etc.), apparently oriental characteristics, virtuosity and emotionalism. It is primitive but at the same time difficult to play, unique and direct, exotic but also familiar, emotive and also danceable – in its peculiar way.

For Westerners seeking authenticity, rural and urban traditional music provides a great deal of inspiration with its whiff of the exotic, especially when it is performed with new electrified instruments, for example the Greek *rebetika*; the so-called "newly-composed folk music" in former Yugoslavia; *lakodalmas* rock in Hungary; "national music" and *čalga* in Bulgaria; *čalgija* in Macedonia; *laika* in Greece, etc. (cf. e.g. Vidić-Rasmussen 1996; Rose Lange 1996; Rice 1996; Kurkela 1997; Pennanen 1999; Levy 2005; Čolović 2006).

It is not necessary for the musician himself or herself to become considered as the Other. In popular music, anyway, he or she are more commonly placed on the pedestal of celebrity. No matter whether they are considered celebrities or local masters of ceremonies, musicians are typically marginal people. Nevertheless, Balkan musicians are still more predictable than the otherwise unpredictable, dangerous and dreadful inhabitants of the Balkans.

Music is treated many different ways. If it changes, as Plato would denounce, it becomes a threat to society. Preserving tradition, it can be used as a tool of education and sociality. Aspects of "othering" are usually covered up by the spurious notion of authenticity. Tracing popular music in former Yugoslavia, its admirers are inclined to preconceive its supposed exotic essence in accordance with various considerations of other characteristics, products and experiences related to this peculiar country as either nostalgic or bizarre. Nevertheless, the general production of music in the area in the past century was more or less just a reflection of the predominant streams of music at "the centre". It was a notably specific, and in various ways domesticated reflection, and this is perhaps the reason why it is so difficult to define and describe the essence of Yugo-rock. For the Slovenian audience, at least, Yugo-rock offered what Western music could provide only occasionally: passion and authenticity. For musicians in the region, the creative Occidentalist exploitation of Western rock proved productive. However, if the periphery occasionally strikes back, this does not necessarily imply that it becomes less peripheral. In the continuous appeal of postmodern nostalgia for a never-experienced past, strategies of self-exoticization may not appear to be the worst possible scenario.

## CONCLUSION: OLD TUNES WITH NEW SOUNDS

The times of the anthropological fascination with the exotic might be over already for quite some time. Beating the dead wolf is perhaps still meaningful only from the perspectives where exoticisms are still alive and well. The story of observing exoticisms in the production of Yugoslav popular music, dialectically stretched between the Occidental and the domestic, has some commonalities with criticism of colonialism. No matter how severely anthropologists reject colonialism, and how much colonialism itself is obsolete, there are new ways in which old hierarchies are still preserved.

Popular music is preserving an illusion of the continuation of Yugoslavia. But if the musicians were to abandon the domesticated ways of making their music, what would they play?

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# Stories

# Doubly Excluded, Doubly Included, "Something In-Between": A Bosnian Refugee Band and Alternative Youth Culture in Slovenia

Miha Kozorog

This paper is about a group of young Bosnian refugees who – after the breakup of Yugoslavia and the ensuing war in Bosnia-Herzegovina – migrated to Slovenia and formed a punk rock band called Nešto između (Something In-Between) at the Ilirska Bistrica refugee centre. This was not a well-known band and it was active for a rather short time, between 1995 and 1997.[1] However, the memories of it among its five members, which I have collected ethnographically, bring to light some lesser-known aspects of young Bosnian refugees' coping with exile and their music-making in Slovenia. The memoirs, as well as the artistic expression of the band, provide a portrait of how non-conformist and perhaps rebellious youth confronted the exile. I argue

1 Its beginnings were most likely in 1994.

that its experience was specific, because such youths were socially marginalised twice, firstly for being refugees and secondly for being nonconformists.

In this essay I would also like to highlight another dimension of the Bosnian exile in Slovenia in the 1990s. Among the numerous organisations working with refugees, some had a specific historical and social background, in that they were not "originally" aid organisations, but cultural, or more precisely, alternative (youth) culture organisations which were involved in providing aid. They were marked by a certain rebelliousness, which anthropologist Rajko Muršič observes is "displayed in the autonomous and critical reflections of those [young people] who care about what is happening in their surroundings and are prepared to take their own destiny and the destiny of their contemporaries into their own hands" (Muršič et al. 2012: 19). The adherents of such organisations are inclined to value nonconformist, and in many aspects marginal, members of society, as well as "alternative" or "underground" cultural expressions. Therefore, as reflexive and critical architects of Slovenian society, these organisations incorporate a specific disposition to recognise social marginalisation, for example such as that which afflicted the refugees in the 1990s.

Furthermore, these were not merely organisations, but usually operated their own venues, where more or less socially cautious people gathered and expressed themselves at concerts, poetry readings, public lectures, exhibitions, film screenings etc. Some of these venues had emerged already during the time of Yugoslavia (see Muršič et al. 2012) and some continued to cultivate relationships with individuals and organisations in this area after the breakup. This was not an environment that would praise the emerging nationalism in Slovenia or elsewhere. Therefore it is not surprising that a few alternative (youth) culture organisations mobilised resources in order to help the refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, followed by those from Kosovo in the late 1990s. Yet, with respect to the aid policies, I argue that these organisations were specific with regard to their sensibility towards socially nonconformist and artistically creative youth among the refugees. In contrast to the working methods of other aid organisations, the activists and organisations discussed here were able to recognise the specific, usually socially critical, voices and artistic aspirations of the refugee youth. In this regard I argue that the members of Nešto između, whose careers were strongly impacted by the Slovenian alternative (youth) culture, were not only doubly excluded, but also – by agents of alternative (youth) culture – doubly included: firstly as refugees and secondly as nonconformists and underground artists.

## BOSNIAN REFUGEES IN SLOVENIA AND THEIR MUSIC-MAKING

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992–1995) caused mass migration. Thousands of refugees from the war-torn country found (temporary) homes abroad, including in Slovenia. According to one Red Cross report, in 1993 45,000 refugees were registered and another estimated 25,000 were unregistered in Slovenia. However, these numbers were always part of official and media discourses on the Bosnian exile, which were never unbiased (Đonlić and Črnivec 2003: 16, 29, 34). Anthropologist Natalija Vrečer therefore suggests that the early estimates were exaggerated: in September 1993, when the first official count was released, there were 31,100 refugees from the former Yugoslavia in Slovenia (Vrečer 2000: 4), while the number of refugees has constantly decreased since; in June 1997 around 7,000 and a year later only around 4,000 refugees remained in Slovenia (Vrečer 1999: 13). For the purpose of this article it is worth emphasising that the refugees also included teenagers and young people;[2] for example, it was reported by the Ministry of Education and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia that in the 1994/1995 school year, 1,060 refugees were attending secondary schools and 140 were students at the two universities (Đonlić and Črnivec 2003: 25–26).

Natalija Vrečer's critically engaged study of the state policies towards Bosnian and later Kosovan refugees is perhaps the most accurate anthropological account of the conditions with which refugees had to cope in Slovenia.[3] In her long-term study (1996, 2000, 2007) she shows that refugees were given temporary protection as refugees upon their arrival in Slovenia. However, in the course of their stay in the country they had to face the reality that this temporary protection was

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2 I would like to avoid getting into a discussion about the categories "children", "teenagers" and "young people". I use the terms rather loosely, more or less by associating childhood with pre-school and primary school, the teenage years as marked by puberty, adolescence and secondary school, while young people may include everything from teenagers to university students and people in their twenties or even early thirties.

3 In the 1990s, other ethnologists and/or anthropologists, especially from the younger generation, reflected on how the Bosnian refugees were coping with exile. Vrečer, at that time a lecturer at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Ljubljana, encouraged her students to carry out participant observation at the refugee centres (1999: 21–22). Some of this research has been published. For example, Nataša Rogelja (1999) not only researched, but also volunteered and made friends with refugees, and analysed encounters between refugees and Slovenian citizens; Peter Simonič (1999) describes a Slovenian newspaper's representation of refugees and claims that Slovenian citizens and refugees did not participate in the same information environment; Vesna Moličnik (1999), on the other hand, ponders the refugees' experience of god.

in fact provided in lieu of any more lasting solution. Because the refugees were given the status of "temporary refugee" instead of "convention refugee", they were deprived of many of the rights which follow from the Geneva Convention and other international treaties. Among the most fateful consequences was that they were not allowed to work, and had to make do by dragging themselves through the monotonous day-to-day survival patterns in the refugee centres. Bosnian refugees in Slovenia were thus constantly, from the time of their migration into the 2000s, living in uncertainty about their destiny.

Vrečer's ethnographic study focuses on the conditions in the refugee centres and how refugees coped with exile in the selected refugee centres.[4] Many of her findings correspond to the ethnography on Nešto između presented below. The refugee centres were in many cases established in the military barracks left behind by the former Yugoslav People's Army. The living conditions in the centres were not compliant with adopted standards: the rooms were obviously too crowded, and there was no space for intimacy (Vrečer 2000: 6). Moreover, the centres were located "in the suburbs [of towns]. Because of the absence of integration models into Slovenian society, the centres resemble ghettos" (2000: 7). Another thing that refugees had to cope with was the food in the centres, which was – for cultural reasons as well as for the way it was prepared for the masses – according to the refugees, tasteless. Additionally, some refugees were forced to move from one refugee centre to another, which was yet another stressful experience perceived as repeated uprooting (2000: 7). The social networks created in the centres were therefore unstable and a possible source of additional feelings of loss.

One of the most problematic aspects of the exile that this researcher identifies is the right to work, as well as the (associated) right to participate fully in the Slovenian social and cultural milieu. Until 1999, refugees were "allowed to work only eight hours per week, which, of course, [was] not sufficient to solve their economic problems" (Vrečer 2000: 9). As one interlocutor explained to the ethnographer:

> The biggest problem of the exile in Slovenia is no work. My grandfather is in hospital, because he has no work. He's fatigued by his nerves. He was always doing something at home. As we all did. (Vrečer 2007: 104)

This situation was especially traumatic for the men, who were used to being socialised as workers and whose masculinity was constructed on

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**4** Altogether there were 58, and by 2000 just 10 refugee centres were still operating in Slovenia (Vrečer 2000: 6).

breadwinning (Vrečer 2000: 12). Many therefore worked illegally and for low wages.

With regard to participation in social and cultural life in Slovenia, Vrečer concludes that adults, living in the secluded spaces of the refugee centres, faced greater difficulties than children and young people:

> Children seem to recover most quickly from the stresses of conflict and have the least difficulties in adaptation to the foreign country. They also learn the new language more quickly than adults. The care of their parents, especially the mothers, who maintained the homely routine in exile, lessened the culture shock effects and functioned preventively in the psychosocial condition of the children. School was another important factor that functioned preventively because it structured their time and enabled them to maintain continuity in education. (2000: 11)

Of course, the children and young people were not living in cotton wool, but were facing specific problems, including with regard to schooling (Vrečer 2000: 11–12). Some of the specific problems of the young will be addressed below.

With respect to young people and music, the personal memoires of and research conducted by young Bosnian refugees – Hazemina Đonlić and Vesna Andree Zaimović in particular – remain a valuable contribution to the examination of refugee conditions in Slovenia.[5] Here are some insights I wish to point out: In January 1993, some refugee music teachers, who had previously taught at the Ilidža music school in Sarajevo, initiated an educational programme for children and young people called Cultural Weekend for Children from Bosnia and Herzegovina (henceforth CWCBH), which was held at the Vodnik Manor House in Ljubljana.[6] Reportedly, more than one hundred children attended their musical, fine arts, literary, choir singing, artistic copperworking etc. workshops (Đonlić and Črnivec 2003: 40–41). Đonlić, at that time a young refugee and project collaborator, writes that such programmes were necessary, because although the children were attending primary school, the young people were not always involved in education, but would rather "aimlessly wander around Ljubljana or spend quite monotonous days in the refugee centres, where their only obligation was queuing for food and cleaning the corridors" (Đonlić and Črnivec 2003: 40). The CWCBH environment was obviously empowering for some young people and students, whose creativity was rewarded there. For example, Farah Tahirbegović, at that time a young student, who in a specific music-related milieu in Slovenia gradually became famous as

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5 On the role of music in the exile of Bosnian children in Slovenia see also Pesek (1996).

6 The Vodnik Manor House is a well-known cultural venue.

the singer of the band Dertum, published a book of short stories as early as 1993 which were full of longing for home – her *A Letter to My Parents* (*Pismo roditeljima*) was published as part of a collection of works called the Exile-abc Collection (Biblioteka Egzil-abc) by the CWCBH. One of the members of Nešto između, Dži,[7] was also encouraged by the CWCBH collaborators to publish his early poems.

Vesna Andree Zaimović was another refugee student who played a significant role in shaping the musical programme of the CWCBH, and later researched the exile from an ethnomusicological point of view. As a supervisor and the leader of Vali, an ensemble operating as part of the CWCBH, she cross-bred traditional musical styles with popular music, e.g. pop and rock, and formed a collaboration between Vali and the Slovenian rock star Vlado Kreslin. Her ethnomusicological analysis focused on the *sevdalinka* – a traditional song based on oriental scales – as Bosnian heritage performed in Slovenia by young refugees (2001). Two musical groups, Vali and Dertum, are featured in her work. Both were visible players on the Slovenian 1990s "world-music" scene, but the latter was also important for getting *sevdalinkas* (as well as other traditional forms from the territory of former Yugoslavia) noticed on the Slovenian underground music scene. In her analysis, however, Andree Zaimović emphasises the identity aspects of *sevdalinkas* for Bosnians in exile (cf. Kozorog and Bartulović 2015).

Moreover, the refugees' *sevdalinkas* were commented on by the Slovenian folklorist Marko Terseglav, who recorded refugee musician Amir Otanović and his collaborators in 1994 and later proposed that "folk spiritual culture or folk music proves to be the only tangible remains of the broken ethnicity and its culture", which thus helps refugees "survive the worst moments, and at the same time helps them to maintain their own cultural and ethnic identity in a foreign [...] environment" (Terseglav 2001: 260).[8]

Analyses of Bosnian music-making in exile thus predominantly focused on *sevdalinkas*, traditional music, musical heritage and cultural identity, while the refugees' popular, alternative and underground musical expressions have so far been neglected (cf. Kozorog and Bartulović 2015; Kozorog 2015). Hopefully, this essay will add a missing piece to the mosaic of Bosnian refugees' artistic creativity in Slovenia.

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7 In agreement with the band's members, I have referred to them by their nicknames. However, in the case of Dži, who has gradually become an acknowledged poet, I would like to reveal his name – he is Enes Kurtović.

8 Outside Slovenia, Bosnian refugees' music-making has been researched by the following ethnomusicologists: Svanibor Pettan in Norway (1996); and Ursula Hemetek and Sofia Bajrektarević in Austria (2000).

I sometimes listen to a tape I have of a live recording by Nešto između from 24 October 1997, made at the Nada Žagar Youth Club (Mladinski klub Nade Žagar) (henceforth MKNŽ) in Ilirska Bistrica.[9] The tape dates to a time when many refugees were returning to their country from Slovenia (see Đonlić and Črnivec 2003: 35), and this was among the reasons for the band's breakup after the concert at MKNŽ. Their lead singer, Mohe, had returned in August 1997, which is why his roommate and cousin, Dži, who was primarily the band's ideologist and lyricist, jumped in as vocalist for the final few gigs. The performance at MKNŽ is about to start and the sharp sound of an electric guitar slowly moves over an "oriental scale". As the guitarist Amir repeats the scale, Dado, the drummer, embellishes the intro with cymbals and percussion. The guitar speeds up, the drummer starts a punk rock beat, and Pino, the bass player, joins the groove. An oriental melody performed on distorted guitar then floats over heavy drumming and percussive bass notes throughout the piece. At one point, a high male voice sings over a few tones as if expressing *sevdah*, a feeling of melancholic yearning that is usually expressed in *sevdalinkas*. This vocalisation is suddenly broken with a shout of "*abaaaa*", a passionate call that could imitate moments of empowerment during (male) drinking of alcohol. When the song is over, Dži says: *"Good evening, we come from..."*, but he is interrupted by Amir's introduction: *"Thank you, we're refugees."* Dži continues with a statement full of significance: *"This wasn't Dertum"*, alluding to the fame of the group Dertum and its popularisation of *sevdalinkas* for the Slovenian underground audience. However, with regard to repertoire, Nešto između differed substantially from Dertum; after playing the "oriental" introduction, they continued the concert with their own punk rock numbers and some cover versions of Yugoslav punk rock hits.[10] With the introduction they in a way were commenting that although (Dertum's) *sevdalinkas* represent young Bosnian refugees in Slovenia (above all in underground venues such as MKNŽ), which is why they performed this piece in the first

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**9** The band's recordings are available on internet – see DEMOnDIZK 1997.

**10** For example, they performed the song 'United' by Kud Idijoti, and 'Anarhija, all over Baščaršija' by Zabranjeno pušenje. In the case of 'United', whose lyrics are "united rakija [schnapps], united pivo [beer], united pizza", pizza is substituted with "pita", which is a famous Bosnian food, also popular in Slovenia, where it is known as "burek". Perhaps this was part of the band's humour, on which Dži has commented: *"Humour was food!"* The importance of food and food metaphors in the lives of these youngsters was considerable.

place, they were not very different from the nonconformist Slovenian youth, who at that time were crazy for punk rock.

The intro played at the concert is called 'Kad će ta prokleta večera?' ('When Is That Damned Supper?'). As with the group's other songs, there is a story or an explanation behind it. In this case it is a simple one: the question in the title was an everyday question at the refugee centres, where waiting for something to happen was endless and where the food was repulsive. In fact, the band was formed at one of the centres – the Trnovo refugee centre, located in the abandoned army barracks on the outskirts of Ilirska Bistrica – where some of its members lived for years.[11] They told me that life there was monotonous; three of them travelled daily to another town, Postojna, to attend secondary school, however, at the refugee centre they could not see anything changing. It was all about waiting for supper. Yet, they proved (to themselves) that breaking the routine and changes are possible even in a secluded environment. As a band, they performed at the centre and outside of it, they made friends with musical and political activists in Slovenia and abroad, and they released a demo cassette, called *Antilogija* (*Anti-logic*).[12]

Although the beginnings of the band could be depicted as tentative recastings of Yugoslav rock classics, the members soon decided to write their own music (see Kozorog 2015). This approach made a space for the members to be able to express their own experiences and feelings.[13] Some of their lyrics intimately reflected on inner states, while others commented on important political events, e.g. the Dayton Agreement, which in the song called 'Sam Motherfucker' ('Uncle Sam the Motherfucker') or 'Dejtonska bajka' ('Dayton Fairytale') is framed as a false happy ending with no foundation for hope. Furthermore, the lyrics also reported about and openly confronted what these male adolescents were living through in their everyday lives. Especially in this latter case the songs have certain ethnographic significance, which I will explore below.

I would like to give an overview of what Nešto između was singing about, in order to provide a hint about what was on the boys'

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**11** Pino, the bass player, was a native of Ilirska Bistrica, while the other members were refugees who were living at the refugee centre.

**12** This is a play on words: in the Slovenian word for "anthology" the letter "o" is replaced by the letter "i", so that the meaning of this neologism can be understood as "anti-logic" (against logic).

**13** In contrast, Dertum and Vali dedicated their careers mainly to the refashioning of traditional songs, so that their songs do not contain any direct reflections of what life was like for young refugees.

minds and what they were going through. In one particularly biting song, entitled (in English) 'Peggy's Farm',[14] the Trnovo refugee centre is pictured as a farm and its manager is straightforwardly referred to by his pseudonym. The slap was obviously intended to be direct, if not also personal. The song in Bosnian states that there is a nasty building on the edge of the town that only small children, who do not yet understand their situation, call "home". In accordance with the particular perception of refugees in Slovenia at that time, the people living in this building are then described as strange, ungrateful and impolite, and, as the English lyrics reveal, they "don't know to say 'Please!', Peggy's temporary refugees". Indeed, as noted above, the Slovenian state had given them the status of "temporary refugees", while the Slovenian mass media sometimes anxiously worried about "excessive humanitarianism" and the "financial burden" on the state, and at the same time praised "Slovenian good-heartedness" (Simonič 1999: 55, 60, 61). In the public discourse on Slovenia's policy towards refugees, they were defined as welcomed, and so the refrain goes: "Welcome, welcome, welcome to the Peggy's farm." The second part of the song is in Slovenian, an invitation to a Slovenian who might want to meet the refugees. It gives directions on how to find them, saying that although it might sound illogical, their "centre", their place of residence, i.e. the "refugee centre", is in fact not in the centre, but on the edge of the town – it is geographically marginalised. This, as the members of the band have told me, was frustrating for a number of different reasons, including firstly the lack of company and the possibility of socialising with their peers from the town, and secondly the large distance from MKNŽ (I will come back to this point below). The song finishes with sounds imitating animals. The emphatic analogy of Bosnians as animals locked up on a farm was thus complete.

In addition, reflections on the differences between refugees were also part of the band's commentary. In another song from the demo, called 'Muhiba' or 'Ružan osjećaj' ('Bad Feeling'), portrays a generational conflict. Muhiba is an older lady who is continuously coming into the narrator's room. Therefore, a bad feeling occurs from expecting another of her unannounced appearances, during which she would invariably tell boring stories that destroy his "dirty little world". She comes to visit because she does not have anyone else to talk to in this foreign environment. Yet she does not understand that the young man has his own wishes and ideas, and that while she is interested in

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**14** Perhaps there is a reference to another rebellious song, Bob Dylan's 'Maggie's Farm', which states "I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more...".

what the "idiot on the TV says", his thoughts are with "the mosque, Mak,[15] Marx and Nietzsche".

There really was not much space for intimacy in the building where the refugees were living (see Vrečer 2007).[16] Since in many cases these were former army barracks, the rooms were arranged in a line along shared corridors, while the toilets and showers were also shared. The rooms were usually occupied by several family members, so that the chronic lack of space was occasionally suffocating, while intimacy was a more or less unfulfilled dream.

Yet, space was also important for the band's existence. In this respect, the band had a bit of luck, since two members, Mohe and Dži, shared a room, which happened to be at the end of the barracks' corridor, where their evening creative eruptions did not disturb too many neighbours. However, in the room they were mostly listening to music, having conversations, reading and writing poetry, and delving into other creative fields, e.g. visual arts,[17] and they needed another place for the band's rehearsals. In this regard too, they were not faced with the worst possible conditions. The refugee centre's management provided a venue for the activities of the refugee youth.[18] However, this venue turned out to be another situation where the social divisions among refugees came to light. Namely, the venue started to function as a kind of a discotheque, where mainstream popular music was filling up the space. This was not exactly the kind of environment that the band members and associates would view as a "youth venue", since their perception of such places was one that engenders creativity and stimulates personal expression. The discotheque was too conformist a choice, with which they could not identify. Therefore, they moved to the place next door, a former military storehouse, and renovated it for their own purposes. In a play on words based on the Bosnian word for "place" ("prostorija"), they called it "space and me" ("prostor i ja"),

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**15** The Bosnian poet Mak Dizdar (1917–1971).

**16** 'Muhiba' was in fact inspired by an experience in a private home in Ljubljana, and not in a refugee centre. Nevertheless, the portrait it provides is even more accurate for refugee centres.

**17** Gradually, the various expressive activities of three of the band members, Mohe, Dži and Amir, including their engagement in Nešto između, were conceptualised by themselves as an artistic movement, called Sprung. The non-musical activities are certainly important for my understanding of the musical ones as well as for the whole context of the exile. For example, Sprung's installation with one hundred newspaper weather forecasts is a fine example of their commenting on the repetitiveness of everyday life in the refugee centre (for more see Kozorog 2015). However, due to the lack of space in this article I will skip the broader activities of Sprung and limit the analysis to the music.

**18** In this regard a member of the band even commented in an ethnographic interview that in the song 'Peggy's Farm' they were perhaps judging the management too harshly.

thus underscoring the multifaceted importance of space in their contemporary lives and for their personal expression.

And so we have come to the exclusions announced in the title of this article. At the refugee centre the band members excluded themselves from associating with other youths, which they did not only for practical reasons, i.e. rehearsing, but also for ideological reasons, i.e. empowered by a certain (sub)cultural capital (see Thornton 1995). They acted in a manner in which nonconformist youth acted outside the refugee centre, where in the 1990s Slovenian youth also established many alternative (underground) venues (see Muršič et al. 2012). They were also emphasising their difference through their physical appearance, i.e. in their hairstyles, how they dressed, walked, behaved. Of course, the binary pictured here idealises the reality, since in reality the boundaries between social milieus are usually transgressed. Nevertheless, behaving as nonconformist youth, as rebels, as opponents of the "mainstream" in the refugee environment, they were building a specific refugee youth identity and an awareness of their own specific (alternative) cultural validity.

For this same reason they were experiencing an extra amount of trouble, especially outside the refugee centre. In the town they were seen as both refugees and "punks," and thus they were, indeed, doubly excluded. As commented on in 'Peggy's Farm', the refugees were physically separated from the Slovenian citizens and alienated from the happenings in Ilirska Bistrica. In another song, entitled 'Ulice Ilirske Bistrice' ('The Streets of Ilirska Bistrica'), the narrator speaks about walking the streets of the town, which he knows by heart, and although he sees familiar faces, he does not know their names. And they are not interested in him anyhow: "They pass me by, no one notices me, on the street I leave no trace." However, this is how it is during the daytime. After dark he again walks the streets, this time in a bunch who called themselves the "eternal walkers". The "punks" from the refugee centre regularly walked between the two sides of the town, between the Trnovo refugee centre on the one side and the MKNŽ on the other. However, such walks were not always pleasant, since they were repetitively stopped and interrogated by the police, to whom they referred in the song as "the policemen – our old acquaintances". In their opinion, the police were messing with them for two reasons: firstly, because they were inhabitants of the refugee centre, and secondly, because they were "punks" visiting MKNŽ.[19]

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**19** In addition, I was told that the police were not rude to them only when they visited MKNŽ, but also on their way to the school in Postojna, where three of them travelled daily making a one hour trip by train. However, in this case they might have been being interrogated just for being "different-looking" youth, and not necessarily as refugees.

Let me finish this section by mentioning exactly what MKNŽ meant to these young people, i.e. why they were walking through the town at night in the first place. Entering the secondary-school in the town of Postojna in 1993/1994, Amir, Dado and Mohe's schoolmates soon told them about the alternative (youth) culture in the town where they lived, Ilirska Bistrica. This town was in fact famous throughout Slovenia, MKNŽ being a mandatory stop for alternative rock bands touring Europe. Many European, but also US hard-core, punk-rock, experimental jazz and avant-garde rock bands performed at MKNŽ (frequently leaving the Slovenian capital off of their touring itineraries). MKNŽ was therefore a very unique venue in the Slovenian context (see Muršič et al. 2012: 74–82; Poklar 2011), and as such was attended by both local and non-local youth. The guys from Nešto između, who were clearly inclined towards new musical expressions in the field of rock music, therefore became passionate about what was going on "on the other side of town". They were so enthusiastic about it that even though they were not allowed to leave the refugee centre at night, they jumped over the wall surrounding the complex in order to escape to the club. In fact, by visiting MKNŽ they became acquainted with new musical trends and the do-it-yourself ethic, which was an important step for dropping Yugoslav rock from their repertoire and starting to write their own material. However, music was not the only reason MKNŽ was important for the band. In the next section, I will come back to MKNŽ as one of the few alternative (youth) culture organisations that were intertwined in the band's career.

## AGAINST (NATIONALIST) CONFORMISM, AND FOR THE RECOGNITION OF SOCIALLY REFLEXIVE, SELF-EXPRESSIVE, ARTISTICALLY SKILLED AND HEADSTRONG YOUNG REFUGEES

In this section I discuss organised aid for Bosnian refugees in Slovenia (cf. Đonlić and Črnivec 2003: 18–21, 37–38, 46–47; Vrečer 2007: 80–90). Specifically, I focus on organisations that were primarily involved with alternative (youth) cultural production, and not with humanitarian aid. I am not the first to discuss the role of such organisations (cf. Đonlić and Črnivec 2003: 38–40; Vrečer 2007: 89), though I think that their background in alternative (youth) culture has not been adequately addressed yet. One of the cultural organisations whose role has been sufficiently examined is the Vodnik Manor House in Ljubljana (Andree Zaimović 2001; Đonlić and Črnivec 2003: 40–45).

However, this organisation – which was, indeed, personally important for Dži, who as a student in Ljubljana was pulled in by its centripetal forces and thus discovered his own ability and passion for writing poetry – was different from the organisations that I wish to explore here. That is, the Vodnik Manor House was, so to say, a "high culture" venue, which also housed a public library, and, more importantly, the cultural programme for refugees there was organised by the refugees themselves (see above). One other organisation in Ljubljana has been noted in the literature, KUD France Prešeren,[20] and its programme for refugees called the Exiles Project (Projekt pregnanci ) (Đonlić and Črnivec 2003: 38–40; Muršič et al. 2012: 43; Vrečer 2007: 89). This nest of alternative (youth) culture is precisely the kind of organisation I wish to explore here, whereby I will also pay attention to other similar organisations operating in Slovenia at that time.

If aid organisations were helping refugees because this was their goal, alternative (youth) cultural organisations were doing it for other motives, one of them being their oppositional stance toward conformism in society. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, Slovenian state policy was marked by nationalism, promoting an "our people first" agenda. The first ruling party, Demos (1990–1992), was openly hostile towards nationals of other former Yugoslav republics, and in 1992 the state leadership committed the cold-hearted administrative act of erasure of thousands of ethnically non-Slovenes from the register of residents of Slovenia (see Lipovec Čebron and Zorn 2011). Against such state policy and against xenophobia in society (which was not yet common, but was gaining impetus with the help of a few political parties), a few cultural organisations would intervene on behalf of refugees, whereby – also as part of their usual agenda – they actively approached the self-expressive, socially aware, artistically skilled and headstrong (young) individuals among the refugees. Through the case of Nešto između, I will give an overview of these organisations.

From the information I received in the interviews conducted with the band members, one organisation stands out markedly. This was an Italian organisation from Pesaro, whose members were making regular visits to the refugee centre in Ilirska Bistrica. This organisation was special, as my interlocutors remember, because its aid was based on personal contacts and on recognising the individual needs of the people at the Trnovo centre. My interviewees recall that most aid organisations brought food and clothes in containers, without establishing

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**20** "KUD" stands for "cultural artistic association".

personal contacts with them. The Italians were different precisely because they engaged in conversations with individual refugees, asking about their specific needs, and, especially important for the kids, taking them out to the cinema and the like. The Italians, who via their personal contacts were able to find out what is "really" (personally) important to someone at the refugee centre, were also the first to recognise that some of the boys wanted to play music, but they could not purchase the equipment by themselves. Thus, Nešto između received some musical instruments from the Pesaro activists. After musical instruments had been provided and the band could finally function, Nešto između made a guest appearance at an Italian music festival,[21] where they were brought by these same activists.

MKNŽ was another important agent in the band's career. Secondary school boys at the time, today they remember that they were welcomed and recognised by the club's staff as refugees. As a gesture of hospitality they were exempt from paying the entrance fee, which was according to their judgement a proper gesture for persons with no income. Moreover, in the course of time MKNŽ activists invited them to collaborate in the organisation of concerts, which means that they were introduced to a do-it-yourself approach that encompasses everything from preparing the equipment and venue for a gig to cleaning up after it. They might have been invited to become collaborators of the club because they were regular visitors (as sometimes happens in such venues that visitors are incorporated into organising staff), but it is also possible that they were invited as refugees who needed a small fee from this work as well as integration into the social milieu. At least for Dado, this was the beginning of a career as a concert promoter, which continued into his adulthood. After the band switched from Yugoslav rock covers to original punk rock songs, which was again influenced by the MKNŽ's exclusively original and unconventional concert programme, it was the people at MKNŽ who first recognised the value of their original music-making. The band was invited to perform at MKNŽ and to make a presentation at a festival of young local bands,[22] while after a year of rehearsing MKNŽ also arranged a studio recording and released the demo cassette.

MKNŽ was arguably the most important organisation in the band's career, at least with regard to musical aesthetics and the band's affirmation. It was a high-quality local organisation on which they could rely whenever they had conceptions about their own artistic and

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**21** At that time they were still a cover band, occupied with the heritage of Yugoslav popular music (see Kozorog 2015: 24).

**22** The Feistritz festival in December 1996.

cultural endeavours. However, other related organisations collaborated with the band as well. For example, Amir remembers that youth activists in nearby Postojna were involved with refugees too, organising cultural activities at the town's refugee centre, where Nešto između performed in the spring of 1996.[23] In addition, when the band held its own concert for fellow refugees at the Trnovo centre in the spring of 1997, and invited the Slovenian hard-core band 2227 to take part, it was very likely assisted by MKNŽ, but also by KUD France Prešeren. The latter's report on activities in the first half of 1997 states:

> On 25 May the refugee centre [in Ilirska Bistrica] was visited by the group 2227, and the opening act was Nešto između. With huge effort we managed to make the concert an open event in which the locals were allowed to participate. In the future we intend to hold more concerts [at refugee centres], if possible for the general public, but we expect to have some problems because of having to hire a PA system.

Clearly, in such cases the oppositional attitude of alternative (youth) culture organisations was transmitted into the refugee centres, e.g. the battle to the open the refugee centre to the general public for the concert. Coalitions of like-minded people were then formed between refugees and non-refugees.

Another organisation with a similar goal of opening up the refugee centres and filling them up with the alternative and socially critical youth culture was the Association of Tribal Communities and Medicine Men (Zveza plemenskih skupnosti in vračev). Its core membership was in the Koper Youth Cultural Centre (Mladinski kulturni center Koper) (henceforth MKC Koper). The latter organised concerts and art programmes in several refugee centres in Slovenia. Nešto između played one of their final gigs (in October 1997) at its venue in the town of Koper, while afterwards one of the band's members, Dado, found his occupation and personal anchorage there.[24] To summarize,

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23 Actually, the band's first public performance took place at the very end of 1995 at the Trnovo refugee centre as a warm-up for the gig at the festival in Italy that followed soon after. Back in Slovenia, in the spring of 1996 one concert at MKNŽ is reported (in KUD France Prešeren's documents – see below) and two concerts at the Postojna refugee centre, where they performed together with another young refugee rock band from the refugee centre in Črnomelj. A refugee rock band called Centralno grijanje (Central Heating) was also working at the Vodnik Manor House in Ljubljana, while the precursor of Dertum was a rock band called Durum. Most of these bands performed Yugoslav rock, which was also popular in Slovenia as an anti-nationalist, yet ambivalent, form of expression (Muršič 2007; Stanković 2002).

24 It is worth mentioning that another prominent Bosnian musician worked at MKC Koper for a while during or soon after the war: Senad Hadžimusić - Teno, the founder of Sarajevo hard-core group SCH.

a few alternative (youth) culture organisations were engaged and mutually collaborative in providing art programmes inside the refugee centres (and thus opening them up), and, significantly, in recognising refugee artists as important cultural producers in Slovenia.[25]

On the horizon of such organisations one stands out mightily. This is KUD France Prešeren in Ljubljana, whose archive I was able to study.

## KUD FRANCE PREŠEREN AND THE EXILES PROJECT AS A REFLEXIVE ENGAGEMENT WITH THE EXILE

KUD France Prešeren (henceforth KUD) is a fine example of an alternative (youth) culture organisation that was involved with refugees (especially children), but was also quite focused on (alternative) artists, social activists and reflexive individuals among them. KUD's aid activities started way back in the spring of 1992, after the first Bosnian refugees entered Slovenia, and continued into the 2000s. The perpetual motto of this organisation's programme for refugees, entitled the Exiles Project, was the following:

> In order to break through the barriers of the cultural and social ghetto in the refugee camps, we began working with [people exiled from Bosnia-Herzegovina] in the field of culture and art, where members of the project team were already active before. We present our own culture to the exiles and at the same time, together with them, keep their cultural heritage alive and present it to Slovenian and European audiences. In this way, we promote mutual influences and the enrichment of different social and cultural patterns.

In addition to its general goal to provide a platform for intercultural respect and learning, it proposed methods for this to happen, which incorporated both the organisation's cultural background and its venue, also called KUD France Prešeren:

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**25** On 22 October 1997, Nešto između and Dertum, together with a representative of MKC Koper, took part in a refugee recognition programme at the student radio station MARŠ and in the alternative club Kibla, both in the town of Maribor. In addition, as university students (i.e. after 1997) Dado and Amir were active at Radio Student in Ljubljana, a very important radio station in regard to the recognition of refugees, which also broadcast the well-known antinationalist show *Nisam ja odavde* (*I'm Not From Here*), dedicated to non-Slovenian students in Ljubljana, through the 1990s.

> The Exiles Project attempts to widen the access to cultural riches and modes of creation to those who are most excluded from participating in them. The exiles attend performances at KUD and together we organise and produce concerts, exhibitions, evenings of poetry, plays, round table discussions etc. Slovenian and foreign music, theatre, puppet and dance groups visit the refugee centres and their inhabitants. These events are also attended by the local population. Creative workshops take place at the centres and their participants perform for their peers as well as the broader Slovenian and frequently also international audience.
>
> One of the most important goals of the project is to support groups and individuals [among the refugees] who want to present their creativity to the general public and have enough energy and courage to take the necessary first steps. We thus began to cooperate with a group of exile university and secondary-school students who brought their musical creativity together in a group called Dertum.

In these endeavours, Dertum was certainly one of KUD's parade horses (for more on Dertum see Kozorog and Bartulović 2015). However, a number of other successful projects were run under the umbrella of the Exiles Project. For example, a young refugees' theatre group, Nepopravljivi optimisti (Incorrigible Optimists), was formed at KUD in 1992, mentored by the Slovenian actress Draga Potočnjak. It staged several original plays: *Kuća bez krova* (*The House Without a Roof*) from 1994, which presented life stripped of intimacy at a refugee centre; *Dođi makar sebi ako nemaš kome drugom* (*At Least Come to Yourself, If You Don't Have Anyone Else*) from 1995, which was co-authored by Igor Serdarević; *I mirna Bosna* (*And Peaceful Bosnia*) from 1997, which was made in collaboration with the Ana Monro Theatre (Gledališče Ane Monro ).[26] In addition, in the framework of the Exiles Project, music lessons for children were established and taught by the Slovenian guitarist, pedagogue and author Etbin Štefančič, later joined by Hazemina Đonlić.[27] Štefančič led an ensemble composed of Bosnian children, called Putujući zemljotres (Itinerant Earthquake) at the refugee centre in the town of Škofja Loka, and a teenage Orff orchestra, Mašta može svašta (Imagination Unlimited), at the refugee centre in the town of Tolmin. The latter was invited to play in July 1995 at the closing ceremony of the international campaign All Equal, All Different at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, where they were joined in performance by the famous violinist and conductor

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**26** The last two plays included original music by Dertum.

**27** According to the information I obtained, KUD's musical programme for children was held at the following refugee centres: Škofja Loka, Tolmin, Bloke, Postojna and Črnomelj.

Yehudi Menuhin. In addition, KUD organised creative workshops for refugees and local residents, e.g., on photography mentored by Vesna Črnivec, and published works by young Bosnian poets.

The Exiles Project received a fair amount of international recognition. For example, it represented Slovenia at the international TV promotion of the European Youth Campaign against Racism, Xenophobia, Anti-Semitism and Intolerance in December 1994 in Finland, where its contribution received the second-place Prize of Europe award. Such awards and recognitions were not sufficient in themselves, but were used by KUD to put pressure on policymakers to implement changes in the lives of refugees. For example, the award from Finland was used to convince the authorities to enable young refugees to travel and perform at refugee centres outside Slovenia. In addition to its cultural-artistic activities, this organisation was also heavily involved in making changes to legislation, especially with regard to the refugees' right to work.

Nešto između was not a major concern of KUD, but nevertheless, the endeavours of the young musicians were recognised by this organisation quite early in the band's career. In fact, the first time the band appears in the organisation's documents is in a report about its activities in 1996. The genealogy of their early relations is presented as follows:

> The group existed already before our collaboration. At the beginning, we provided them with an electronic keyboard, which had been lying broken somewhere in the corner of the RC [refugee centre] in [Škofja] Loka. We made an agreement with the management of the centre that it can be used by the group Nešto između. We found and purchased spare parts and repaired the keyboard, and acquired other necessary instruments and two amplifiers. So far, the group has had three concerts, because we needed quite a bit of time with the provider to find used and thus cheaper instruments. However, we are planning joint concerts with the band Dertum at the RCs in Ajdovščina, Loka... [28]

Afterwards, three concerts performed in the first part of 1996 are mentioned. These were at MKNŽ on 30 March, and two at the refugee centre in Postojna on 25 May and on 23 June.

From the KUD documents I have examined, I can conclude that Nešto između started to be treated more seriously by KUD only after the band started writing their own songs. It is very likely that the organisation was not continuously collaborating with the band, since

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**28** The instruments were most likely provided in 1995, although in KUD's application for funding from 1997, 1994 is mentioned. It is important to be careful with the claims in such applications, because they might exaggerate things in order to convince the application reviewers.

its primary occupations were elsewhere, and, as regards young refugees' music-making, it was predominantly focused on Dertum. Not that KUD was ignoring Nešto između before that, but when the band turned towards punk rock, the homology between the band's aesthetic agenda and the organisation's history of staging alternative rock music provided a certain impetus to their relations. Therefore, it is quite possible that the organisation added Nešto između to its list of priority projects only after the band took up punk rock. As I claim, the aid of this and similar organisations was indeed targeted towards refugees, but was at the same time also selective on the basis of aesthetic and cultural preferences.

Hence, KUD's activities intensified especially after the band released its demo in August 1997. In a few applications for funding from the summer of 1997, the organisation announced a series of eight concerts by Dertum and Nešto između between September and December 1997 at refugee centres and cultural venues in Slovenia. In support of the application for funds, it is also stated that an allied organisation, the Association of Tribal Communities and Medicine Men, supports Nešto između as a quality band. The fact that they were writing original rock music is emphasised. The goal of the announced concerts, it was claimed, was to enable the musicians from Dertum and Nešto između to research their own cultural riches, but also to provide opportunity for "the Bosnian, Slovenian (and possibly European) public to be involved in their concerts." Obviously, since the band split up after the abovementioned concerts at MKNŽ and in Koper in October 1997, this project remained largely unaccomplished.

## THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE ORGANISATIONS AND THE LONGEVITY OF THE SCENE

We are approaching the end of this overview of alternative (youth) culture organisations that were promoting alternative (youth) culture among Bosnian refugees, and which helped to shape the career and artistic evolution of Nešto između. Yet, there is something seriously wrong with this overview. Namely, just as the band was composed of five individuals, Amir, Dado, Mohe, Pino and Dži, there were people behind the organisations as well. Some I have mentioned, as for example a few mentors and authors of KUD's projects, but many I have not. Due to the lack of space, I will leave the important aspect of personal engagement in humanitarian projects underexplored in this essay.

However, I would like to mention one person, Gregor Belušič, because of his involvement in each and every alternative (youth) culture organisation presented in this essay. He was also involved in the career of Nešto između and was regularly recalled by the band members during our ethnographic interviews. This activist could be depicted as a person who was sewing up the different agendas and preferences of the collective agents discussed here. He was a native of Ilirska Bistrica, where he organised concerts at MKNŽ. He helped Nešto između with their instruments and later was in charge of the band's recording session. He was also active in the Association of Tribal Communities and Medicine Men. In Ljubljana, where he studied, he had a show at Radio Student dedicated to youth politics and alternative music. In Ljubljana he also became a member of Dertum,[29] and via Dertum he was involved in various activities of KUD. With this brief summary of activities I do not want to say that he was the only person who was bridging and connecting various collective agents, but I think that such personal engagements were crucial for development of refugee artists as well as for redirecting alternative (youth) organisations in Slovenia to engage more seriously with socially reflexive and artistically expressive refugee youth.

Moreover, another dimension can be highlighted by the case of this same activist: a certain endurance on the Slovenian alternative (youth) scene in regard to its basic causes with respect to youth politics as well as in regard to its specific aid work concerning refugees. Such engagements were not brief, but rather lasted for long periods of time. When by the end of the 1990s the status of Bosnian refugees in Slovenia had still not been resolved (Vrečer 2000) and when during the war in Kosovo (1998–1999) more people sought asylum in this country, youth activism (as described in this essay) was still hale and strong, which was reflected both in vividness of alternative (youth) culture and in specific aid work. I will give an example from the late 1990s, i.e. a film project called Film Gazette (Filmski vestnik), which clearly demonstrates that underground cultural and humanitarian work were intertwined and that a continuous thread of a specific type of activism can be noticed.

The Film Gazette was a project of an alternative (youth) culture organisation called the Society for the Protection of Atheistic Feelings (Društvo za zaščito ateističnih čustev), in which Belušič was involved, and was accomplished in collaboration with another

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**29** His main musical focus was the avant-garde rock band Žoambo Žoet Workestrao.

similar organisation, the Society of the Allies of Soft Landing/Consent (Društvu zaveznikov mehkega pristanka) from the town of Krško. The aim of the project was to visit various alternative (youth) venues throughout Slovenia and make video documentation and video news about their activities, and then present the films publicly. However, as the realization of the project coincided with the Kosovo refugee crisis, and, moreover, since the status of Bosnian refugees in Slovenia had not been resolved for years, the reaction of the activists was immediate. They reshaped the project by adding reportage on refugees' situation to the presentations of the youth venues. In a play on words based on the Slovenian word "vest," which means both "news" and "conscience," they renamed the Film Gazette (Filmski vestnik) as Film Bad Conscience (Filmski slabovestnik). The result was an experimental visual presentation of highly diverse activities at the youth venues and refugee centres, with a strong political message about both. In the film (Filmski slabovestnik 1999) the topics follow like this: an interview with a refugee from Kosovo; a performance on *saz* by a Kosovan musician at the refugee centre in the town of Hrastnik (from 27 June 1999); a stage performance by the ethno-rock band Blla, blla, blla from Skopje and an interview with one of its members about ethnic tensions in Macedonia; a statement on war by the Serbian rap musician Voodoo Popeye; a presentation of an anti-war artistic project by the artist Marko Pelhan; a public lecture by the sociologist Rastko Močnik on the urgent need for Slovenia to open its borders to Kosovan refugees etc. Importantly, the film also contains a presentation of a petition, addressed to the Slovenian government, demanding a quota of 70,000 refugees from Kosovo, improvement of the living conditions for Bosnian refugees in Slovenia and the practical introduction of the institution of exile and citizenship for stateless people in Slovenia. This petition was seconded by eight related alternative (youth) culture organisations.[30] In line with this essay, I should not forget to mention that Dertum appears in performance together with Kosovan refugees. The film, however, ends with a video recording of the concert by Nešto između at MKNŽ in October 1997 (see above).

The Film Gazette / Bad Conscience is a portrait of the aspirations of part of the alternative (youth) culture in 1990s Slovenia. It shows that refugees were indeed a concern among antinationalist and

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**30** The organisations involved were: Society for the Protection of Atheistic Feelings, Association for Theory and Culture of Handicap, Radio Student, Society of the Allies of Soft Landing/Consent, Theatre Gromki, Cultural Artistic Society Anarchive, Youth Cultural Club of White Carniola and Cultural Society Rov Železniki.

socially reflexive youth activists for a long period of time. The latter put an effort – through film, radio shows and public events – to convince other young people to stop being apolitical and to take socially reflexive young refugees as their allies.

## WHAT'S IN THE BAND'S NAME?

Let me now return to Nešto između. Although the name of the band appeared coincidentally, when someone in conversation about it proposed: *"Let's call ourselves something in-between...,"* but could not finish his thoughts before someone else remarked: *"Yeah, Something In-Between is a very good name for a band"*, it accurately portrays its members' situation.[31] They were, like most refugees, between one stage of life, which was relatively stable and secure and was left behind at "home" and in the past, and another, which was yet to come, but expectations about it were marked by uncertainty and possible anxiety. In-betweenness was a permanent condition of waiting for "that damned supper."

However, the guys in the band were "in-between" in another sense as well. Unlike many of their fellow refugees who were stuck in a secluded refugee milieu, they were also part of a specific Slovenian alternative (youth) cultural milieu, made up of several organisations, bands, arts cliques, individuals, etc. Yet, they were included not merely as musicians, but as refugee musicians, and so gained an insider position for being a specific type of outsiders – refugees. The musical recognition in Slovenia, although of great importance for their self-esteem, was therefore always also a specific kind of recognition, which kept their social mark of being refugees alive. It was in this very sense that Amir shouted *"Thank you, we're refugees"* at the MKNŽ concert (see above). In one way or another they were never entirely insiders: they were not "just" musicians or "just" refugees, but persistently "in-between" the two statuses. Their position was ambiguous, because it was never clear whether they were recognised for being good artists or for being refugee artists, just as it was not always clear whether they

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**31** Interestingly enough, the name of the artistic wing of Nešto između, Sprung, was again discovered by chance. It was picked randomly from a dictionary, but again it represents something that the young fellows were persistently striving for and could identify with – to "spring out" from the emplaced repetition of the refugee centre (see also Kozorog 2015: 26).

were recognised as refugees or as refugees with specific qualities. Nevertheless, it was personally important for them that they were recognized in the milieu where they sought asylum.

## REFUGEES STILL, AND AGAIN

This paper was written in 2015, during the time when many refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, etc. were crossing the area of former Yugoslavia. For the present situation it can provide some knowledge about ways of treatment of refugees. For example, it shows that refugees are not a monolithic group and that they have highly individual concerns, needs and aspirations, and that besides food, food for thought and for the heart is important too. It also clearly emphasises that specific organisations, although their background is not in humanitarian aid, can be a source of profound knowledge about (treatment of) such "foods". Nevertheless, I do not want to be naive by saying that the role of alternative (youth) culture organisations in the case of the Bosnian exile can be simply transplanted to the refugee situation that we are facing in Europe today. For example, young people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia had many things in common, such as a taste for Yugoslav rock, which is not necessarily the case with young people from other parts of the world. Nevertheless, youth nonconformism could still be recognized as an important motivating force in the effort to combat the emerging cultural misunderstandings and the fight against conformism in society.

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# Rokeri s Moravu and the Politics of Parody in Socialist Yugoslavia

Tanja Petrović

## THE RADICAL INTERVENTION OF ROKERI S MORAVU

The band Rokeri s Moravu (Rockers from the Morava River) first appeared on the Yugoslav stage in 1977 and stayed there until the end of Yugoslavia in 1991.[1] The group consisted of four male musicians: Boris Bizetić (the group's founder and leader), Zvonko Milenković, Branislav Anđelović and Branko Janković. They recorded 200 songs, all written and produced by Boris Bizetić, 19 LPs, and performed at 2000 concerts in Yugoslavia and abroad.

When Bizetić formed the Rokeri, he was already well known in the Yugoslav entertainment world as writer of light-pop songs (*šlageri*,

1 The group got together again in 2007 and released the album *Projekat* (*The Project*), but stopped playing shortly thereafter because of the death of singer Zvonko Milenković.

i.e. schlagers),[2] and a writer of soundtracks. Throughout his entire music career, which was decisively framed by what he achieved as a member of Rokeri s Moravu, Bizetić was eager to emphasize more artistic (and more serious?) aspects of his work.

Rokeri s Moravu made a radical intervention in the Yugoslav popular music and entertainment industry and are a unique phenomenon within that industry. Their music was characterized by a radical shift from the then-dominant style of newly-composed folk music,[3] which in its earlier phase had insisted on the reproduction of the ideal, nostalgic and romantic image of the Serbian village and its pastoral world.[4] Newly-composed folk music was a genre that had emerged in the 1950s as a consequence of major changes in Yugoslav society, including its modernization, urbanization and hybridization, in order to feed the cultural needs of the emerging working class and other cultural "mongrels", who represented the largest part of the population. According to Ana Hofman, newly-composed folk music "with its roots in traditional folk music (...) was a reflection *par excellence* of the socialist transformation from a rural to a modern industrial society" (Hofman 2013: 293). Exploring the lyrics of newly-composed folk music, Ivan Čolović interprets the relationship to folklore as an ideal model and this music as deviation from this ideal from a different vantage point; for Čolović, newly-composed folk songs are part of "the tradition of literary folklorism, singing in the folk spirit which has been present for more than two centuries" (Čolović 2000: 153). The dramatic changes taking place in socialist Yugoslavia in the second half of the 20th century were for a long time mainly ignored in this musical genre: according to Čolović, the early phase of the newly-composed folk-music was characterized by

> songs that are thematically and linguistically related to the village, its life and language. Many of these songs retained the traditional, idyllic

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2 'Ako jednom vidiš Mariju' ('If You Ever See Mary'), performed by Miki Jevremović, is the first recorded and probably the most famous song by Bizetić in this genre. On his website one can read that his songs have been recorded and performed by (among others) Đorđe Marjanović, Radmila Karaklaić, Dragan Stojnić, Olivera Katarina, Anica Zubović, Ljiljana Petrović, Ivan Bekjarev, Lane Gutović, Silvana Armenulić, Hanka Paldum, Mira Barjaktarević, ansambl "Tamburica 5", Mira Beširević, Vera Matović, Boban Zdravković, Rade Vučković, Miša Marković, Rale Ćajić, Halid Muslimović, Ajnur i Muhamed Serbezovski, Zorica Marković, Izvorinka Milošević, Maja Nikolić... (Bizetić n.d. a).

3 For more on this genre see Dragićević-Šešić 1994; Rasmussen 2002.

4 It would be wrong and misleading to treat newly-composed folk music as a homogenous genre, since it was characterized by the coexistence of very different musical, thematic and ideological tendencies throughout its history. Despite this internal diversity, it is nevertheless possible to argue that newly-composed folk music has remained limited within stereotypical thematic frameworks.

> and pastoral image of the village;[5] however, they were joined by an increasing number of songs that also contained some rough, realistic elements, that confronted ideas about the village with its real modern life. (Čolović 2000: 157)

A deeper look into the lyrics of these "realistic" songs, however, reveals that places such as *kafanas* (alcohol and coffee bars) or urban streets are only slightly indicated in these songs (Čolović 2000: 172), functioning merely as a background for illustrating personal dramas, most commonly caused by lost or unrequited love. Life in a city as such, or life in a village which has been significantly changed by modernization,[6] are not the main topic of these songs.[7]

Although the newly-composed folk songs offered an idealized, rustic image of village life and values, and emanated nostalgia for their loss, the language of these songs remained the neutral, standard idiom, and not the local dialects which would be more obviously "authentic" expressions of the locality and ruralness these songs eulogized. In its Serbian renditions, it did not reflect the variety of dialects found in Serbian villages and their linguistic authenticity (although it was at the same time romantically idealized by linguists, ethnographers, folklorists and others engaged in describing traditional life and customs). These songs were written in a neutral, standard Serbian idiom; the geographical affiliation of these songs was signalled by the specific lexicon, designating elements of traditional culture, but not on other linguistic levels.[8] Ivan Čolović also emphasizes the fact that the lyrics of the newly-composed songs "only exceptionally transcend the framework set by the Serbian standard language" (Čolović 2000: 186).

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5 As Ljerka Rasmussen points out, in its early phase, newly-composed folk music drew heavily on existing recordings of folk songs (2002: 31), while the label *izvorna muzika* ("original music") suggested authenticity and a clearly defined geographical and social background of these songs.

6 Here is how American anthropologist Joel Halpern describes the rapid transformation of a Serbian village in the 1950s and 1960s, which he observed during his fieldwork in Orašac: "The village clerk earnestly discusses means to get better reception on his TV screen, commenting that with all the good late shows it is hard to be at work at seven mornings. The school director polishes his 1952 Opel, recently acquired to replace a motocycle, and says he must manage to get to Belgrade to buy new reflectors for the headlights" (Halpern 1967: 304). "In 1966 the teachers, the agronomist, the priest, the health service attendant and some of the tractor drivers had all been in the village for but a short time (the village clerk and four state farm employees are of the village)" (Halpern 1967, 307).

7 There is a large body of literature that discusses the role of music in (de)stabilizing the urban-rural dichotomy in Yugoslav society both during the Yugoslav period and in its aftermath. See e.g. Rihtman-Auguštin 1984; Prica 1988; Muršič 2000; Kos 1972; Dragićević-Šešić1985, etc.

8 While they were not dialectologically inflected, these songs, on the other hand, clearly belonged to regional musical "dialects" and were classified into several "melodic dialects" (Bosnian, Montenegrin, Šumadian, South Serbian, East Serbian etc.) (Čolović 2000: 165).

The radical intervention of the group Rokeri s Moravu is therefore two-fold: both thematic and linguistic, and was indicated by the group's very name: they were "rockers" who intruded into the pastoral rustic world of the Serbian village in the Morava River Valley. And they consistently performed their songs in the dialect of this area – that is why the group is called Rokeri s Moravu (and not "Rokeri s Morave", which would be standard language form of the group's name).

Rokeri destroyed the idyllic, pastoral image of the Serbian village by bringing in elements of and references to global popular culture and singing about the modernizing, hybrid reality of the village life of the time. Their appearance and performances were characterized by eclecticism, hybridity, and a mixture of folklore elements with references to global culture that was increasingly present in the everyday lives of the citizens of socialist Yugoslavia in both towns and villages (*ja Tarzan a ti Džejn, lele dunje ranke...* [I am Tarzan, you are Jane...]). In their stage and media appearances, they combined traditional Serbian *šajkača* caps with fur coats, high-heeled shoes, pants with the pattern of the US flag, giant eye-glasses and baby dummies... Thematically, the songs of Rokeri s Moravu spoke about the big changes that were taking place due to the modernization of Yugoslav society: new technologies, TV shows, changes in traditional behaviour patterns, encounters with "western culture" upon leaving Yugoslavia to work abroad, etc. In their performances, they embodied "the Serbian peasant" and in their songs they described his rapidly changing world – but in a distinctively parodic way.

Parody was a central element of Rokeri's performances.[9] It is virtually impossible to misunderstand it for real/earnest content – both because of the "impossible" combinations in their texts, the way they dressed and their visual aesthetics,[10] and because of the language of their performances. Most of their lyrics were in the Kosovo-Resava

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9 On the global scale, Rokeri's appearance and performances may be related to the parody bands of the 1970s such as The Bonzo Dog Doo-Dah Band.

10 However, this does not imply that performances and lyrics of "serious" performers of newly-composed folk music were totally free of parody and self-irony: in 1970, Lepa Lukić was photographed for the cover of the magazine *TV revija* dressed as a queen, with a crown on her head and traditional Serbian *opanci* shoes on her feet. This photo was also used for the official poster of "Belgrade estrada". Lepa Lukić commented on this photo in the following way: "It was not me who crowned myself, nor did I do that seriously. And even if I did, I still have *opanci* on my feet, and that means something" (in Luković 1989: 208). With this statement she refused to take a clear position regarding the "seriousness" of this act and left readers with multiple possibilities to interpret it.

dialect of central Serbia. According to Boris Bizetić, he based the "language and pronunciation" of Rokeri on the idiom spoken between the towns of Ćuprija, Paraćin and Kruševac (Luković 1989: 256). Such a linguistic strategy was a major and unprecedented innovation in the musical landscape of the time. They were the first Yugoslav band to consistently use this dialect, and the first to sing about the world of the Serbian peasant using his own idiom. Paradoxically, this linguistic strategy did not contribute to providing an authentic image of that world, but, on the contrary, produced parodic distance and a humorous effect. Nikolas Coupland (2001: 350) notes that "since their performer needs to cue frame-shift and emphasize dissonant social meanings, stylized utterances are often emphatic and hyperbolic realizations of their targeted styles and genres". However, this is not the case with the performances in dialect by Rokeri s Moravu. While in visual terms their performances were exaggerated, caricaturized and as such signalling a clear distance from assumed authenticity (most clearly expressed by performers of newly-composed folk music dressing in traditional folk costumes), Rokeri's use of dialect is not characterized by strong stylization and is quite close to the general perception of how the "Morava dialect" sounds. In a way, they even insisted on authenticity in their use of dialect: Bizetić often points out that he was born in Belgrade, but that all his relatives come from the Pomoravlje ("near the Morava") region, and that Zvonko Milenković, the second most important person in the group, was born in the village of Kukljin near Kruševac.

In spite of the absence of any salient modification of dialect and exaggeration of its use in songs and performances, the language of Rokeri contributed to the parodic effect no less than the way they dressed and acted on stage. Their "Morava dialect", although neutral and even "authentic" to an extent, clearly indicates their distance from the performed content and the gap between the actors on stage (*altera persona*) and who they really are (*propria persona*) (see Coupland 2001). There are many reasons for this unexpected parodic effect of the local idiom. First, we need to view the performances of Rokeri s Moravu within the broader context of newly-composed folk music, which was at the peak of its popularity at the moment they appeared on the scene. Rokeri's parodic performances offer a critical commentary on the representational models of the Serbian village in newly-composed folk music. The use of the dialect, uncharacteristic for this genre, also functions as a distanced critique.

One also needs to keep in mind the specific status of the Kosovo-Resava dialect within linguistic landscape of Serbian society. This

dialect, together with other old-Štokavian dialects[11] of south-eastern Serbia, is considered an index[12] of rurality, but also a marker of low culture and a linguistic marker of the unsuccessfully urbanized and modernized rural masses (Petrović 2015). The label "southern dialects" is usually attached to them in colloquial Serbian. Although these dialects cover a geographically wide area and differ significantly from each other and belong to different groups according to linguists' classifications, they are all characterised by their divergence from what is perceived to be the Serbian standard idiom. The differences mostly lie in the reduced flective or predominantly analytical case system (vs. seven cases in standard Serbian), different position of emphasis and reduction of the system of accents (a pitch accent or two descending tones vs. four different accents in standard Serbian). Seen as distant from the standard and geographically peripheral, these dialects are subject to the "usual" processes through which unequal power relations between the centre and periphery are exercised. However, through the cultural processes taking place during the modern history of Serbia (from the beginning of the 20th century onwards), a firm link between these territorially defined idioms and low cultural taste had been established.

In the period of rapid modernization, the "southern" dialects of Serbia became signifiers of failed modernity, semi-urbanity and the impossibility of the (rural) masses to ascend the ladder of social prestige. Two iconic embodiments of these social perceptions were the figure of the peasant who moves from village to town and the Gastarbeiter, a person who left a rural area to work in a Western European country. These figures symbolically marked the period of Yugoslav socialism in the second half of the 20th century, characterized by rapid industrialization, urbanization and population movements. In the subsequent era of dismantling the socialist system, the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the global wave of deindustrialization, another figure that joined the previous two in the gallery of "rurban mongrels" (*rurbani polutani*) is the figure of the morally corrupt, uneducated, grotesque businessman/politician, trying to navigate the muddy waters of the Serbian "transition".

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**11** Štokavian dialects are divided into new-Štokavian, old-Štokavian and middle-Štokavian. The system of accentuation is the basis for this classification: new-Štokavian dialects have four accents while old-Štokavian dialects only contain two falling tones. Middle-Štokavian dialects have only one, a pitch accent (see Okuka 2008).

**12** My use of index here draws on the concept of *indexicality* that refers to ability of language to reveal "contextual factors about speakers, settings, attitudes, orientations, stances, etc." (Cavanaugh 2012: 9). According to Jillian Cavanaugh, "indexes are like delicate anchors that connect the non-referential forms of language and the context, both the immediate micro-context of speakers' relationships and unfolding histories, and the larger macro-context of politics, economics, and institutional power" (Cavanaugh 2012: 9).

In popular culture, this figure is personified by Srećko Šojić, a character in several TV series and films from the 1980s onwards. He was created by Siniša Pavić and interpreted by the actor Milan Gutović. Šojić comes "from the provinces", speaks a "southern dialect" and is involved in murky business dealings and bizarre political projects. His lifestyle is characterized by an absence of good taste and his continuous but futile attempts to become part of "high society" are funny and grotesque.[13]

"Southern" dialects are symbolically linked to these three figures as their means of expression and the index of their social status. These three figures, however, may also be seen as cultural personifications of the hybrid, in-between, ambiguous states in which the majority of citizens of both socialist Yugoslavia and post-Yugoslav post-socialist societies could easily recognize their own position. The modernization and de-agrarization of Yugoslavia and the introduction of modern technologies affected not only the peasants moving to the towns, but virtually everyone. These changes came hand in hand with cultural and other influences from the West, to which Yugoslav socialist society was more open than the rest of the Eastern Bloc. In addition, late socialism, as Alexei Yurchak (2006) argues, was characterized by a large gap between form and content, which opened a space for very different inscriptions of meanings that did not necessarily imply absolute distancing/critique or identification/support. And when socialism ended and Yugoslavia disintegrated in the early 1990s, most of the citizens of the new states faced a reality in which, just like Srećko Šojić, they had to invent survival strategies and find their way in the chaotic, muddy world of local politics and economy.

When Rokeri started their career in the 1970s, "southern dialects" were absent from the public sphere.[14] The TV series *Ljubav na seoski način* (*Love in the Country Style*, Lazić 1970), Dragoslav Mihailović's novel *Petrijin venac* (*Petria's Wreath*, Mihailović 1975) and Srđan Karanović's film based on that novel (Karanović 1980) introduced "the Morava dialect," in which the Rokeri also sang, to popular culture and literature, but these filmic and literary works did not challenge the established language ideology and did not depart from the familiar and expected representations of village life and its

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**13** The cinematic biography of Srećko Šojić makes him unique character on the popular culture scene in Serbia: he figures importantly in several TV series and films over a period of more than 30 years, from the movie *Laf u srcu* (*A Great Guy at Heart*) (Pavić 1981), to popular series of films *Tesna koža* (*A Tight Spot*) (Pavić 1982–1992), to the recent TV series *Bela lađa* (*The White Ship*) (Pavić 2006–2012).

**14** In an interview, Boris Bizetić states that "in the 1970s, there was a dispute in the city [of Belgrade] about whether the language of the Rokeri's songs really existed or not" (Grujić 2000).

protagonists. Rokeri s Moravu not only brought this dialect to popular music and made it "visible" in the public sphere, they also introduced it to audiences all over socialist Yugoslavia (see Bizetić n.d. b).

Rokeri chose to perform in a clearly ideologically positioned dialect that triggered a predictable set of culturally rooted associations and values (ruralness, backwardness, premodernity, etc.). Establishing a direct link between such a distinctive way of speaking on the one hand and the modernization, hybridization and globalization of everyone's lifeworlds in the second part of the 20th century on the other further contributes to the parodic and grotesque character of Rokeri's performances.

Despite the fact that Rokeri's parody was deeply linked to the ideologies, regimes of representation and power relations ingrained in Serbian society, they were essentially a pan-Yugoslav phenomenon. In the biography of this group, there are several facts that suggest that their meaning and importance largely surpassed both the contemporary local Serbian cultural context and the "usual" dialectics between urban centre and rural periphery. On the Yugoslav level, Rokeri s Moravu were selling more copies of their vinyl records than any other band from Serbia, and their concerts were attracting the largest audiences. They received their first "Oscar of Popularity" award in 1982, and also the "Jugoton Golden Bird" award, for their first million LPs sold (Southentik crew 2013).

One important reason for the popularity of Rokeri s Moravu and their presence in the homes of citizens throughout socialist Yugoslavia was their frequent appearances on TV programmes. Their performances had a very significant visual aspect, and that certainly influenced their popularity across Yugoslavia. Although they mainly played with the prevalent stereotypes about Serbian peasants and their experiences with modernization, Rokeri's repertoire also included songs about other Yugoslav nations and nationalities: as noted on a Slovenian blog, Rokeri "were the first and by all means the most important band which had ever mentioned Šentilj in a song" (Pigac 2011).

Boris Bizetić also stressed that "Rokeri were not a local product, and that it was no coincidence that they lasted so long". He emphasized the pan-Yugoslav dimension of their popularity:

> We were received in Serbia with the same enthusiasm as in Zagreb. There we once had two concerts with an audience of 14,000 in a single day. In Belgrade, we had concerts every day for a week – this shows that I managed to 'resonate' with the soul of ordinary people. But these were not just low-culture people. A lot of intellectuals were happy to hear us, they liked our music. (After Luković 1989: 256)

Although parody is quite easy to detect in the performances and appearance of Rokeri s Moravu, it is far from easy to unambiguously judge what their intentions were and what effects their performances had on their audience. The main interpretations of what they did during their two decades long career can be classified under two basic narratives. The first narrative criticizes and ridicules the "cultural mongrelness" of those who constituted majority of Rokeri's audience: the "peasants" who left their villages for the cities, and those who stayed in the villages but embraced a new eclectic lifestyle; the "gastarbeiters" who left for Western Europe in order to find work. In the second narrative, music production of Rokeri's music is interpreted as an unwelcome deviation from the ideal image of rural life and as an insult to the traditional culture which lies at the core of the Serbian national soul. According to Petar Luković, Boris Bizetić has been accused by many of "vilifying the Serbian peasant, the Serbian village and the Serbian soul" and of "consciously caricaturing 'brave' and 'fearless' people" (Luković 1989: 253). At the same time, Rokeri were frequently accused of Serbian nationalism because they wore parts of the Serbian national costume, despite the fact that they combined them with pants patterned with the American flag, giant sunglasses and baby's dummies.

A person who has crossed, but never completely and definitely, the physical and ideological line between village and city, between the premodern and the modern, is simultaneously the main subject and the target audience of Rokeri's performances. Bizetić himself said that

> ...his business strategy was based on an old theory of Djordje Marjanović's, who was saying that kids leave villages and go to towns for high school, then they go to the big city for college. That gives you ten years to tie them to your music. (In Grujić 2000)

According to this interpretation, the main consumer of Rokeri's parody is simultaneously the object of that parody. The band itself was subject to this same ambivalent attitude: everyone agreed that there was a critical and parodic distance in their performances, but despite that, Rokeri were frequently equated with the values they parodied: they were considered musical "trash" and an expression of bad taste.

Parody as a discursive and performative tool opens up a space for various "inscriptions" of values and different relationships between the authors, the objects of parody and the audience. As Nikolas Coupland says, stylization results in utterances whereby "we speak 'as if this is me' or 'as if I owned this voice' or 'as if I endorsed what this voice says,'"

but "the reassessment of whether this utterance is 'really mine' rather than 'me playing' or 'me subverting' can often be left deliberately unclear" (Coupland 2001: 349). For this reason, critics and interpreters of Rokeri's music have seen them in different, often conflicting ways: for some, they were "trash" and "collective psychoanalytical therapy where fresh city dwellers are getting rid of their rural background, led by their guru Boris Bizetić" (Nebojša Pajkić), while others compared them with the Sex Pistols (Vlatko Fras) and considered their music punk (Željko Bebek), or thought that they were the leaders of a rural hippy movement (Zlatko Šćepanović) (see Grujić 2000; Pančić 2005; Šćepanović 2009).

The traditional Serbian *šajkača* hat, the folk costume and direct references to traditional culture in combination with elements of global pop culture, and also the dialect which they used, provided a basis for "accusations" of "ridiculing Serbian language and tradition" (Grujić 2000; see also Pančić 2005). Rokeri s Moravu were labelled by many as a "public embarrassment and the instrument of someone's anti-Serbian politics" (Luković 1989: 256).[15] With their songs, appearance and performances, Rokeri s Moravu deconstructed the idealized image of the Serbian village and opposed the "kitschy idealization of the village as such, of *zavičaj* (birthplace)[16] understood in the most narrow sense, of everything domestic and familiar, but abandoned due to cruel destiny and constantly dreamed of" (Pančić 2005). Such idealization was a constant in the academic endeavours of dialectology, ethnography, and folkloristics (Plas 2007), but also in the most widespread form of popular culture, namely newly-composed folk music. The idealized image of the Serbian village was quite disconnected from the hybrid forms of actual village life. Because of this, the parodic, somewhat grotesque image of Serbian peasants offered by Rokeri was more "real" than the "recycled clichés produced by both high Academic National Culture on the one hand and newly-composed folk music on the other" (Pančić 2005). This "realness" of parody further complicates the complex principles of identification and distance, critique and sympathy that characterize any parodic discourse. They also show that none of prevalent

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**15** Writing about the "atrophying" of folk literature in Montenegro, Novak Kilibarda (2012: 441; first published in 1985) maintains that Rokeri s Moravu are a synthesis of "modern day ridiculing of rural life" and that "the rock and roll spirit has infiltrated into all realms of Montenegrin villages. It efficiently expels not only traditional folk songs, but also all other spiritual norms that shaped our rural culture. Rokeri s Moravu are a synthesis of the process that is taking place in Montenegrin villages more than in any other part of Yugoslavia. Rokeri s Moravu are not the cause of that process, but its consequence."

**16** For discourses on *zavičaj* in Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav popular music, see Baker 2015.

narratives about Rokeri s Moravu can thoroughly explain the meaning of their music – it can be reduced neither to bad taste (and its critique) nor to ridiculing folk traditions and the Serbian national soul that inhabits the traditional Serbian village.

## ROKERI'S PARODY AND THE YUGOSLAV SOCIALIST CONDITION

The characters of the Serbian peasants that the four entertainers played in their performances cannot be reduced to one-dimensional, grotesque characters who are exclusively subjects of laughter and ridicule. They are also witty, and essentially modern in their hybridity: Rokeri included globally known references in their performances, and expressed a style of humour that exceeds the affinities of "aspiring semi-urbanites". Their style and look, which combines the recognizable traditional clothes and moustache of the Serbian peasant with Beatles-style fur jackets and leather bags, but also transgender clothing, point to a complex relationship between the performers and characters they play, and warn that the identification between them is never absolute and unambiguous.

In my view, this is the place to look for an explanation for their popularity which greatly surpasses the local Serbian context and encompasses the whole of former Yugoslavia (and the Yugoslav diaspora of the time), and for the fact that people far away from the context of specifically Serbian linguistic and cultural stratifications very much enjoyed their performances. Watching Rokeri on stage and listening to their parody, they could simultaneously distance from and identify with what they saw and heard. They could enjoy ridiculing what was being subjected to parody, but also recognize their own world and condition in that subject.

Researchers of parody and related discursive means point to ambiguity, which lies at the core of their functioning, and the multiple possibilities for establishing a relationship between the author, the subject of the parody and its audience. Humour, which is an important ingredient of Rokeri's performances, alleviates critiques (see Fernandez and Taylor Huber 2001; Molé 2013; Oushakine 2011) of "bad taste" and "civilizational mongrelness", simultaneously enabling a certain kind of intimacy (see Klumbytė 2011; Mbembe 1992; Wedeen 1999) between the critic and the object of critique. The dynamic, unstable and ambiguous relationship between the

author of a parody and the object of that parody opens up a wide space for negotiation of additional and alternative meanings and cultural references.

In the hybrid and parodic performances by Rokeri s Moravu, the citizens of socialist Yugoslavia recognized their own reality and their position within that reality. Rokeri's music and performances offered citizens both critical, humorous distance, and intimacy and sympathy, which was a positioning quite characteristic of citizens of late socialist societies (Yurchak 2006; Boyer and Yurchak 2010). This explains their nationwide popularity and long-term success: if Rokeri had been only about ridiculing the localized Serbian "rural mentality", their popularity would have been exhausted in a much shorter time. The unusual vitality of the TV and film character Srećko Šojić can be explained in the same light: in this character, many recognized their own "transitional" reality and position. Therefore, Šojić's popularity outside the borders of post-Yugoslav Serbia comes as no surprise.

Rokeri s Moravu's performances were part of a broader tendency in Yugoslav popular culture at the time to use the stylization of dialects to parodically expose and interpret the social, political and cultural realities of Yugoslav socialism. They provided the citizens of socialist Yugoslavia with the possibility to distance themselves from their reality and to laugh at it through parody, while simultaneously enjoying the hybridity and eclecticism of that reality. The specific dialect in which Rokeri performed their songs played important role in this process of simultaneous identification and distancing. It became an index of grotesque and hybrid reality; the fact that this dialect was highly distinctive and quite different from the standard language enabled simultaneous detachment (and parodic distance) and familiarity and intimacy. This use of dialect as a means to express a double, ambiguous positioning and to grasp the ambiguities and hybridity of the modern age is somewhat unexpected, given its fixed position in the prevalent language ideology in Serbia, where it is linked to ruralness, backwardness and premodernity. Thanks to Rokeri s Moravu, the old-Štokavian dialects spoken in south-eastern Serbia have become a tool for expressing essentially postmodern views and perceptions and to effectively capture the postmodern condition in a framework that significantly exceeds the geographical area where these dialects are spoken.

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# Popular Music Under the Siege: Patriotic Songs in Sarajevo

Petra Hamer

*Mujo is swinging on a swing in besieged Sarajevo and enjoying the moment.*
*Haso comes by and asks: "Mujo, what are you doing?"*
*Mujo replies: "Nothing important, I'm just messing with the snipers."*
(Sarajevan street joke)[1]

In 1990 and 1991, the people of all six republics that were formerly united under the banner of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia took part in their first multi-party elections. In Slovenia and Croatia, and later in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, referendums were held where they voted for or against staying in Yugoslavia. The events that took place afterwards were the result of a decade-long

1 "This sort of joking played an important role in Sarajevans' resistance to the abnormality of the circumstances" (Maček 2007: 45).

economic crisis and nationalistic politics which led to the rise of nationalism and war. The war that started in Slovenia in June 1991 expanded to Croatia, and in 1992 to Bosnia-Herzegovina, where it lasted for three and a half years and affected millions. And so, instead of playing in the yard, swimming in the sea and sunbathing, the people of those newly-established independent countries, especially in Bosnia's capital Sarajevo, were hiding in cellars, waiting in lines for bread, water and humanitarian aid, and listening to the radio. Reports from the battlefield were accompanied with popular patriotic songs and *sevdalinkas*.[2] This gave people the feeling of belonging to the land that was being attacked.

In this paper I will focus on one segment of Sarajevan music production – patriotic songs that were popular from 1992 to 1995. The musical examples I have chosen were often mentioned by the interviewees I met during my fieldwork in Sarajevo. The interviewees were not homogeneous in terms of age, gender, education, national and religious affiliation. What they all had in common was the fact that they all lived in Sarajevo at the time of the siege. I am also interested in the functions of music and how they are reflected in songs. The ethnomusicologist Svanibor Pettan studied the functions of music during the war in Croatia and defined three different but very particular functions of music in wartime. His examples showed that music was made for those who were under attack, for those who were attacking and for those who were not directly involved (Pettan 1998). During my fieldwork in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina (2011–2013) I explored the functions of music in the same context, during wartime, and came to the following conclusions. My interviewees pointed out that the music they were listening to, and some even performing, had two main functions – resistance (*muzika kao otpor*) and healing force (*muzika kao lijek*). The following paper thus focuses on these two functions. Resistance can be understood in many contexts: resistance against the enemy, against a life you do not want to live, against politics you do not approve of or against the fact that you had too much free time with nothing to do. Another aspect of resistance is survival itself (Bartulović 2013: 170). Music as a healing force can be understood as music that gives you consolation and moral support in hard times. The interviewees agreed that each of them had their own genre of music that he/she understood as resistance and as an agent of healing. Although most of them claimed patriotic songs as music of resistance, the interviewee

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**2** A *sevdalinka* is a type of love song associated with the urban Muslim population in Bosnia (Milošević 1964).

Miroslav also pointed out that *sevdalinkas* can, under special circumstances, also be songs of resistance (see Hamer 2013: 46). Hasiba said that for her, *sevdalinkas* were a cure. For musicologist Branka, classical music was a cure.

First I will outline the events that happened in the beginning of 1992 in Sarajevo. Then I will present the functions of music classified by anthropologist Alan P. Merriam, ethnomusicologist Svanibor Pettan and myself. Then I will focus on electronic media, specifically on radio and television in Sarajevo, where I am interested in their role in the process of popularization of patriotic songs. Lastly I will analyse the lyrics of the patriotic songs that became popular during the war and investigate their functions.

## "WE ARE FOR PEACE!"

The people of Bosnia-Herzegovina voted for their independence in a referendum on 1 March 1992 (Thompson 1992: 318–319). The results were announced the next day, and members of the Serbian paramilitary forces set up barricades in the city. The snipers took over the streets near the parliament building (see Thompson 1999: 210–212) where on 6 April a peaceful demonstration[3] took place (Bartulović 2013: 167–168; Malcolm 1996: 231–236). A huge crowd demonstrated and shouted: "We are for peace!" They demanded that Bosnia-Herzegovina remain multiethnic and multicultural and that the government continue to respect "Tito's legacy of brotherhood and unity" (Maček 2001: 200). Snipers hiding in the old Jewish cemetery started firing at the crowd and hit their first targets, Suada Dilberović and Olga Sučić. In the following days, heavy artillery and sniper activity in the surrounding hills continued around the clock. Water, gas and electricity were shut down and supplied to the households sometimes for only a few hours each day. Food was running out, medical supplies were gone. People were leaving the town and trying to escape

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3 Many anti-war events were held a year before this, not only in Sarajevo but also in other cities. One of the largest took place on 28 August 1991 in the Sarajevan concert hall Zetra, and was called 'Yutel Za Mir' ('Yutel For Peac'). More than 20,000 people attended the concert, and more than 50,000 listened from outside the venue. Rade Šerbedžija, Bajaga i Instruktori, Crvena Jabuka, Goran Bregović, Haris Džinović, EKV, Dino Merlin, Indexi, Regina and Plavi orkestar are just some famous acts who performed at the event, where it was clearly stated, "We are for peace, we don't want war" (Yutel za 2014; Perković 2011: 52–53). Protests for peace were also held in other cities, like Belgrade.

from the war. They left disappointed and humiliated (Perković 2011: 101). Many stayed because they did not believe that further escalation of violence was possible (Maček 2001: 201). My interviewee Violeta remembered the time of the aggression:

> *I lived with my parents in a three-storey building. We spent most of the time hidden in a cellar*[4] *with our neighbours and we shared everything: food, water, coffee, heating. I didn't go to school because it was dangerous so I studied at home. Learning things by candle-light was tough. It was even harder to memorise something when you hear explosions and feel the detonations near you. But I really wanted to learn and not get behind in my knowledge. We received humanitarian aid once a week. We never spent as much time together as we did in almost four years of war. I was bored a lot because I had to stay at home all the time. We had an old guitar which was totally out of tune. Nonetheless we sang all kinds of songs, ranging from sevdalinkas to popular songs from Bijelo dugme, Parni Valjak, Tereza Kesovija. We did not care about the nationality of the singer. We were always listening to the news and patriotic songs on the radio. I like those.*

Violeta spoke about everyday life under the siege, free time and national identity. National identity is a part of collective identity and enables orientation in space and time (Anderson in Bartulović 2013: 136). According to my interviewees, national and religious belonging weren't considered important before the war. During the period of aggression, the segregation into Bosnians, Croats and Serbs or Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox became more important and visible thanks to ethnoreligious politics. As Maček writes, although "/.../ many Sarajevans resisted the pressure to make ethnoreligious identity the basis for the state, the war itself enforced the primacy of national identities" (2009: 32). My older interviewees said they never had any free time. They always had something to do. Some still went to work, others took care of the household.[5] Teenagers often said that their parents didn't let them out because it was dangerous and they had nothing to do at home or in the shelter. Therefore fighting against boredom was also considered a form of resistance in life under siege.

After three and a half years of bombing, dying and suffering, a general peace agreement was signed in Dayton, Ohio on 21 November

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4 Some Sarajevans called those scared people who were hiding in cellars the derogative term *podrumaši* (cellar people), as they believed that such behaviour was not necessary "/.../ because in war there was no way to protect oneself" (Maček 2009: 44).

5 For more about everyday life and household relationships see Maček 2009: 95–119, 2007: 39–57.

1995. This agreement was officially signed on 14 December 1995 in Paris by all of the parties involved: the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, the president of Croatia, Franjo Tuđman and the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milošević. Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognized as a sovereign state consisting of two nationally homogenised entities that were produced by the military violence: the Muslim-Croat Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (the Federation, 51%) and the Serbian part, called Republika Srbska (RS, 49%) (Malcolm 1996: 268; Jansen 2011: 46). Popular patriotic songs were removed from radio and TV broadcasts and were under strict embargo by the international community because of their inappropriate lyrics. I asked my interviewees about the embargo and Hasiba replied:

> *You should know that our patriotic songs and their lyrics were not hostile or provocative or even nationalistic. They sang about us, our homeland, about our pain, suffering, and how we must survive. They are full of emotion and pain but also of optimism and positive thinking.*

## FUNCTIONS OF MUSIC

We (ethno)musicologists, anthropologists and ethnologists explore and write about music, "the living and ever-changing organism" (Pettan 2002: 181), its meanings and functions in our lives. Alan P. Merriam elaborated on ten different functions of music. He developed a theory and methodology for studying music from an anthropological perspective with anthropological methods, where he claimed that song lyrics were among the most obvious sources for understanding human behaviour (Merriam 2000: 149). The ten functions of music are briefly presented below.

Music as a function of human expression provides a vehicle for the expression of ideas and emotions. It is a part of social movements in which individuals seek to express emotion, social and/or political pleasure or displeasure. The function of aesthetic enjoyment involves contemplation of musical expression and has the power to evoke responses present in music in general. Music entertains and engages a person's attention. Another function very close to this one is the function of physical response, since music evokes dancing and other activities involving movement. We know that music is not a universal language, but is shaped in terms of the culture in which it is produced. This function of communication also plays a very important role in my study. Music symbolizes or represents cultural values. The remaining

functions all refer to social norms, the validation of social institutions, and contributions to the stability of culture and the integration of society (Merriam 2000: 167–181).

Where Merriam elaborated on the functions of music in general, Pettan (1998) focused on specific functions that he observed in his research on the Croatian War of Independence. His analysis of music covers both the processes of music-making and its final products – the songs. He speaks of the "official" and "alternative" domains of music. The first comprised professional musicians, while the alternative domain was made up of amateurs (Pettan 1998: 24–25). He outlined three specific functions of music during the Croatian war: music of encouragement was intended for soldiers on the front lines and civilians in the shelters, music of provocation and humiliation was directed towards the enemy, and music oriented towards those that were not directly involved was a call for involvement (Pettan 1998: 13).

## MUSIC AS RESISTANCE AND MUSIC AS A CURE

Living and surviving under siege was quite an art. But Sarajevans, who are known for their stubbornness, tried to live as normally as possible (Maček 2007, 2009). Miroslav Prstojević wrote:

> /.../ Groups and individuals create whatever they used to create before the siege. In impossible circumstances they produce films, write books, publish newspapers, produce radio programs, design postcards, stage exhibitions, performances, make blueprints for rebuilding the city, found new banks, organize fashion shows, shoot photographs, celebrate holidays, put on make-up /.../. (1993: 89)

During the war in Sarajevo, music was considered a medium in which individuals and groups could voice their perceptions of the situation. Patriotic songs expressed loyalty to and support for the Bosnian army, promoted and glorified brave soldiers, battles and military units, praised successes on the battlefield, national heroes and the homeland. With patriotic songs the soldiers and civilians would overcome the difficult moments of loss, grief and fear. Resistance manifested itself through concerts, musical festivals and various solo performances. The interviewees pointed out that popular patriotic music broadcast on radio and TV was understood as a form of resistance, and the music they listened to at home (which could be of different genres) was considered a cure. My interviewee Hasiba said:

> *I was a professional singer, singing our traditional song sevdalinka. Before the aggression, in the eighties, I was invited to record them for the Radio Sarajevo archives. That was a special honour for me. Sevdalinkas have always been special to me, I grew up singing them and they are a part of me. In the time of aggression upon my land and people I also sang them because this musical genre became very popular. In my opinion sevdalinkas consoled people. Many patriotic songs were written and sung as well. I sang them to soldiers on the front lines, to patients in hospitals, to my family and friends. Music kept us alive. The patriotic songs were mostly so vivid, full of passion, while sevdalinkas are calm, peaceful and romantic.*

She pointed out two of the functions of music, music as resistance and music as a cure. To her, the patriotic songs were understood as a form of resistance, with optimistic lyrics and simple melodies that were easy to remember and sing along with. *Sevdalinkas* were understood as a form of healing, usually sung at home in private. Compared to patriotic songs, *sevdalinkas* were harder to learn and remember because of the long epic lyrics, Turkish expressions and melismatic melodies (Milošević 1964). My interviewee Branka said:

> *Music helped us survive the aggression. In certain moments I sang. For me personally, classical music saved me in the moments of solitude when I sat down at the piano and played. I was in the world of music and got the energy to go on. This was my music therapy. I believe that music has the power to heal.*

Another interviewee, Nedim, said:

> *First we needed music as a cure so that we could function normally, so that we could keep our minds clear, and then we could fight back using weapons or music. For me concerts with rock and metal music were like therapy. I attended them when I could. Most of them were held in a place called Sloga, because it was in the cellar and hidden from the snipers. For my mother sevdalinkas were a cure, especially Šehidski rastanak [The Martyr's Departure] by Safet Isović, because my father was a šehid.*[6]

And again, each individual had/has their own genre that represents a form of resistance or healing. For Branka, classical music represented a form of healing, and for Nedim it was metal music. They both agreed that patriotic music was an important aspect of everyday life under siege and was understood as a form of resistance.

Of course, in certain contexts music can perform more than one function, and on some occasions it is almost impossible to define

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**6** A fallen Muslim soldier, i.e. a martyr (Bougarel 2007).

the main one of a specific tune. How can the main function of music be recognized, and how can it be understood? For some, *sevdalinkas* performed the function of healing, for some it was just old music that he or she did not like. If we want to understand music from a scientific perspective we will have to "develop multifactorial and contextual analysis through a certain kind of phenomenological reduction" (Muršič 1996: 69).

## ELECTRONIC MEDIA DURING THE SIEGE

Electronic media in Sarajevo were not just a source of information from the battlefield, but were also used for entertainment and were also often used for various kinds of political propaganda. Sugarman writes that in the Yugoslav wars, all of the national groups used electronic media such as radio, television, music tapes and videos for all kinds of propaganda (2010: 17). During the war, the media in Sarajevo worked under extremely difficult conditions. Considering the lack of everything (electricity, technical equipment, personnel), one would expect that the radio and TV programmes would be depleted and that newspapers and magazines would not be printed, published and distributed, but exactly the opposite happened: a great number of magazines was published and despite the shortage of electric power the TV and radio stations broadcast their programmes. The newspaper *Oslobođenje*[7] found its way to the people every day (Thompson 1999: 241–242). Electronic media were more popular than print media because, as my interviewee Aleksandar pointed out, it was much easier to find batteries for a radio than to go out and look for a newspaper vendor. At that time there were some differences between the programmes of the privately-owned radio and TV stations and those supported and financed by the government. The main government-controlled stations were Radio Sarajevo and TV Sarajevo (after 1992 renamed TV BiH), where they played patriotic music and *sevdalinkas* (see Maček 2009: 136–139). *Sevdalinkas* and even *ilahijas*[8] were constructed into a symbol of Muslim national identity through a conversion from a

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7 This newspaper, literally translated as *Liberation,* was the only newspaper published throughout the war (Maček 2009:137). It is written in both Latin and Cyrillic script, symbolising a common Bosnian-Herzegovinian heritage (Bartulović 2013: 262). The newspaper was first published as an antifascist publication during the Second World War. According to my interviewees it was published every day during the war.

8 Muslim religious hymns.

private/religious form into popular music (Laušević 2000: 293). The main reason why patriotic songs and *sevdalinkas* were produced and broadcast on the national radio and TV was the re-creation of the national identity based on the Muslim religion, and as Dubravka Žarkov argues, the media played an important role in the construction of the ethno-national identity (Baker 2010: 14).

My interviewee Tamara, a well-known Bosnian ethnomusicologist and a professor at the Sarajevo Academy of Music, worked for Radio Sarajevo (Radio of Bosnia-Herzegovina) during the war. She remembers that the programme was broadcast live all the time. The lack of a labour force compelled them to play old radio shows because they could not produce a sufficient amount of programming to fill 24 hours. The programme mainly consisted of news reports from battlefields and shows where *sevdalinkas* and patriotic songs were played (see also Karača-Beljak 2008: 132–134). At that time, Tamara often wondered about the role of the media – whether it was only used to spread information. She was asking herself what position music should be in compared to information, what kind of music should be broadcast, and who was listening to the radio programme. As Laušević wrote:

> It is no coincidence whatsoever that all sides involved in the aggression have revived their traditional music genres in order to accelerate and awaken nationalist feelings. They were creating new national sounds while at the same time exploiting popular music in order to lift the morale of young soldiers. (2000: 296)

The censorship was so strong that Serbian music was not included in the programme of the national radio and TV stations. Moreover, one radio station, Radio M, was even attacked by the Bosnian army for playing Serbian songs (Jeffs 2005: 4). In addition to self-censorship, a cleansing and ethnic labelling of all music occurred on most of the radio and TV stations (Laušević 2000: 290). So a *sevdalinka* with a *saz*[9] became the Bosnian national song and instrument, epic songs with a *gusle*[10] Serbian, and a *poskočica*[11] with a *tamburica*[12] Croatian (Laušević 2000: 293; Bonifačić 1995; Baker 2010: 58-63). Along with all this, there was a media war going on (Muršič 1999: 186).

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**9** A long-necked lute that was introduced to Bosnia during the Ottoman era. It is used as a solo instrument, or to accompany *sevdalinkas*.

**10** A simple one-string short-necked bowed lute used for musical background in long epic songs.

**11** A lively song or dance.

**12** A plucked lute of various sizes.

Critical of the government and therefore "the enemy within the state" (Jeffs 2005: 5) was Radio Zid (Radio Wall), the only radio station in town that was fighting against everything that was considered primitive and rural in society, behaviour, music and style (Thompson 1999: 238). The music played by Radio Zid was not directly aimed at the enemy positioned outside the city but against, as Aleksandar called it, *"the inner enemy – abnormality and rurality"*, and the government that saw the radio station and its staff as a threat to their ethnoreligious ideal. Radio Zid was promoting multiculturalism and was therefore against all nationalistic ideas and the war itself (Jeffs 2005: 5). The concert 'Rock Under the Siege', held during the war on 14 January 1995, brought together alternative bands from Bosnia and Herzegovina and was held in the basement of the Sloga discotheque. While Radio Sarajevo was encouraging musicians to write patriotic pop songs and sing about the beauty of their homeland, the brave soldiers, commanders and moral responsibility, Radio Zid supported the opposite. It encouraged the expression of urgent issues of the youth within the genres of hard rock, metal and punk, with lyrics reflecting alternative views, using darker lyrics sung in English. These songs were full of cynical statements and black humour (Jeffs 2005; Kovač 2011). The aforementioned musical genres quickly became popular, and Radio Zid assumed its role as the main representative of the Sarajevan popular-alternative musical scene (see Hamer 2013: 25–26). Again, it is possible to sense the idea of music as resistance.

It was not only the lyrics and the melody; videos also played an important role in the increasing popularity of those to whom the songs were dedicated. And here the TV stations put in a great deal of effort. In August 1992, Sarajevan television (under the new name RTVBiH) released a music video for the song 'Vojnik sreće' ('Soldier of Fortune') in which they glorified the brave soldiers and presented stereotypical images of manhood. The aim of the videos was to boost the morale of young soldiers (Laušević 2000: 297) and to present the beauty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nedim remembered that the war programme of government-controlled TV stations consisted of news from the battlefields, a morning programme for the children and reruns of shows from the pre-war time, while other TV stations aired movies, music and amusement shows (see also Thompson 1999: 233). He liked to watch the 'Vojnik sreće' video, because it gave him a feeling of safety. Branka added to Nedim's words by saying:

> *I was working at RTVBiH where we broadcast a lot of pre-war shows because we did not want the programme to fall apart. We had to be positive and*

*optimistic for the people watching us. We made the show 'Za bolje sutra' ('For a Better Tomorrow') because we believed that the war would end. Our programme contained a lot of music including sevdalinkas and patriotic songs. We also filmed some videos for patriotic songs. Why? Like I said, we had to stay optimistic, and that is why this music (patriotic songs) was made.*

## PATRIOTIC SONGS – A LOCAL MUSICAL PHENOMENON

Patriotic songs are songs which express love for one's homeland. Their lyrics speak about positive and negative historical and current events. Patriotic songs can bring people together and allow them to share the same experience when listening to a certain type of music. They have the power to establish a common identity of groups and give them a feeling of belonging and equality (Pieslak 2009: 55). In the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, where brotherhood and unity was glorified, a lot of songs with patriotic connotations were made. For example, Rani mraz from Novi Sad (Serbia) recorded a song called 'Računajte na nas!' ('Count on Us!') in 1978, the Sarajevan singer Kemal Monteno recorded 'Sarajevo ljubavi moja' ('Sarajevo My Love'), in 1985, and Lepa Brena recorded 'Jugoslovenka' ('Yugoslavian Girl') in 1989 (Baker 2010: 43). And because those songs sang about the golden age of Yugoslavia, the people in Sarajevo liked to listen to them and pretend that there was no war going on, as my interviewee Violeta said. In the new context, the Yugoslav patriotic songs became songs of resistance and/or cure. Even *sevdalinkas* were labelled as patriotic songs because they transformed from intimate love songs into publicly popular tunes. Most of the traditional Bosnian *sevdalinkas* were dedicated to streets, villages and towns, for example 'Kad ja pođoh na Bentbašu' ('When I Go to Bentbaša')[13] (Maglajlić 2010: 116). The most popular *sevdalinka* made in war-time is 'Šehidski rastanak' by Safet Isović, a famous singer of *sevdalinkas* (see Hamer 2013: 83–84).

On 27 June 1992, the daily newspaper *Oslobođenje* called on its readers to "Send us songs that express love and patriotism for your own city and country" (Oslobođenje, 27. 6. 1992, p. 8). The response from amateur musicians, folk singers, popular singers and academic musicians was enormous – they all decided to participate. The result: songs of all musical genres which extolled the beauty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, glorified the army and its soldiers and praised the stubbornness of Bosnians.

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**13** An old Sarajevan neighbourhood.

Other motifs of these songs included suffering, pain, mourning, loss, resistance, solidarity, tolerance, kindness and understanding. I asked Nedim, who was a teenager during the war, if patriotic songs were accepted among the younger generation of Sarajevans. He replied:

> *Patriotic songs were popular, there is no doubt about it. But in some way we were forced to listen to them, they were constantly on the TV or radio. Later, in 1994, young people were listening to the Croatian group E.T. and their hit 'Tek je 12 sati'.*[14] *That was our popular music. Now you decide what is popular – what the young people listen to or what is played on the radio.*

And this was one of the reasons why most of the patriotic songs were made in the rock genre: because then young people would listen to them (Laušević 2000: 296).

My interviewee Miroslav was a singer in the chorus of the Sarajevan opera. In the eighties he recorded old *sevdalinkas* for the Radio Sarajevo archives and performed patriotic songs with his band during the war. He considered the spiritual dimension of music very important: "*When you listen to music or when you make music, you forget about all the bad things*." So he was giving concerts all the time despite the fact that he didn't really like patriotic songs. Miroslav was the only one who pointed out the negative aspect of the famous visitors from the West.[15] His comment:

> *Western civilizations do not know any shame – they came to Sarajevo to make a profit out of our suffering. They came under the pretext of helping but only filled their pockets with money. But I guess this is how it is in every war.*

To see the differences between Bosnian and Serbian patriotic songs,[16] I asked my interviewees if they knew any Serbian patriotic songs that were sung during the war. They mentioned 'Marš na Drinu' ('March on the Drina'),[17] 'Kada Srbin Turčina uhvati' ('When a Serb Captures

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**14** An adaptation of German and Italian house music called "dance" or "Cro-dance" (see Baker 2010:73–74).

**15** Many musicians and cultural figures visited besieged Sarajevo, including Joan Baez, Zubin Mehta, Bruce Dickinson, Eric Burdon and Susan Sontag. Despite Miroslav's negative view of those visitors, most Sarajevans think of them as heroes that dared to come to the town. Bono Vox came to Sarajevo three times with food and medicine and did not care about the fame, Miroslav said.

**16** I did not ask them about Croatian patriotic songs. To read more about it, see Baker 2010.

**17** 'Marš na Drinu' ('March on the Drina') is a march composed by Serbian composer Stanislav Bličinski in 1914 when the Serbian army defeated the Habsburg army and banished them to the river Drina, which was the border between the Serbian kingdom and the Habsburg monarchy.

a Turk'), and 'Ko to grmi, ko to seva?' ('Who Is It That Thunders and Flashes?') (Hamer 2013: 54–58). These songs have extremely nationalistic, even chauvinistic lyrics. My interviewee Aleksandar remembered how the Serbs played their national epic songs on *gusle*. Even Mark Thompson wrote about Serbian soldiers playing on *gusle* (1999: 358). Without a doubt there were also Bosnian songs with extremely nationalistic lyrics, but they were not part of my research at the time and none of my interviewees mentioned them. There is one song with nationalistic lyrics and an open threat towards the enemy that my interviewees mentioned: 'Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada' ('Sarajevo Will Never Forget'), by an unknown artist.

The next part of this paper is a presentation and analysis of selected patriotic songs made by Bosnian musicians and examines the main functions of their music. The songs I have chosen, 'Ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću' ('Carry the Flag Dragan Vikić') by Mladen "Tifa" Vojičić, 'Mnoge će majke' ('Many Mothers Will') by Macbeth, 'Mogla si bar paket poslati' ('You Could at Least Send a Package') by Mjesečari, 'Help Bosnia Now' by Bosnian Band Aid and 'Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada' ('Sarajevo Will Never Forget') by an unknown artist are just some of the many songs mentioned by my interviewees.

**'Ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću' ('Carry the Flag Dragan Vikić') by Mladen "Tifa" Vojičić** (Ponesi zastavu n.d.).

*Ovdje se tuga širi k'o kuga*
*samo sloboda donosi lijek*
*dole niz Drinu dok ljudi ginu*
*dolazi sreća, ostat će zauvijek.*
*I Bog je od nas digao ruke*
*sakrio put do mirne luke*
*dok snovi plove, vatre još gore*
*ne razumijem, al' u ljubav vjerujem.*
*Ponesi zastavu, pobjedu slavit ću*
*ponesi zastavu od Bosne Vikiću.*
*Ponesi zastavu, pobjedu slavit ću*
*ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću.*
*I Bog je od nas digao ruke*
*sakrio put do mirne luke*
*dok snovi plove, vatre još gore*
*ne razumijem, al' u ljubav vjerujem.*

*Here the suffering is spreading like a plague*
*only freedom can bring the cure*
*down by the Drina while people are dying*
*happiness is coming and will stay forever.*
*And even God has forgotten us*

*he has hidden the way to the peaceful port*
*till dreams are floating, fires are still burning*
*I don't understand but I believe in love.*
*Carry the flag we will celebrate the victory*
*carry the flag from Bosnia Vikić.*
*Carry the flag we will celebrate the victory*
*carry the flag Dragan Vikić.*
*And even God has forgotten us*
*he has hidden the way to the peaceful port*
*till dreams are floating, fires are still burning*
*I don't understand but I believe in love.*

The former frontman of the very popular groups Bijelo dugme, Vatreni poljubac and Divlje jagode, Mladen "Tifa" Vojičić, stayed in besieged Sarajevo during the war and was very active on the music scene. Dragan Vikić was a member of the special police unit. In the music video, Tifa is standing in a military vehicle, driving through Sarajevo, where the impact of the war is clearly visible. Both functions – healing and resistance – are expressed in the lines "/.../ while dreams are floating, fires are still burning /.../". Tying popular music to the symbolic power of the state (Baker 2010: 51) is seen in the action of carrying the flag by the leader of the special police unit – another state apparatus.

**'Mnoge će majke' ('Many Mothers Will') by Macbeth** (Mnoge če n.d.).

*Kad prođe ova ratna godina*
*i saznaš pravi račun gubljenja*
*shvati ćeš da je mnogo drugova*
*ostalo zauvijek na barikadama.*
*Kad jednog dana vratiš se*
*domu svom na toplo ognjište*
*dvije će duše, tvoja i jednog heroja*
*u tebi živjeti.*
*I mnoge će majke dočekat' junake*
*da im se vrate iz ratne tame*
*a neke će same kućama poći*
*na njima plačne oči.*
*Kad prođe ova ratna godina*
*i saznaš nemaš nigdje nikoga*
*shvatit ćeš da si od viših ciljeva*
*puc'o na nekog od bivših drugova.*
*Kad jednog dana vratiš se*
*domu svom na toplo ognjište*
*dvije će duše, tvoja i jednog heroja*
*u tebi živjeti.*

*When this war year is over*
*and you discover the reality of losing*
*you will realize that many of your friends*

*will forever remain on the barricades.*
*When you come home one day*
*to the warm fireplace*
*two souls – yours and that of a hero*
*will live in you.*
*Many mothers will wait for their heroes*
*to come back home from the darkness of war*
*some of them will go back home alone*
*with tears in their eyes.*
*When this war year is over*
*and you discover you have no one*
*you will realize that because of higher ideas*
*you were shooting at your former friends.*
*When you come home one day*
*to the warm fireplace*
*two souls – yours and that of a hero*
*will live in you.*

The group Macbeth has been active since 1986. When the war started, all of its members joined the Bosnian army but still remained active on the popular music scene. Here is their statement:

> All of our songs that were made during the war have a patriotic and love aspect. In patriotism there is some kind of a protest or rebellion involved. This is how we fight against the horror and how we show our belonging to Bosnia-Herzegovina. (Arifagić n.d.)

The function of resistance is present in their work and so has the function of healing. The fact that your friends are on the front line or dead can be traumatic, especially for young people, and thus the comfort provided through heroism is the best sort of comfort.

**'Mogla si bar paket poslati' ('At Least You Could Have Sent a Package') by Mjesečari** (Mogla si n.d.).

*Bar paket poslati*
*I kažem ljeto, mislim na valove,*
*i kažem ljeto, šume i borovi,*
*i kažem ljeto, ulje za sunčanje,*
*i kažem ljeto, ne, aha nije stiglo u moj grad.*
*I kažem ljeto, kopajmo rovove,*
*i kažem ljeto, kopam do pobjede,*
*i kažem ljeto, da dođem, do tebe*
*i kažem ljeto, ne, aha nije stiglo u moj grad.*
*Ne, ne, ni preko piste, ne.*
*A ti, a ti, a ti, mogla si, bar paket poslati.*
*A ti, a ti, a ti, mogla si, bar paket poslati.*
*A ti, a ti, a ti, mogla si, bar paket poslati.*
*I kažem ljeto, dok čekam garantno,*

*i kažem ljeto, a ljeta prolaze,*
*i kažem ljeto, popi pivo, pa pobigo.*
*A ti, a ti, a ti, mogla si, bar paket poslati.*
*A ti, a ti, a ti, mogla si, bar paket poslati.*
*joj evo murije,,vojna policija, dobro veće*
*dokumenta molim .....*
*tek je dvanajst sati .....*
*tek je dvanajst sati .....*

*At least you could have sent a package*
*And I say summer, I think of the waves*
*and I say summer, forests and pine trees*
*and I say summer, tanning oil*
*and I say summer, well, it did not come to my town.*
*And I say summer, let's dig the trenches*
*and I say summer, let's dig till victory*
*and I say summer, to get to you*
*and I say summer, well, it did not come to my town.*
*No, no, not even via the airstrip*
*Oh you, you could have at least sent a package.*
*Oh you, you could have at least sent a package.*
*Oh you, you could have at least sent a package.*
*And I say summer, while I wait for the letter of guarantee*
*and I say summer, but the years are passing by*
*and I say summer, drink beer and run away.*
*Oh you, you could have at least sent a package.*
*Oh you, you could have at least sent a package.*
*Wow, look, the police, military police, good evening*
*Documents please.....*
*It's only twelve o'clock.....*
*it's only twelve o'clock.....*

The group Mjesečari was one of the most popular groups during the time of the siege because they were part of a specific social group formed by the common people of Sarajevo called the *raja* (Bartulović 2013: 287–288; Maček 2009: 112–113; Sorabji 1989: 39–40). The song 'Mogla si bar paket poslati' is different from other patriotic songs. Its style is more reggae than pop-rock, and one can sense cynicism in describing the reality of the war. It speaks about real events in life under the siege: the tunnel under the airport runway and the runway itself, digging trenches on the front line because Mušan "Caco" Topalević, the commander of the Bosnian army, caught you after police curfew (see Thompson 1999: 221), expecting a package from abroad or a letter of guarantee are just some moments in everyday life under siege. The song is critical of those who left the besieged city. The group and their songs were representative of the popular-alternative music scene (Hamer 2013: 26). This song definitely features a healing function, because frustrations can be healed through it.

**'Help Bosnia Now' by Bosnian Band Aid** (Help Bosnia n.d.).

*I cannot understand some people*
*who kill women and children*
*and helpless old men*
*making homeless millions of my friends*
*I don't want to understand.*
*I cannot understand the army*
*which burst down his own country*
*and destroys the hospitals*
*and our precious monuments*
*we don't want to understand.*
*Help Bosnia now*
*and save Bosnian people*
*you cannot only watch and pray*
*our hearts just want you to say*
*Help Bosnia now.*
*You cannot only watch and pray*
*our hearts just want you to say*
*Help Bosnia now.*

The Help Bosnia Now project saw the light of the day on the initiative of Ser Žan, the frontman of the group Crno vino (Black [i.e. Red] Wine). He recorded a song in English in cooperation with other Sarajevan musicians where they are calling for the international involvement of foreign countries (Pettan 1998: 13). In the lyrics the singers are wondering why all of the infrastructure, cultural heritage and natural beauties of Bosnia-Herzegovina must be destroyed. The video was filmed in June 1992 in the ruined Zetra Olympic stadium – a symbol of the "good old days", multiethnicity and multiculturalism. The newspaper *Oslobođenje* announced that everybody should listen to the radio on 10 September 1992 at 6.45 pm, when this song would be premiered.

**'Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada' ('Sarajevo Will Never Forget') by Unknown** (Sarajevo zaboravit n.d.)

*U Sarajevu gradu, Herceg-Bosne ponosne*
*stala raja da odbrane naše domove.*
*stala raja da odbrane naše domove.*
*Mi smo junak do junaka, mi smo borci svi,*
*nedamo u Sarajevo, dok smo živi mi,*
*nedamo u Sarajevo, dok smo živi mi.*
*Hej junaci, branitelji, iz svih krajeva*
*Sarajevo zaboravit, neće nikada*
*Sarajevo zaboravit, neće nikada!*
*Korak naprijed, puška gotov',*
*i uz pjesmu mi za mir,*
*sreću i slobodu, borimo se svi!*
*Čujte srpski dobrovoljci, bando četnici*

*stići će vas naša ruka i u Srbiji!*
*stići će vas naša ruka i u Srbiji!*
*Hej junaci, branitelji, iz svih krajeva*
*Sarajevo zaboravit, neće nikada*
*Sarajevo zaboravit, neće nikada!*
*Stici će vas božja kazna to već svako zna*
*Sudit će vam branitelji, šeher Sarajeva,*
*sudit će vam branitelji, šeher Sarajeva.*
*Tuče Thompson, kalašnjikov*
*a i papovka*
*Baci bombu, goni bandu izvan Sarajeva!!!*
*Baci bombu, goni bandu izvan Sarajeva!!!*

*In Sarajevo, capital of proud Herzeg-Bosna*
*people are defending their homes*
*people are defending their homes.*
*We are hero to hero, we are all fighters*
*no one will enter Sarajevo while we are alive*
*no one will enter Sarajevo while we are alive.*
*Hey, heroes, fighters from all places*
*Sarajevo will never forget!*
*Sarajevo will never forget!*
*One step forward, rifle ready*
*and so are we, with a song for peace, happiness and freedom, we are fighting!*
*Hear us Serbian volunteers, you Chetniks*
*our hands will strike you even in Serbia!*
*Our hands will strike you even in Serbia!*
*Hey, heroes, fighters from all places*
*Sarajevo will never forget!*
*Sarajevo will never forget!*
*God will punish you everyone knows that*
*you will be judged by defenders of Sarajevo*
*you will be judged by defenders of Sarajevo*
*The Thompsons and Kalashnikovs are shooting and the bombs are ready*
*throw the bomb, chase them out of Sarajevo!*
*Throw the bomb, chase them out of Sarajevo!*

According to my interviewees, this song was recorded in the beginning of 1992 in order to provoke the enemy and provide moral support and motivation for the soldiers on the front lines. The song 'Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada' is a contrafactum of the Croatian song 'Bojna Čavoglave' ('The Čavoglave Battalion') sung by Marko "Thompson" Perković. The message in both musical examples is the same: Serbian soldiers stay out of our town. In addition, the people I talked to explicitly mentioned that Bosnians did not write songs intended for provocation and/or humiliation. Aleksandar mentioned that the soldiers of the Bosnian army, which consisted of Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox men, shouted *Allah'u akbar* (God is great) when they attacked the enemy. This too could be understood as a provocation.

The Dayton peace agreement was signed in 1995, officially marking the end of the aggression (see Thompson 1999: 261–262), a classical war of conquest with horrific consequences, and signalling an end for the Sarajevan patriotic songs. According to my interviewees, patriotic songs have not been heard on the radio or TV since then. The honest statement of my interviewee Violeta proves that patriotic songs were not so popular after all:

> *When the war ended we finally had the opportunity to listen to all the music that was popular in the world for the past four years; we did not have any more time for patriotic songs.*

However, the popularity of *sevdalinkas* was once again transformed, and today this genre is considered as a part of the World Music genre. It is still an emblematic and identifiable feature of Bosnia-Herzegovina. During the siege, music not only had the function of resistance and cure, but became a medium of political propaganda and a national identity wake-up call. All electronic and print media participated in the war, especially those under government control; their self-censorship caused the absence of Serbian music, which led to national and religious intolerance and hatred. However, not all agreed with the situation, and their main advocate was Radio Zid, which fought for multiculturalism and a society with no boundaries or walls. Many of the musicians who participated in the production of patriotic songs are still active on today's music scene.

During the war, music was used and abused in multiple ways; from entertainment and healing, through resistance and provocation. In some cases music was used as a weapon and a tool of torture. Each of my interviewees has their own story about the time under siege. They all have their own music of healing and resistance, however, the music played on the radio and TV is not as influential as it was during the war. Instead, my interviewees pointed out that now they must focus on resisting corruption, dealing with unemployment, poverty, the difficult economic situation and an enormous bureaucracy. Sadly, some said that life under the siege was better than today. And that the music was better.

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# Memories

# Photographic Images of 20th Century Popular Music Captured by the Lenses of Slovenian Photojournalists at the National Museum of Contemporary History

Urša Valič

"*The camera is an instrument that teaches people how to see without a camera.*" - Dorothea Lange

"*You don't make a photograph just with a camera. You bring to the act of photography all the pictures you have seen, the books you have read, the music you have heard, the people you have loved.*" - Ansel Adams

"*Today everything exists to end in a photograph.*" - Susan Sontag

## INTRODUCTION

As part of the project "Engaged Past: Social-Anthropological Analysis of Transformations of Popular Music in the Area of Former Yugoslavia", the first conference entitled *Popular Music of Former Yugoslavia in the Clutches of the Socialist Past and the Capitalist Present* was held at the National

Museum of Contemporary History on 14 March 2014. This is especially important because the popular culture of an era, or if I limit myself to popular music alone, is an important component of the historical discussion of the region in the course of recent history and therefore deserves a place in the museum as a form of cultural heritage which is worthy of interpretation and representation in order to preserve its forms for posterity. Modern museums are no longer merely treasure troves of objects but are focusing more and more on intangible heritage, for instance stories about objects and people's accounts, which are being preserved and passed on by means of audiovisual media (Valentinčič Furlan 2015; Skrt 2016). As in the case of similar practices based on experiences and implementation in the "here and now", the preservation of the heritage of popular music is limited to accounts and memories, and to the preservation of traces, mostly of sound, in the form of artefacts and audiovisual material such as music recordings (records, CDs, cassettes, etc.), sheet music and texts, and visual production – such as posters, fanzines, videos and, above all, photographs.[1] This paper will focus primarily on photographs or photographic images of (popular) music at the National Museum of Contemporary History.

## THOUGHTS ON PHOTOGRAPHY IN RELATION TO POPULAR CULTURE

Popular music and photography have many common features: they are both products of the industrial and technological development of Western culture[2] and as such outline a sociocultural reality that differs

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1 The primary task of museums is to collect material heritage. The collecting of accounts and memories is an indirect activity of museums, for it greatly enriches the collections of objects with stories about their use or by providing a broader context. More important than the question of collecting stories and accounts about objects is the question of which museum in Slovenia should collect and house artefacts of popular culture, such as cassettes, vinyl records, fanzines and the like, since the collection of (folk) music was previously the domain of other institutions (e.g. the Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the archives of RTV SLO, and the National and University Library). Collections of posters and other visual production can (could) be seen on display in art galleries and museums, such as the Museum of Modern Art or the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Maribor Art Gallery, and the International Centre of Graphic Arts. There are also private collections, which include vinyl records, posters, flyers and the like, e.g. the private collection of Slavko Franc in the town of Lucija near Portorož, where one can see Rolling Stones artefacts.

2 The principles behind the operation of the optical device called the *camera obscura*, the predecessor of the camera, were in fact first described in China in the 5th century BC, however, historical reviews of the development of photography date its origins to 19th-century Europe, when the French inventor Nicéphore Niépce succeeded in capturing and permanently recording a latent image in 1826.

significantly from that of previous generations, and predict a fundamentally different perception of the world of the generations to come. Thus the invention and development of photography has radically changed the way we see and perceive the world. In his short essay, Jerry L. Thompson said that photography was not only important as an aesthetic medium, but as an *epistemological* one, for the way we understand photography shows how we understand everything else (2013: 4). The power of photography as an epistemological medium lies precisely in its ability to imitate the world around it, i.e. in its *mimetic nature*. At the time of the invention of photography in the 19th century, understanding the world through observable phenomena was the basic paradigm of science (positivism) and art (realism). Ever since its beginnings, photography, especially documentary photography, has most often been viewed as a witness that testifies to the fact that we were actually at a specific place and that something actually happened; it is perceived as an objective imitation of reality. Roland Barthes also talks about this: "The photograph does not call up the past (nothing Proustian in a photograph). The effect it produces upon me is not to restore what has been abolished (by time, by distance) but to attest that what I see has indeed existed" (1992: 73). Such an understanding is also the result of the use of optical devices as a medium that depicts reality differently than the painter's brush. An optical device – a camera – records all that is external, which is why it was objectified and the images it created were never doubted (Terence Wright in Tomanić Trivundža 2005: 441; Bazin 2007: 293).

However, as Susan Sontag has demonstrated in her book on photography (2001), photography is nevertheless an interpretation of the outside world. Anyone familiar with the process of taking photographs knows that the creation of images and the meanings of those images are influenced by the creator of the photograph (photographer) as well as the person who is looking at it or reading it. This relationship between the photographer and observer is never neutral. People enter relationships and relations that have established meanings and from which new meanings are born; hence, the creation and understanding of photographs is not entirely free of ideology.

In order to understand the power of photography in the 20th century, we must also understand its technological side, as an intersection of science and ideology that has greatly altered the sociocultural mindset. According to Jonathan Crary, the development of photographic techniques in the 19th century denoted a transformation in the very nature of visuality, which was undoubtedly more radical than the shift from mediaeval depictions to the Renaissance perspective. The extremely fast development of technology has altered the

relationship between the observing subject and the representation, resulting in the disappearance of the majority of the established cultural meanings which had been derived from this relationship (2012: 1).[3] In his work, Crary traces the history of this development and the importance of optical devices in constructing the perception and subject of the observer. In the desire to avoid technological determinism, he views optical devices as the intersections of philosophical, scientific and aesthetic discourses, which come into contact with mechanical techniques, institutional requirements and socioeconomic forces. "Each one of them is understandable not simply as the material object in question, or as part of a history of technology, but for the way in which it is embedded in a much larger assemblage of events and powers" (Crary 2012: 8). Photography as a practice and object can therefore never be merely neutral, but is a discursive unit or, as Geoffrey Batchen has written based on the theories of John Tagg and Allan Sekula, the photograph always finds itself attached to a discourse or, more accurately, to "a cacophony of competing discourses" that gives any individual photograph its meanings and social values (2010: 19).

Having explained the basic premises for understanding photography, I will now explore the connection between popular music and photography and try to determine the source of the power of photography in popular culture. Vilém Flusser writes that the power and value of photography lies precisely in its transfer or distribution of information. A photograph carries information on the surface of the image, which can be reproduced countless times and transferred to other textual contexts using distribution devices that imbue the photograph with the meaning that is crucial for its reception (2010: 53–60). Therefore, the key element in the transfer of information and, above all, in the reading of messages is its reproduction. An important role in the process is held by the *mimetic ability* of a photograph to seemingly recreate not only space but time as well, and evoke a feeling of contemporaneity, of simultaneity, as has already been mentioned. The depicted image is with me here and now, which, according to Sontag, triggers fantasies and stirs desire (2001: 20).

> Needing to have reality confirmed and experience enhanced by photographs is an aesthetic consumerism to which everyone is now addicted. Industrial societies turn their citizens into image-junkies; it is the most irresistible form of mental pollution. Poignant longings for beauty, for an end to probing below the surface, for a redemption and celebration

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3 Here, Crary points to the work of Guy Debord on the society of the spectacle, in which the author gives a very good presentation of the new relationships that are manifested through visual representations.

> of the body of the world — all these elements of erotic feeling are affirmed in the pleasure we take in photographs. (Sontag 2001: 27–28)

Sontag continues by saying that people feel a mental compulsion to photograph and by doing so turn the experience itself into a way of seeing: "Ultimately, having an experience becomes identical with taking a photograph of it, and participating in a public event comes more and more to be equivalent to looking at it in photographed form" (2001: 28). The power of concert photography or the popularity of a photograph of a music idol can also be understood in this way. On the one hand, it sends us back to the time when a specific event (e.g. concert) took place, and, on the other hand, an intimacy is formed between the viewer and the musician – he is here with me now, at this very moment. In this case the photograph is a substitute for an experience and evokes specific emotions. By continuously reproducing it, events can be re-experienced and emotions re-evoked. Because photographic reproduction requires specific knowledge and materials that not everyone possesses, a photograph can be marketed. Photography has caused a shift from the field of aesthetics and art to the field of economics and politics. Walter Benjamin (1998) has already pointed this out by saying that works which can be reproduced undermine the authenticity of works of art and of art itself, as the loss of "aura" (as he calls it) leads to the loss of the magic of the work of art, and art becomes a mere tool of political usurpation. In order for that to happen, it must be reproduced again, to return to the beginning of this paragraph, since reproduction enables the transfer and redistribution of meanings.

Accelerated industrialisation in the 19th century and the development of printing techniques have enabled the spread and consumption of photography (Pinson 2010: 19). It was this very development of printing techniques – newspapers, magazines, and especially tabloids – that promoted the circulation and marketing of photographic images, including images of male and female musicians. Breda Luthar writes that at the end of the 19th century, newspapers only rarely printed photographs; however, that changed after World War I.[4] "With the

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4 Prior to the 20th century, photographs were reproduced in print media in smaller volumes, using the technique of wood-engraving and lithography (Wright 2004). Around 1900, the half-tone print process appeared, which enabled cheaper reproduction of photographs; thus in 1904 the London *Daily Mirror* became the first newspaper to be entirely illustrated with photographs (Lenman 2005: 488). However, it was not until rotary offset lithographic printing was developed in the early 20th century that better reproduction was enabled, which led to the wide use of photographs in the press. With urbanisation, consumerism and the parallel growing interest in sport and mass entertainment, photojournalism likewise began to thrive in the twenties and thirties (Lenman 2005: 490).

development of the popular press, the appearance of the newspaper became a message in itself. In the 1920s, photographs became the main feature of popular daily newspapers and tabloid weeklies, whereas the elite press continued to foster verbality" (1998: 27–28).[5] Luthar continues by saying that in the twenties, pictorial journalism became an important part of a broader cultural transformation: "Technology, commercialisation and the visual imagination of the film generation shaped the cultural environment, in which images joined words to form a story. This was not happening in opposition to traditional culture but within the context of traditional popular culture, which was evident in the way the events in the story were narrativised and in their moral unambiguity" (1998: 29). The ability of a photograph[6] to tell a story or several stories simultaneously in a single image, in which one can always find the conclusion to the story or more; to rekindle some of the feelings/emotions you felt when the event was taking place, is similar to oral literature (storytelling and anecdotalism), which people were familiar with and enjoyed. It is an interesting coincidence that in America the type of tabloid journalism of the 1920s that discussed the affairs of Hollywood celebrities, musicians and even criminals using visual symbols (photographs, typography, and the newspaper's graphic image) was given the name "jazz journalism" (cf. Luthar 1998: 32), similarly to the popular musical genre of that time. Both jazz and photography had a remarkable influence on American society in that period: both were important status symbols of the urban middle class and of the modernisation of America after World War I (see Pinson 2010).

Alongside the development of the press and the spread of the printed word, which according to Benedict Anderson had enabled the formation of new *imagined communities* and the spread of nationalisms in the 19th century (1998), it can be said that in the second half of the 19th century and even more intensively in the 20th century, photography assumed the role of a connective agent. The understanding of photography as a witness, its ability to be reproduced, and its distribution through printing has enabled the understanding of our existence in the "here and now", i.e. our awareness of the simultaneousness of existence, which according to Anderson is a prerequisite for creating the consciousness of an imagined community. Photography and visual images play an important role in our lives, just like the spoken and

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5 The weekly supplement *Ilustrirani Slovenec* (*Illustrated Slovenian*) began publication at that time, more precisely in 1924 (Luthar 1998: 28).

6 Not only of photographs, but of other works of fine art as well. We cannot overlook the socio-educational role of church frescoes.

written word, as K. Heather Pinson writes: "They shape, stimulate, influence, and antagonize those who internalize the sentiments of a particular society at a particular time. This relationship between the image and the society that created it establishes an ideology around the subject presented in the image" (2010: 17). In addition to the tabloids and newspapers which disseminated images of music stars, we cannot overlook the impact of the invention of the gramophone and radio on the development and spread of popular music. Visual art also played an important role in this, as from the 1940s onwards LP records were inserted in sleeves,[7] which later on often featured photographs of performers. With film[8] (which is basically a series of 24 images per second) and later on television, an image was added to the audio. Thus the visual image of male and female musicians became much more important than the music itself. In 1981, television screens showed The Buggles on MTV singing "*Video killed the radio star. Video killed the radio star. Pictures came and broke your heart*".

## HISTORY, PHOTOGRAPHY AND MUSIC: PHOTOGRAPHS OF POPULAR MUSIC AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

At the time of their invention, in the first half of the 19th century, photographic images were quite static due to the long exposure times: for example, in order to make the photograph *View from the Window at Le Gras* (1826), the French inventor of photography, Nicéphore Niépce, exposed photosensitive material to natural light (sunlight) in his *camera obscura* for as long as 8 hours! But what excited man more than the landscape was the reproduction of the human figure. The second famous French inventor of photography, i.e. of the daguerreotype, Louis Daguerre, succeeded in capturing a human figure when photographing *Boulevard du Temple* in Paris (1938): the subject stood in the same spot long enough for Daguerre's lens to capture him and record him on a photosensitive medium "forever". The first photographs, writes Jože Dolmark, were in fact documentary ones

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7 According to data from Columbia Records, they employed Alex Steinweiss in 1939, who is known among designers as the inventor and designer of LP record sleeves (see Columbia Records Story on their official webpage).

8 It should be noted that the first sound film, in 1927, was *The Jazz Singer* by director Alan Crosland, which starred the singer Al Jolson.

and showed reality from a researcher's perspective. "The first photographs, unique 'commemorative' images of people, places and things, are characterised by a knack for 'recording and prying' into human and natural phenomena" (2007: 299). This immortalising "forever", "for all eternity", and, consequently, the symbolic chasing away of death or persisting in eternity prompted André Bazin to choose the mummy and embalming as metaphors for photography, because: "photography, unlike art, does not create eternity, but merely embalms time and saves it from ruin" (2007: 294). Perhaps it was this very idea of embalming time, of seemingly preserving immutability and chasing away death, that gave rise to the popularity of portrait photography in the 19th century and with it a sort of idolatry of the human figure, including musicians. Jon Sievert writes that there is nothing unusual in the desire to photograph musicians: as far as cave paintings are relevant, we can see that the desire to depict musicians has always been present, if they only had the tools to do it (1997).

Photography has enabled the portrayal of musicians almost from its very beginnings: the first known photograph of a musician is dated 1839 and depicts the most famous Italian violinist, Nicólo Paganini (Sievert 1997). Paganini was photographed in a posture that suggests violin playing, for he has the instrument in one hand and the other hand is raised over his head, holding a bow. (Sievert wonders whether Paganini's portrait was truly the first one or if it was just the most famous.) It should be noted that Paganini passed away in late May 1840, only a year or so after Daguerre had developed and published his process (in 1838 or 1839). This is why Paganini's portrait, which was discovered in a flat in Turin, is considered fake. However, if this portrait is an original, then it informs us of two things: that soon after it was invented, photography became so popular that it spread at an unstoppable speed among the bourgeois class in particular; and secondly, this image of a musician (who was famous and celebrated during his lifetime and was called the "Devil's violinist" owing to his virtuosity) shows that music, whether in the form of its performers or concerts, was an important motif, worthy of and needing to be recorded.

The development of photographic technology, of cameras and reproduction processes alike, enabled the spreading of the popularity of photography at an unstoppable speed. Allow me to mention just a few of the more important innovations that have taken place from the mid-19th century onward. In the mid-1850s, André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri invented the *carte-de-visite* format, which allowed cheaper and faster reproduction by placing several lenses onto his camera and taking several photographs on a single plate. The reproduction process

was therefore cheaper, and such photographs could be purchased by the less wealthy masses of the middle class. In addition to faster and cheaper reproduction, the popularity of this format was also the result of the fact that photographers were able to imitate the luxury of the wealthy bourgeois class. Therefore, representations formed in this way did not imitate the actual social status but the desired one (Bate 2012: 83). Furthermore, the development of processes and media, such as wet collodion and the gelatine dry plate process, the invention of celluloid film and paper and plastic media, which significantly facilitated the reproduction processes, led to the development of light, portable and, above all, easy-to-use cameras. In the early 20th century, two such cameras were Kodak's Brownie, which became popular because it was easy to use,[9] and the Leica with 135 (35mm) format film.[10] Technological developments made it possible for optical devices, photographic processes and, last but not least, photographs to become increasingly accessible and affordable to all for recording special events and especially everyday moments. Of special importance for the photographing of music events and performers was the fact that technology enabled the capturing of images even in low lighting, e.g. in the dive bars and concert halls where one could listen to and experience popular music.

The logical consequence of this is that today we have tons of photographs that bear witness to one musical event or another. The Photodocumentation Department of the National Museum of Contemporary History houses more than 2 and a half million items of photographic material, both positives and negatives on various media (glass plates, 120 and 135 format film, plastic media, and paper; many of the photographs are kept in neatly arranged albums). The majority of the photographic material (negatives) is kept in the negatives collection in fireproof cabinets (in the dark), at 15°C and 40% relative humidity, in compliance with the recommendations (Vodopivec 2003; Planinc and Buh 2010). Most of the photographs were taken after World War II. They are the work of various photographers; the

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**9** The marketing slogan for the Brownie was *"You push the button, we do the rest"*, because the operation of these cameras was incredibly easy and limited to a few buttons.

**10** In the second half of the 20th century, we cannot overlook the digital processing of pictorial signals and the development of digital photography. Digital photography in museums has raised certain dilemmas regarding repositioning and storage, which are still in the early stages of practical application and will have to be addressed more boldly in the future.
Since the topic of this collection of papers mostly covers the period of Yugoslavia in the second half of the 20th century, and since the photographs from that period which are being kept at the National Museum of Contemporary History were mostly recorded on analogue media (plates, films and paper), I will not delve into digital photography here.

department houses the photographs by influential reporters such as Marjan Ciglič, who was a photographer for the *Dnevnik* newspaper for many years, and Edi Šelhaus, who took photographs for the newspapers *Slovenski poročevalec*, *Tovariš* and *Delo*. The collection also includes photographic material by other photographers, such as Sandi (Aleksander) Jesenovec, who worked for the Ministry of the Interior after the war, and was the first editor of *Fotoantika*, a specialised newspaper for photography in museums, and photojournalist Vlastja Simončič, who educated many young photographers. Since the 1980s, the museum has also housed the works of photojournalists working for the magazine *Mladina*, Janez Bogataj and Tone Stojko.[11] This rich collection of materials also contains many images of male and female musicians from the period of post-war Yugoslavia (between 1945 and 1991). They are mostly photographs of concerts, backstage scenes, and portraits of male and female performers, which were published in daily newspapers and magazines – i.e. news photographs; a few shots of male and female musicians were also taken in order to be placed on record sleeves (album covers). When they were taken, most of the photographs were not intended to be put on display in galleries; this decision was most often made later, when going through them. The material kept by the museum has exceptional documentary value that could be ranked alongside many worldwide archives, museums and galleries. The material that shows images of music in the period of post-war Yugoslavia can be roughly divided into three groups.

**World War II and the first post-war years (1950s).** These photographs are distinguished by war photography (Photo 1). Much of the material is included in the collection of the photography department of the Republic Information Secretariat of the Government of the People's Republic of Slovenia, which was later renamed Foto Slovenija. These photographs recorded the post-war events, reforms, and way of life throughout Slovenia. As regards the depictions of the making of music, the photographs portray musicians commemorating various events, celebrating anniversaries and post-war demonstrations, and in work brigades (Photo 2). The predominant images are those of brass bands and performances by choirs and accordion players. The images of demonstrations most often show images of accordion players,

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**11** For more information on the photographic material (or photographic stocks) and for viewing select digitised material, see the blog of the Photodocumentation Department of the National Museum of Contemporary History http://fototekamnzs.com/; the website of the National Museum of Contemporary History will be updated to enable the obtaining of information directly from the museum's website.

Photo 1. The XIVth Division left Kočevje territory for Bela Krajina in late December 1943 to prepare for the march to Štajerska. Units of the XIVth Division en route toward Suhor in Bela Krajina on December 30, 1943.
Photo: Gojko Pipen, 30 December 1943, Bela Krajina.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Photo 2. "Kurirčkova pošta" (literal translation: "little courier's mail").
At the end of all four methods of delivery of "Kurirčkova pošta". The last one came by boat on Ljubljanica river and brought greetings to Marshall Tito and contributions to the children's magazine Kurirček (Little Courier). The photo shows a group of pionirji (pioneers, i.e. scouts) with accordions and flags in Prešeren Square in Ljubljana.
Photo: Marjan Ciglič, 22 May 1963, Ljubljana.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

with singers and a standard-bearer nearby (Photo 3). The motif of an accordion player and standard-bearer can also be seen in photographs from the period of the attainment of independence in the 1990s (Photo 4). All of these depictions refer to popular music as the music of the masses, accessible to everyone. This type of music most often either encouraged people to work or legitimised the political authority – in the latter case reflecting the dominant ideological discourses (in later periods as well). The post-war time was a time of hope, optimism and the building of a new world, but it was also a time of regret and of commemorating the war; consequently, such ideas were also reflected in the photographs that depicted musical performances.

**The 1960s and 1970s.** This was a time of relative social prosperity and economic stability for Yugoslavia. Due to its inclusion in the Non-Aligned Movement during the Cold War, Yugoslavia, and with it Slovenia, received important innovations from both the West and the East. This was also a time when Western music, such as jazz and rock 'n' roll, was making strong inroads into Slovenia. In this context, the milestones include photographs of the much-talked-about Louis Armstrong concert in Ljubljana in 1959 (Photo 5), through which the USA wanted to spread its cultural influence in Eastern Europe.[12] They are rather classic photographs depicting the musician on stage in wide and medium-frame shots. We do not find the characteristic portrayal and experiments with lighting that we are accustomed to in American jazz photography. These are news shots, intended for reporting about the event in a newspaper. Slovenia began to hold its first festivals in the sixties: in 1960, the Jazz Festival in Bled was launched (Photo 6), which was later moved to Ljubljana, and in 1962 the Slovenska popevka (Slovenian Song) festival was established (Photo 7). The development of this festival was also influenced by the nearby Italian song contest, which began in 1951 in the small coastal town of Sanremo. Photographs of these festivals include diverse material, ranging from portraits of musicians, their

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**12** Louis Armstrong performed in Ljubljana again in the sixties. The photographing of Armstrong's arrival and the nearly ill-fated concert were described by Edi Šelhaus in *Fotoreporter* (*Photojournalist*) (1982: 185–186). He wrote that he had learnt in the nick of time that the musician's plane was going to land in Zagreb. He and his colleague went to shoot the musician's arrival at the airport, which was crawling with reporters and photojournalists. When the famous visitor appeared, there were flashing lights everywhere and everyone was running towards him. Soon afterwards, Armstrong was picked up by a black Mercedes and taken to Ljubljana at full throttle in a heavy downpour. Šelhaus and his colleague followed them but lost them on the way because their car was too slow. They arrived at the concert too late to shoot the musician's contact with the Ljubljana audience. Because it was already too late to submit the photographs to the newspaper, Šelhaus was for once able to stay at the concert to the very end.

Photo 3. Unveiling of a plaque in honour of combatant Peter Kavčič (nom de guerre Jegorov) in Breznica above Škofja Loka in 1950. Peter Kavčič, from the Škofja Loka battalion, was the first victim of the Home Guard in Škofja Loka and fell on 18th March 1944. The photo shows two participants during unveiling ceremony on a hill next to the waving flag, one of whom is playing the accordion.
Photo: Sandi Jesenovec, 1950, Breznica above Škofja Loka.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Photo 4. Accordionist. Celebration after the announcement of the results of the plebiscite.
Photo: Tone Stojko, 23 December 1990, Ljubljana.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Photo 5. Louis Armstrong at his first concert in Ljubljana (Gospodarsko razstavišče).
Photo: Marjan Ciglič, 1 April 1959, Ljubljana.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Photo 6. The second jazz festival at Bled. After an all-night "jam session", only one listener and a trumpet player remained in the morning.
Photo: Edi Šelhaus, between 8 and 11 June 1961, Bled.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

performances on stage and shots of events backstage, during rehearsals, preparations and just before they went on stage (Photo 8). In the book *Fotoreporter* (1982), Edi Šelhaus wrote that he had staged some of the shots of musicians to make them more dynamic and interesting:

> I was preparing a big news item at the song festival in Bled for the magazine Tovariš. The rope which the singers are pulling I found lying around; I rented a boat so that I could take a picture of them on the lake; I asked coachmen to drive them in their coaches; and finally found a rake so that the female singers could go about doing farm chores. (1982: 256)

The most powerful photographs were those of emotional musicians backstage. A very powerful aspect of these festival photographs is a sort of *show-biz* glamour intended primarily for television viewers;[13] that is, many of the photographs show a television camera and professional studio lights (Photo 9). The photographs also greatly emphasise the external appearance of the performers: their clothes, hair, and fashion in general. For this reason there are a lot of portraits alongside the news photographs of the concert performances. All of this glamour and the dynamics of the photographs communicate the idea of Yugoslavia of that time as a powerful, progressive and successful country.

In 2009, the National Museum of Contemporary History devoted an exhibition to the festival events of the 1960s, which featured photographs by photojournalist Edi Šelhaus and was entitled *The World of Music in the 60s* (the exhibition curator was Jožica Šparovec). In 2012, in cooperation with the Museum of Gorenjska, they hosted an exhibition entitled *Mandolina, zvezde in Bled: Začetki Slovenske popevke na Bledu in svet pred petdesetimi leti* (Mandolin, Stars and Bled: The Origins of the Slovenian Song Festival in Bled and the World Fifty Years Ago, curator Monika Rogelj).

**The 1980s and 1990s.** Most of the photographs of music-making and musicians from this period can be seen in the collections of Tone Stojko (Photo 10) and Janez Bogataj (Photo 11); the photographs in the collection of the newspaper *Delo* are also important. They were the work of a community of photographers which had mostly been formed within the Fotogrupa ŠOLT group, established in 1963. They were very dynamic and responsive in their work and, as Brane Kovič writes, many of the members who had been trained in another profession chose photography as their main line of work, for they saw photography as a chance to realise their own individual

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**13** The first television broadcast in Slovenia took place in 1958; the first live broadcast was a broadcast of ski jumping in Planica in 1960.


Photo 7. Beti Jurkovič singing on stage at the second "Slovenska popevka" festival at Bled.
Photo: Marjan Ciglič, between 4 and 6 July 1963, Bled.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

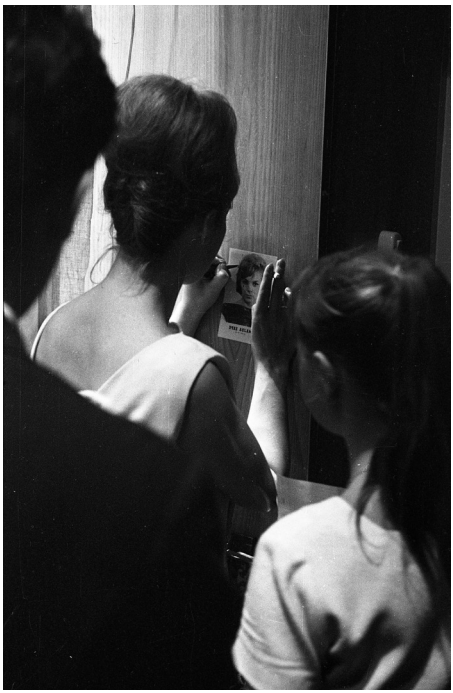

Photo 8. A singer, probably Majda Sepe, giving autographs at the second Slovenska popevka festival at Bled.
Foto: Marjan Ciglič, between 4 and 6 July 1963, Bled.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia


Photo 9. The first music-entertainment TV show "Promenada", on judges and policemen, at the Gospodarsko razstavišče in Ljubljana. The show was directed by France Jamnik, script by Janez Menart, idea by Jurij Souček. In the show featured 130 people from the entertainment orchestra of RTV Slovenija, the opera-ballet ensemble, theatre artists and singers.
Photo: Edi Šelhaus, November 1959, Ljubljana.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Photo 10. The group Laibach at the Youth Festival in Celje.
Photo: Tone Stojko, 26 September 1987, Celje.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Photo 11. Concert by the band Niet.
Photo: Janez Bogataj, 13 October 1984, Ljubljana.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Photo 12. Band Pankrti at the RTV Slovenija studio.
Photo: Janez Bogataj, 12 January 1984, Ljubljana.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

and professional ambitions (1990: 14). Tone Stojko, who has made a name for himself in photojournalism and photography books, also came from that circle. "In both fields he opened up many unconventional views that deviated from the norms with which the selections made for club exhibitions and presentations were burdened. His work

as a reporter and editor of the magazine *Mladina* greatly contributed to the establishment of a different role for pictorial material in print publications" (Kovič 1990: 15).[14] A common motif of Stojko's creative work was music and the making of music, which Stojko felt especially close to, as he and his friends had hosted a youth programme about rock on the Maribor radio station in 1962; later on he signed a contract with the public broadcasting station Radiotelevizija (RTV) Slovenija. Stojko's collection contains not only news-style photographs from concerts, but also studio photographs and staged shots that were, among other things, suitable for album covers (e.g. for the bands Niet and Pankrti) (Photo 12). Similarly to Stojko, Janez Bogataj also worked for *Mladina* and was trained in the art of photography by Vlastja Simončič, whose collection is also kept by the National Museum of Contemporary History.

For Yugoslavia, the period of the eighties and nineties was a time of change: Tito had passed away, the regime was crumbling, and Slovenian society was starting to undergo radical changes as it was trying to find a path of its own under the influence of powerful Serbian unitarism; that path ended with the attainment of independence in 1991. It was a time of exploration, of testing limits, and searching for alternatives. This was also reflected in music and recorded in photographs. The focus was on the alternative scene; in the field of photography this included the abovementioned Fotogrupa ŠOLT and the Student Cultural Centre (ŠKUC) with its gallery. Brane Kovič says that the photographers of the younger generation, such as Jane Štravs and Jože Suhadolnik,[15] had much in common, iconographically speaking, since they were connected through their participation and creative work in an intense cultural environment which differed from the established one. "What differed was not only the topics they were covering, but the very way they were covering them: their work is characterised by an openness and susceptibility to various initiatives or to possibilities for presenting a personal view of the individual aspects in a specific environment, of the action and the dynamic structure which is constantly regenerating, modernising and problematising itself" (1990: 18). Most of their work was presented through exhibitions, and even more so through the youth and student press and marginal publications such as fanzines (1990: 18).

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**14** The photographers who were active alongside the *Mladina* weekly were members of a group called Fotogrupa M.

**15** The National Museum of Contemporary History does not keep any photographs by the two aforementioned photographers, but they were both important artists on the alternative scene in the 1980s and 90s.

Photo 13. Pankrti's last concert.
Photo: Tone Stojko, 10 December 1987, Ljubljana.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Photo 14. Concert by a punk band at the Študent / FV disco.
Photo: Tone Stojko, March 1982, Ljubljana.
National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia

The photographs of the music-making of that period which are kept by the museum are predominantly photographs of punk and new-age bands, e.g. concert shots and portraits of the bands Laibach, Pankrti, Indust Bag, Otroci socializma (Children of Socialism), Niet, Paraf and others; the collections also contain portrayals of literary

evenings and recitals, and other types of performances. The essential difference between these photographs of the music scene and those from the sixties is that the former show much more interaction with the audience and the boundaries between the stage and the audience are blurred (Photo 13, 14). The photographs themselves are not as polished as the older ones; they experiment more with sharpness and blurriness, which might also be the result of photographing under poor lighting and using wider apertures which reduce the depth of field. These photographs also give the impression of a snapshot, typical of fast street photography. The photographs of the eighties music scene changed the aesthetics of the photographs of popular music of the sixties and invested greater "youthful energy" into them, in the sense of increasing research into and experimentation with the photographic medium and later on with print media, and shattering the basic principles of composition.

Some of the photographs from this period have already been presented by the National Museum of Contemporary History, e.g. in cooperation with the Photon gallery in the retrospective exhibition *Nowt's Getting On: Photographic Retrospective on the 30th Anniversary of the Band Pankrti*. The popular culture of the eighties is also partially presented in the permanent exhibition *Slovenians in the 20th Century* as part of the movement that led to deliberations on the emancipation and independence of Slovenia (curator Nataša Strlič).

## CONCLUSION: PHOTOGRAPHY, POPULAR CULTURE AND MUSEUMS

This paper has examined the role of photography in people's lives, the relation between popular music, photography and society, and the multitude of photographs of performers of popular music in socialist Yugoslavia (performers, concerts and other musical performances), which are housed by the National Museum of Contemporary History.

The photographic material which is kept in the museum is only partly on display in the museum exhibitions and can also be accessed via other media, such as the museum's website and social networks. The photographic material can also be seen in various newspapers, such as *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, since newspapers often turn to the museum for the material they need. As has already been mentioned, the original material is kept in fireproof cabinets in the negatives collection (partly also in the photography collection) under controlled climatic

conditions, and has been digitised (scanned and digitally processed). In view of the large volume, a selection of the material must be made prior to publishing it (for exhibitions, monographs, websites and networks, and for other types of publication). The selection criteria, with the exception of contents, are mostly left to the knowledge and taste of the curator and of the (exhibition) designer who is in charge of the visual image of exhibitions and publications.

The museum's central exhibition is *Slovenians in the 20th Century*, which is continuously being modified in accordance with the development of the discipline, primarily of historiography and museology; in the case of the latter, the relationship between the exhibition and the audience is of special importance. The exhibition covers the 20th century: the north wing (to the right of the entrance) contains rooms that present the pre-World War I period, World War I itself (the hinterlands and the fronts), the interwar period (the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia – the bourgeoisie, borders, technology, art, politics, and the royal family), and World War II; the south wing presents the time after the war – the post-war period and post-war massacres, the development of the economy, the period of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the attainment of independence, entry into the European Union, and Slovenia's EU presidency. As this is a national museum, the underlying theme of the museum or exhibition narrative focuses on the most important or at least on the turning points in Slovenian history, into which the elements of everyday life and of popular culture have been incorporated. Such contents are actually quite rare. For example, the exhibition on the interwar period (the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) features the technology (radio, telephone, the printing press and the like) which contributed to the spread of popular culture. When discussing the popular culture of post-war Yugoslavia, one should not overlook the room that shows the democratic processes which took place at the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s through the prism of popular culture. The panels are hung on wires which are attached to different kinds of shoes, filled with concrete. Each panel is like an individual cell that creates an interconnected whole within the room – it is a symbolic note of the diversity of the multifaceted resistance against a system that was becoming more and more intolerable after Tito's death. The panels provide brief information about some of the objects and photographs. On the one hand, they contain information about the Poster Affair, Radio Študent, *Mladina* magazine, and descriptions of various music and art movements (such as Neue Slowenische Kunst); on the other hand, they present the formation of political parties, and the ideas and processes which later resulted in Slovenia's attainment of independence. Unfortunately, these contents

do not include the photographs and music which was especially intense and recognisable in that period. Considering the collection of photographic material housed by the museum and the intense events in the making of music in post-war Yugoslavia, the exhibition presents very little content which indicates the diversity of the grassroots reactions to or support of the regime.

In conclusion, I would like to present the status of photography in museums and its relation to the creation of museum narratives and "museum truths". This is especially important in light of the realisation that photographs are nowadays a very important epistemological medium and that in fact we cannot imagine a museum exhibition without photography. Regardless of all the different forms of museum (re)presentations, popular culture continues to be denied a more prominent interpretation in Slovenian museums: if we limit ourselves to the photographs of popular music and to the music alone, they remain merely backdrops to museum representations and not the essential contents of museum interpretations.

Elizabeth Edwards and her colleagues (see Edwards 2001; Edwards and Lien 2014; Edwards and Morton 2015) have written several articles about the use of photography in museums. In museums, photographs are used for various purposes, either as museum objects or tools, by going through selection processes from their acquisition to their display. Photographs can play various roles in museums: they can be a technique/method of recording, an object in a collection, or a display technique, whereas on the internet and in advertisements they can be a marketing medium. Because of this mutability and fluidity of the roles of photographs in museums, Edwards referred to photography as a "visual ecosystem" that travels through different museum practices invisibly[16] and which is, precisely because of its fluidity and convenience, vital for every museum. The understanding of photography in museums lacks the understanding of the role played by photography in shaping museum knowledge. Through exhibitions and other educational programmes, museums create "truths" which are rarely questioned. Therefore, museums are knowledge systems in which photography plays a very important role, for it most often supports specific types of "truths" and/or historical narratives. In museums, photographs are most often used to support museum objects, and therefore their power to create meanings is subordinated to the meaning and value of the object. Photographs usually endow objects with a sense of

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**16** All museums focus on movable heritage, i.e. objects.

authenticity and provide them with a broader context. This is precisely why photographs are most often used in museums as backdrops to the object, and their message is most often modified as well (sometimes to the point of being unrecognisable). This often alters their contents as well. In museums, as in other contexts (e.g. in daily newspapers), a photograph is seen as a witness to an era and very little is said about its background and creation. Edwards suggests a different view of photographs in museums, through understanding the role that photography (and its forms) plays in constructing museum knowledge.[17] Photography plays many roles in museums, to which we can add its abilities to document and reproduce, which offer "a highly flexible platform from which to launch interpretations" (Edwards and Lien 2014: 14).

A good example of the presentation of photographs in an exhibition at the National Museum of Contemporary History is the temporary exhibition on the centenary of World War I, *We Never Imagined Such a War* (on display from June 2014 to May 2015). The war was presented through the life stories of various people, including (amateur) photographers such as Stanko Oražem, who developed his own photographs and sent them to newspapers in Vienna. In addition to the photographs themselves, which mostly showed the times at the fronts when there was no combat (because of the lengthy processes and heavy technology which was difficult to move, any shots of the action itself were virtually impossible), the backgrounds were also presented – the people who took the photographs, the technology, the processes and the original shots (on glass media); the context and discourses of the period could be gathered from the life stories and from the timeline, which presented the milestones (the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the Isonzo Front, the death of the emperor, the end of the war, etc.). The photographs were a part of the exhibition (in most cases still used as a backdrop to the objects), but well contextualised.

Like Edwards, Quentin Bajac, the chief curator of photography at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, has pointed out the need to question the role of photography in museums, which is departing from the understanding of its form (as a museum object or work of art) and nearing a complex understanding of a photograph as a cultural object. It is of great importance that exhibitions present photography

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**17** Edwards sees one exception in the use of photographs in memorial museums (e.g. holocaust museums), in which their ontological message of "I was there" is key. In such museums the visual message is more profound than the documentary one: the photographs appear as memories and reminders. Mieke Bal describes them as "affective images" that present a temporary link between perception and subjectivity (Edwards and Lien 2014: 12–13).

through an understanding of the context of its creation and the methods of its distribution, and that we try to comprehend museum exhibitions as places for the selection and legitimisation of images and artistic practices (all taken from Mauro 2014: 9–15).

John Berger considers a photograph a memory: a remnant of the past, a trace of something that has happened. Hence photography must be incorporated into the social and political memory, but not as a substitute which would encourage that memory to fade. If we refer to popular culture and certain museum exhibitions, the spectacle creates an eternal present of immediate expectation in which memory is no longer necessary or needed. That is why we need an alternative use of photography, as it "leads us back once more to the phenomenon and faculty of memory. The aim must be to construct a context for a photograph, to construct it with words, to construct it with other photographs, to construct it by its place in an ongoing text of photographs and images" (Berger 1999: 45). Berger claims that we most often use photographs *tautologically*, i.e. in such a way that "the photograph merely repeats what is being said in words" (1999: 45).[18] However, neither photographs nor memory are unilinear, but work "radially, that is to say with an enormous number of associations all leading to the same event" (1999: 45).

> If we want to put a photograph back into the context of experience, social experience, social memory, we have to respect the laws of memory. We have to situate the printed photograph so that it acquires something of the surprising conclusiveness of that which was and is. What Brecht wrote about acting in one of his poems is applicable to such a practice. For *instant* one can read photography, for *acting* the recreating of context. (Berger 1999: 45)

This context therefore replaces the photograph in time, according to Berger, but that time is not its own original time but narrated time, which becomes historic time when assumed by social memory and social action: "A radial system has to be constructed around the photograph so that it may be seen in terms which are simultaneously personal, political, economic, dramatic, everyday and historic" (1999: 46).

This is also the only way for us to begin to see the popular culture of former Yugoslavia as a cultural heritage that deserves an important place in museums. And this time not merely as a representation, i.e. a backdrop to the dominant historical narratives, but as an

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**18** Elizabeth Edwards and Sigrid Lien speak of an evidential ballast that duplicates meaning, especially when it comes to using photographs in museum design (2014: 8–9).

interpretation. Owing to the fluid roles which they can occupy in various contexts, photography as an epistemological medium and popular music allow for countless interpretations. The interpretation of the popular culture of former Yugoslavia also entails the re-examining and demystifying of the dominant narratives and myths of the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav nationalistic and revanchist ideology.

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# The "Jaranization" of Yugoslav Rock and Roll before 1974: Use of Folklore in the Early Stages of the Development of the Yugoslav Rock Scene

Irena Šentevska

> I have often claimed that *zabavna* [entertainment] and *narodna* [traditional/folk] would become one, and that this would simply become Yugoslav music.
>
> Milovan "Minimaks" Ilić (cited in Ivačković 2013: 110)

## INTRODUCTION

Debates on the social position and (political) influence of the rock scene in socialist Yugoslavia have put forward various (and often conflicting) interpretations of the use and role of folkloric motifs in the creative output of Yugoslav rock musicians. In spite of the considerable differences between the decades, in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s some rock bands (e.g., YU grupa, Korni grupa, S vremena na vreme, Smak, Bijelo dugme, Leb i sol, etc.) used folkloric elements

in spontaneous attempts to attract audiences with music that more or less already had a strong presence in their lives. These groups sought to expand their audience base to segments of the youth population that favoured folk music idioms. This strategy was also helpful in dealing with the music executives at the broadcasters and record companies. At the same time, such "nostrification" was an asset in overcoming the ideologically-driven resistance to rock and roll, which was often perceived from different sides in the (socialist) society as an alien and decadent form of Western popular culture.

In the socialist context, rock music incorporating folkloric elements assumed two basic roles: 1) the "domestication" of rock and roll as a cluster of imported Western music idioms, lifestyles and value systems, largely in disharmony with the social order in the Eastern Bloc countries (not excluding Yugoslavia); 2) the mediation of the national identities, where such music could perform both "centrifugal" and "centripetal" functions in asserting either unitary or separate ethnic identities, respectively. In the Yugoslav context, this meant that both *ethno revival* as a loosely defined music genre, and the occasional use of folklore in rock genres not necessarily defined as "ethno", could promote both unitary "Yugoslav" and separate ethnic/regional identities – often at the same time.

In the dominant media discourse in Serbia, the manners in which Yugoslav rock musicians used both traditional and "neo-folkloric" elements in their work are met with two essentially ideologically opposing interpretations:

1. Mixing "ethno" motifs with, for instance, hard rock (e.g. YU grupa) was not a marketing concept meant to appeal to the rural mentality. Such bands did not address the "urban peasant" population of socialist Yugoslavia and fans of the *narodnjaci* (neo-folk musicians), maintaining their professional dignity and originality without making compromises to the banality and low taste of the "masses".
2. Some other bands (e.g. Bijelo dugme) made such compromises, contributing to the overwhelming "ruralization" of Yugoslav rock and roll. This is, moreover, seen as the main cause of its ultimate "downfall" and retreat before the "invasion" of turbo-folk and its derivates in the post-socialist period.

There is a tendency to perceive the release of *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* (*If I Were a White Button*, Bijelo dugme's first album) in 1974 as a turning point in this process, a historical watershed between the

times when in the Yugoslav context rock and roll was an "almost elite" and strictly urban phenomenon of youth culture, and those (not so glorious) times when it reached the semi-rural and unsophisticated audiences on a mass scale. This paper does not attempt to establish a correlation between this event and the promulgation of the 1974 Constitution of the SFR Yugoslavia. However, I do suggest that it would be interesting to study the use of "ethnic" elements in Yugoslav rock and roll *in correlation* with the changes in the mediation of ethnic identities brought about by the political reforms in the Yugoslav federation.

This paper, however, focuses on the presence of "ethnic" elements in the early stages of Yugoslav rock and roll (before 1974) in order to demonstrate that Yugoslav rock music was "folklorized" to a much greater extent than the "*jaranization* theory" associated with the release of Bijelo dugme's first album would be ready to admit. Accordingly, it maps the most characteristic ways in which "ethno-national" references were used in the early stages of development of the Yugoslav rock scene, concluding with the release of *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* and its problematic interpretations.

## ROCK, FOLK, INDIGENIZATION AND AESTHETIC COSMOPOLITANISM

Ethno-national or traditional patterns can manifest in the realm of popular music cultures (rock included) in different ways across the continents (Chun, Rossiter and Shoesmith 2004; De Kloet 2001; Loosely 2003; Portis 2004; Stapleton and May 1990...).[1] In the early rock repertoire around the world, the salient "ethno-national" elements may have comprised singing in the native language(s) or references in the lyrics to subjects emanating from local realities. These practices would often include use of native instruments (sometimes "electrified"), indigenous vocal techniques of enunciation through singing and rhythmic patterns, and, undoubtedly, rock covers of traditional music themes.

The Israeli sociologist Motti Regev developed a universal model of the transformation of ethno-national cultural uniqueness in musical

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1 For specific developments in the rock scenes "behind the Iron Curtain" (including "folk revivals") see, for example, Cushman 1995; Ryback 1990; Troitsky 1988; Beumers 2005: 199–262; Ramet 1994; Slobin 1996: 14–75; Poiger 2000; Wicke and Shepherd 1993; Maas and Reszel 1998; Mitchell 1992; Szemere 1983. For the specificities of the Yugoslav rock scene within the socialist realm see, for example, Vučetić 2012: 187–223; Raković 2011: 581–592; Tomc 2003.

traditions (implying a stress on essentialism and purism) through rock music. He outlined four phases of this process:

> **Phase 1.** Pre-history (Elvis and beat-band imitations)
> **Phase 2.** Consecrated/mythical beginning (local music inspired by the Beatles, Dylan, folk rock, psychedelia and prog rock)
> **Phase 3.** Consolidation and dominance (joining ranks with traditional national music, local new wave, 'rockization' of pop)
> **Phase 4.** Diversification, internationalization (hip-hop, electronica, metal; international success and recognition). (Regev 2007a: 327)

According to Regev, what preceded this process of "domestication" of rock music in the non-Western realm (he discusses the cases of Israel and Argentina) was an emphasis on indigenous popular and folk music traditions. The outcome of this process (among others) is openness to constant stylistic influences from the "outside", which he calls *aesthetic cosmopolitanism* (Regev 2007b).

According to Regev's interpretation of his model, in a quest for legitimacy, which was initially denied in the wider social context of the production, consumption and reception of rock and roll, musicians had to establish themselves as actors in their respective fields of national culture. They were propelled to create works meant to assert (in terms of form, content and meaning) ethno-national uniqueness, singularity and distinction. In this way, they could be perceived (or they thought they would be perceived) as the legitimate heirs to the ethno-national heritage, which raised the likelihood of access to the creative and institutional means that lead to popularity and commercial success, generally low for rock musicians in non-Anglo-American countries (Regev 2007a: 324). The career of Bijelo dugme, and subsequently Goran Bregović as the band's main exponent, largely conforms to this interpretation.

The "domestication" (alternatively "autochthonisation" or "indigenization" – see Muršič 1998: 284–285) of rock and roll has often been interpreted as a manifestation of cultural imperialism (Goodwin and Gore 1990; Negus 1997). Regev, however, portrays pop-rock music as a "major embodiment of the transformation of national cultural uniqueness from purist essentialism into aesthetic cosmopolitanism" (Regev 2007a: 317), a "shift from commitment to essentialist notions of folkism and traditionalism, to fluidity and conscious openness to exterior influences of pop-rock" (2007a: 318). The term aesthetic (or alternatively cultural) cosmopolitanism applies to the realm of renewed general interest in the centuries-old concept of cosmopolitanism (Urry 1995; Szerszynski and Urry 2002, 2006. See also Beck 2000; Cheah and Robbins 1998; Hannerz 1990, 2004; Vertovec and

Cohen 2002). In these works, aesthetic cosmopolitanism is located at the individual level – it is individuals who develop a taste for the art and culture of nations and groups other than their own. However, the difference between what is perceived as "external" or "internal'" to a national culture is constantly blurred. Thus Ulrich Beck defined cosmopolitanism as a condition in which the "otherness of the other is included in one's own self-identity and self-definition" (Beck 2003: 17). In the context of the cultural appropriation of rock and roll, this means that non-British/American audiences develop a sense of 'ownership' rather similar to that of its "native" public in the UK and US. Rock and roll is "their music", a marker of generational time and identity (Frith 1987). Consequently,

> [a]esthetic cosmopolitanism is the condition in which the representation and performance of ethno-national cultural uniqueness becomes largely based on contemporary art forms like pop-rock music or film, and whose expressive forms include stylistic elements knowingly drawn from sources exterior to indigenous traditions. As such, aesthetic cosmopolitanism is not the exception in contemporary cultural practices, but rather the normal and the routine... (Regev 2007a: 319)

Moreover, according to Regev, aesthetic cosmopolitanism is a prime manifestation of glocalization (Robertson 1995) – the (re-)construction of locality in response to the influences of globalization.

The notion of cosmopolitanism is a "traveling concept" (Bal 2002), conceptualized in different ways across academic disciplines, and not entirely unproblematic (Spasić 2013: 175–204). In her recent book, Serbian sociologist Ivana Spasić (2013: 204–222) discussed the concept of "self-management cosmopolitanism" (*samoupravni kosmopolitizam*), its complexity and many facets. According to Spasić, Yugoslav cosmopolitanism – "openness to the world" being its official name, was only apparently a *single* thing – one cultural phenomenon, one set of values. In fact it contained several, often contradictory layers: socialist internationalism; orientation towards the West in terms of consumption and lifestyle; non-alignment; acquaintance with high culture of all nations as a universal legacy of humankind; participation in Western mass culture; anti-racism, anti-colonialism; anti-Stalinism etc. The (usually forgotten) *Gastarbeiters* (Yugoslav workers abroad, especially in Germany) also reflected a certain cosmopolitization of their lives and the lives of their kin back home: "The trick was that the complexity of Yugoslav cosmopolitism was rarely explicated, and even more rarely debated, which allowed for an ostensible consensus between different groups which, in fact, referred to its different layers" (Spasić 2013: 216).

To a large extent, unlike Soviet and Eastern-European cosmopolitanism, Yugoslav cosmopolitanism did not reject participation in the global cultural *togetherness* by means of popular culture, including the rituals of mass consumption. In the discussion of the beginnings of rock and roll as a manifestation of cosmopolitanism and what Marina Simić (2010: 345) calls "a feeling of belonging to the world generated through music", we are, obviously, focusing on the cosmopolitan aspects of participation in Western mass culture and orientation towards the West in terms of consumption and lifestyle.

According to Regev's model (Phase 2), each country has its own quasi-mythical moment of the "birth" of its own –"ethno-national" rock, a founding and constitutive historical period, usually lasting from the late 1960s throughout the 1970s. According to the conventional narratives of the industry, during this "golden age" local rock musicians created, for the first time, local rock music "worthy of its name". This could refer to two things: 1) music which matches the standards set by the leading contemporary British and American artists; 2) music which deserves to be credited as locally "authentic" on the strength of the language used, the contents of the lyrics, the social background of the performers etc. (Regev 2007a: 328–329).

Transposed into the Yugoslav context, Phase 2 of Regev's model (consecrated/mythical beginning), the golden age of the birth of "ethno(multi)-national" rock, would encompass the creative endeavours of the musicians who (after successfully passing through Phase 3 and, potentially, Phase 4) are now recognized as respectable rock artists who are to a greater or lesser degree associated with "ethno rock" (again: YU grupa, Korni grupa, S vremena na vreme, Smak, Leb i sol, etc.). Somehow, Bijelo dugme does not fit comfortably into this picture. What seems to be the problem?

## THE *JARANIZATION* OF ROCK AND ROLL AND THE 'WHITE SOCKS DISCOURSE'

In contemporary hip-hop parlance, "*jaran*" could be translated as "homeboy". In 1970s Yugoslavia such "homeboys" were newcomers to the cities with a strong attachment to their home villages and their musical cultures (or the assumed lack thereof). However, their place of origin is specifically Bosnia. That is to say, the word is generally associated only with this part of Yugoslavia, and especially with the

vernacular speech of Bijelo dugme's hometown, Sarajevo. "Jaranization" (*jaranizacija*), a derogatory term coined by the Serbian rock publicist Aleksandar Žikić (1999: 178), refers to rock and roll's "fall from grace" – mass migration in the unlikely, opposite direction – from the city centres into the semi-rural urban outskirts and, eventually, the villages. Moreover, it locates Bosnia as the "heart of darkness" in this process, the part of Yugoslavia where the musical exchanges between the city and the village were most frequent, most intense, and most favourably received and encouraged.

In his 1999 review of Žikić's book *Fatalni ringišpil* (*The Fatal Merry-Go-Round*) in the political weekly *Vreme*, Serbian journalist Nebojša Grujičić summed up Žikić's argument as follows:

> *Sve bilo je muzika* (It was all music) and everything was great. Belgrade's rock and roll was pure as fire. Its resistance to the mainstream meant an alternative way of life, freedom, a philosophy of defiance with a full consciousness of one's own subversiveness and insubordination to the dominant system of false values and morality. The essence of rock in the 1960s amounted to long hair and rejection of compromise, in cover versions of the latest world hits copied from Radio Luxembourg; in the 1970s it was the Grateful Dead's concept of inimitably playing one song for an entire summer afternoon, while the psychedelic fields were revisited in compositions entitled 'Majestetski kraj' ('Majestic End') or 'Solarni modus' ('Solar Modus'). And all of a sudden Belgrade was stormed by the ugly, dirty, bad and easy-going Bosnians: they came 'like the muddy rain', 'carefully programmed and guided by the hand which firmly held the Party membership card' and backed up by the '*sevdalinka* sounds of the central Bosnian massif'... smashing to pieces and degrading everything that was beautiful, pure, good and thoughtful. This is why rock and roll failed; this is why the war broke out; this is why we got the sanctions, bombs and dirty-pink television networks with ultra-stupid films and series for lobotomizing the poor Serbian people... (Grujičić 1999)

In this book, while emphatically praising the first album by Belgrade rock band Pop mašina, *Kiselina* (*Acid*, released in 1973), as the first true rock and roll album in Belgrade, Žikić uses the term "barrier of nonsense" (*barijera gluposti*). This barrier divides the "true, authentic rock and roll, coming from the heart of the city and essentially indifferent to flirting with the Establishment" (Žikić 1999: 169–170) from, one should assume, musical styles which do not satisfy these demands. Nevertheless, Žikić fails to mention that this imaginary barrier was eventually crossed by no other than the fourth original member of the band (later trio) Pop mašina, Sava Bojić (guitar, vocals), when he "crossed over" to the other side – to the "notorious" folk ensemble Južni vetar (Southern Wind), to be precise.

In the breach between those confronting camps, according to Robert Nemeček[2] (bass guitarist of the rock group Pop mašina in the early 1970s), their "only enemy at the moment was mainstream music, ranging from Korni grupa to *narodnjaci*..." (1999: 175). Furthermore, the success of Bijelo dugme, who according to Nemeček, "killed Bambi" (at least in the Yugoslav context), led Žikić to conclude that:

> In those years from Sarajevo came a tide whose rock and roll wrapping effectively concealed the explosive charge of well-tempered uncouthness. Eventually, this would cause a total confusion in the scene, and the potential edge of socio-psychological subversiveness – which rock and roll has to have – would be degraded to a mere decorative level. (Žikić 1999: 175–176)

Žikić blames Bijelo dugme (including their successors in Sarajevo – for instance, Plavi orkestar) for encouraging the "peasants" (*seljačine*) to "proudly and arrogantly be what they are" (1999: 177). According to Žikić, newcomers to the big cities do not represent a problem for the "sensible" citizens of the metropolis as long as they are able to adapt to the demands of "urban life". As soon as they start showing off their perceived lack of manners, "something is seriously not right". In conclusion:

> 'Spitting and singing' have nothing to do with rock and roll. Or with life in the city. Or with life as such. (Žikić 1999: 177)

Thus the history of the *jaranization* of Yugoslav rock and roll takes us into the realm of the "white socks discourse" (Jansen 2005b). According to Stef Jansen, in the post-Yugoslav context the notion of "urban" (and especially of city centre) may imply utterly different things than it does in Manchester, Mexico City or Marseille... (Jansen 2005a: 139). To put it differently, in Western Europe you never encounter a counterculture-oriented person complaining about other people's lack of manners (2005a: 154). The dominant stereotypes about the "frontline peasants", as Jansen calls them, pervade the everyday life, inform a significant portion of the popular culture and feed into the political debates in Serbia (and its wider surroundings).

In the same year that Žikić published his observations on "spitting and singing" (1999), Milić Vukašinović, one of the archetypical

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**2** Later well-known as the editor of film programmes at the Pink television network, "notorious" promoter of turbo-folk from 1994 onwards.

"frontline peasants" of Yugoslav rock and roll (and also a survivor of the siege of Sarajevo) together with his band Vatreni poljubac released the album *Sve će jednom proć' samo neće nikad Rock 'n' Roll* (*Everything Will Pass Except Rock and Roll*). To illustrate the point that frontline peasants always belong to the "other side" (of the front line), let's take a look at the lyrics to a track on this album titled *Tike tike tačke*[3] which describe war refugees who are newcomers to the city (in this case, Sarajevo):

> *... koji ne samo da su oko zgrade počupali cvijeće*
> *već na isto mjesto sa prozora pobacali smeće,*
> *ali avaj, šta ćeš, s' asfaltom teško se barata.*
> *Vala, teže su mi od granata posljedice rata...*
>
> *...who not only tore out the flowers all around the block*
> *but dumped garbage from their windows on the same spots,*
> *but, alas, what can you do, it's hard to deal with asphalt.*
> *Seriously, for me, the consequences of war are more difficult to cope with*
> *than the mortar shells...*

Back in the times before the wars in former Yugoslavia, for example, in 1955, around forty percent of Yugoslavia's working population were peasants/industrial workers (Milić 1978: 111), metaphorically described by the Croatian publicist Veselko Tenžera as "centaurs of the Yugoslav economy" (1988: 129). According to Marko Živković, the urban elite in Serbia overwhelmingly descended directly from the peasantry, acquiring "culture" in the sense of "urbanity", "education", "refinement", and *bildung*. On the other hand, the "peasants" were seen as embodying "culture" as a repository of the national genius – *Volksgeist:* "It was thus extremely difficult for the elite to denounce the 'peasantry' as lacking culture, because that would contradict their traditional position as spokesmen, if not wholesale 'inventors', of the *Volksgeist* embodied by the idealized peasantry" (Živković 1998). Accordingly, musical folklore is largely seen as something that "remains in the past" (Veselinović 1987: 221) and should remain there, for that matter. If authentic "peasants" and their authentic musical traditions were idealized and beyond critique, the odium fell on *inauthentic* peasants: peasant-urbanites, half-breeds, centaurs of the Yugoslav economy who overwhelmingly preferred "bad folk music" (Raković 2011: 121).

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**3** A reference to an older Yugoslav pop hit by Pro Arte (1971), also from Sarajevo.

Such grievances over the rural migrants' lack of taste and manners might not be anything new or unique. Nevertheless, specifically in the Serbian context, the relative social consensus on the backward character of the rural never resulted in a definite agreement as to where one should draw

> the dividing line between urbanity and rurality. It was precisely the absence of such a certainty that was constructed as a symptom of underdevelopment... Hence, following the logic of Bourdieu's distinction, few people could safely assert their distance from village mud. (Jansen 2005b: 162)

The clash between "mud" and "asphalt" is the central dichotomy of Serbian culture. "Asphalt" connotes urbanity by birth and ancestry, including a generational distance from agricultural occupations. According to Ivana Spasić, "asphalt" does not simply connote "a simple eulogy to the 'city' and the devaluation of the 'country'; it is rather advocating the necessity of keeping the two apart" (Spasić 2006: 221). As she states, "in the internal cultural hierarchies of contemporary Serbia, 'urbanity' is a most broadly applicable identity/discursive resource to build strategies of asserting one's own superiority against the 'others'" (2006: 225). "Urbocentric exclusivity" generates social divisions and low-intensity conflicts whose battleground is, in effect, the mythical *city*. That is to say that it is neither clear nor really important that this city of self-conscious, educated, European and well-mannered people ever existed in the first place (Jansen 2005a: 267, 166).

In such cultural circumstances, Bijelo dugme "killed Bambi" by daring to cross the (imaginary) line of separation between mud and asphalt. Their first album introduced a music amalgam labelled "shepherd rock" (*pastirski rok*). The massive and irresistible *jaranization* of Yugoslav rock and roll was thus seen to have commenced with the first sounds of shepherd rock, which irretrievably transformed the rock and roll audiences into a flock of sheep. The term "shepherd rock" itself came from a review of *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* published in the Zagreb weekly *Studio* (30. 11. 1974), where rock critic Dražen Vrdoljak refers to the introductory part of the title track as "shepherdly". Subsequently, the youth magazine *Tina* (25. 12. 1974) promptly introduced the term "shepherd rock" (Vitas 2006: 5). The alternative derogatory term was *čobanski rok*.

> We apply the label *čobanski rok* to something which has internationally (*u svetu*, i.e. in the world) been called *ethno rock* for a very long time. When this shepherd rock is produced by Peter Gabriel, David

> Byrne or David Bowie, it is perceived throughout the world as multicultural global exchange. When something like this is made in the Balkans, it is labelled *čobanski rok* and instantly perceived as peasant stuff, something we should all be ashamed of... (Petar Popović in Mičeta 1995: 30)

As the "registrar who wedded the accordion with the electric guitar" (Ivačković 2014: 234–236), Goran Bregović has (among other things) been labelled as the forefather of turbo-folk.[4] In other words, shepherd rock and its successor musical styles (including turbo-folk) are perceived, in plain Sarajevan, as *muzika za papke* (music for *papci*, another derogatory term for "urban peasants"). Regardless of their whereabouts, *papci* have something in common: they are "'not influenced by the West, and have no knowledge about culture or the outside world'... Such definition reveals a reoccurring notion that western influence is conflated with being cultured and socially acceptable" (Esonu 2012).

## FOLKLORIZATION OF ROCK AND ROLL IN YUGOSLAVIA BEFORE THE "JARANIZATION" PROCESS: THE EARLY PERIOD

Milan Lojpur, a self-taught multi-instrumentalist, is considered to be one of the first, if not the very first, Belgrade *roker* (rocker; performer of so-called *električarska muzika* – electrician music). He also had the nickname Mile Najlon (i.e. Nylon), due to a package of foreign aid merchandise received from the U.S. by his parents. Thus, he was among the first local gentlemen in the post-war period to wear nylon shirts. From 1949 on he played at dance parties in the hall of the National Front (Narodni front), a space measuring 10m x 13m at Cetinjska 32 in Belgrade.

> Here, from a small radio loudspeaker I made a real microphone, and from the magnet from the earphone I made an electric guitar on which I wrote *Mile Naylon*. This was my nickname after a song where I mention nylon stockings – I have always leaned towards this Western (*zapadnjački*) style. (After Fajfrić 2009: 22)

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4 For mythologized conceptions of the folk or nation (*narod*) in the criticism of *novokomponovana narodna muzika* (newly-composed folk music), see Prica 1988. For Islamophobic aspects of the turbo-folk debate, in analogy with the arabesk debate (Stokes 1992), see Vidić-Rasmussen 1996; Šentevska 2013. For recent overviews see Tomić 2014; Šentevska 2014. For a discussion of the Balkanist discourse involved in the debate see Archer 2012. See also: Čvoro 2014: 29–104.

Before he started to play rock and roll, Mile Lojpur mainly performed hits from the San Remo festival. He might have continued to do so, but in the meantime he encountered the films of Elvis Presley. In a 1988 interview, he recalled:

> In the 1950s, I was a secretary at *Filmski grad* (*Film City*) in Košutnjak. I had an opportunity to watch Elvis' films that we received for inspection, although without subtitles. From these movies I picked up a lot of know-how and tricks of the trade. (Ivačković 2013: 40–41)

He continued to play at different venues in Belgrade. However, the apex of his career was a concert held on 4 March 1960 in the Kolarac hall (Kolarčev narodni univerzitet), otherwise a respectable venue for performing classical music. Lojpur's concert was billed as 'Elvis Presley in Belgrade'. According to the rock journalist Ivan Ivačković, Lojpur was the first singer to combine (Yugoslav) folk and rock music (2013: 40). As testified to by his early number 'Twist of Šumadija', which contains references to characters from Balkan epic poetry (Kraljević Marko, Musa Kesedžija), from its very outset, rock and roll culture in Yugoslavia incorporated motifs from the national epic folkloric traditions in a conscious juxtaposition of local (ethnic) and global popcultural idioms.

> *Curo moja prođi pored jarka, pa da vidiš Kraljevića Marka...*
> *Tvist, tvist*
> *Ako nećeš ti pošalji priju, pa da vidi Musu Kesedžiju...*
> *Tvist, tvist*
>
> *My gal, come by the ditch, and you'll see Kraljević Marko...*
> *Twist, twist*
> *If you won't, send over a kinswoman, and she'll see Musa Kesedžija...*
> *Twist, twist*

The song was extremely popular in Belgrade, but perhaps even more in Rovinj (Croatia), where Lojpur performed during the summer. Many years later he described how the local officials from Istria (for instance, the president of the trade union from Pula or the mayor of Buje) would come to listen to his 15-minute long version of the 'Twist from Šumadija' (Ivačković 2013: 40).

The first rock and roll bands in Belgrade who incorporated "ethnic" motifs into their repertoire were Smeli (allegedly the first band who used folk melodies from the "South" of Yugoslavia) and Zlatni dečaci, whose version of the Macedonian folk song 'Jovano, Jovanke' was better received by English audiences in 1966 than

their standard rock repertoire of the period. In fact, Zlatni dečaci (i.e. The Golden Boys) reached England owing to Nikola Karaklajić, a radio host and early supporter of rock on the airwaves of Radio Belgrade, who was also an international chess master. Invited to a chess tournament in Sussex (Bognor Regis), Karaklajić presented Zlatni dečaci as young chess players in order to speed up the process of obtaining their visas (Janjatović 1998: 197). As "ambassadors" of rock and roll on the home front, Zlatni dečaci legitimized the new musical culture not only with numbers like "Foxtrot oriental" (1966), but also with records containing rock covers of classical pieces. Zlatni dečaci were criticized for compromising their integrity as a rock band because of their flirting with classical and folk music. The "strategy" of the band was described by their lead singer Boba Stefanović:

> It was forbidden to play rock music at that time: 'shaggies' (*čupavci*) were chased in the streets and their hair was cut off. My pal Borko (Velibor Kacl)... and I had an idea how to legalize our music and get on Radio Belgrade. We covered a number of classical pieces... Our colleagues can only owe us a debt of gratitude for opening the doors of the radio and TV studios for them. Before us no band (VIS – *vokalno instrumentalni sastav; vocal-instrumental group*) had ever appeared on a radio programme. (Fajfrić 2009: 366)

Owing to Nikola Karaklajić's taking part in (another) chess tournament in the Netherlands, in 1965 Zlatni dečaci released a record under the name *The Golden Boys* for the Dutch record company Fontana. However, no one in Yugoslavia showed any interest in importing and selling these records. According to Karaklajić:

> This was a unique phenomenon: that one of our groups should release its first record abroad and only later at home! Nevertheless, at the same time it revealed the state of mind of the home market: enormous distrust on the part of the producers in the young generation and its music! (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 366–367)

The Belgrade bands that formed in the early 1960s and pioneered the incorporation of folk songs into the standard *beat* repertoire included the group Samonikli, named after a book of short stories by the Slovenian author Prežihov Voranc. The Dixieland band Veseli bendžo negotiated making a record which would include a folk music theme. *TV novosti* reported how for this purpose "the young men from the orchestra bought all the (necessary) instruments: from mandolin to *frula*, in addition to two saxophones, two trombones, two trumpets..."

(Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 350). Bele višnje from Čačak played at dance parties at KUD (cultural-artistic society) Abrašević. Their repertoire included not only rock covers of folk songs, but items in the standard folk repertoire. The veteran generations of Belgrade *rokeri* gave birth to a "notorious" parody neo-folk attraction of the 1970s and 1980s – Rokeri s Moravu (Morava Rockers): the solo guitarist from the band Plamenih 5 formed in 1965 (later Plamenih 6) was Branislav Anđelović – later a notable member of the Morava Rockers.

Contrary to the widespread belief that Bijelo dugme was also the first "stadium band" in socialist Yugoslavia, already in the 1960s, bands of lesser prominence were able to attract thousands of listeners to sports venues. At their extremely successful concert in Priština (4000 to 6000 people at the handball stadium), Plamenih 5 played one Serbian and one Albanian folk song, and "joy had no limits" in the audience. Anđelović explained that they chose the songs themselves and that nobody from the Youth Organization suggested anything or asked what they were going to play at the concert (Raković 2011: 461). In 1968 in the magazine *Džuboks* (i.e. Jukebox) (see Vučetić 2010), Plamenih 6 described their repertoire in the following terms:

> Our favourite songs are soul and rhythm & blues, although we don't observe this strictly when choosing the repertoire. Since we have wind instruments in our orchestra, we included Dixieland and jazz numbers in our repertoire, though we also don't ignore beat music, old urban songs (*stare gradske pesme*) and commercial songs, which are in demand always and everywhere. (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 287)

Respected Belgrade rock veterans YU grupa were also prone to the influences of the "elastically" defined national tradition. Their very first single 'Nona' (1971) was inspired by the musical folklore of Kosovo. One of their best known songs, 'Kosovski božuri' (1972), has direct references to the Serbian epic tradition of the Battle of Kosovo. It is widely assumed that this song cleared the way for the Macedonian band Leb i sol and the wider popularity of the "music of the South" in the Yugoslav rock context. Žikić and other writers associate the way in which YU grupa combined hard rock with "ethnic" elements (in stark contrast to "shepherd rock") with the notions of "mastery", "good taste", "dignity", and even "gentility" (Ivačković 2013: 126). Moreover,

> for decades now, the Jelić brothers (Žika and Dragi), the two most important members of YU grupa, have epitomized integrity and honesty in our music. They symbolize the times when one knew who was allowed to pick up an instrument. (Ivačković 2013: 164)

Besides, in the post-Yugoslav context they remain a rare "institution" in Serbia, which "along with the Yugoslav Drama Theatre and the Yugoslav Cinematheque" symbolizes Yugoslavia itself (Tarlać 2012).

In the early Yugoslav rock scene, the exchange of folkloric material between the republics (and culturally diverse regions within the republics) was in no way a rarity. In addition to the promotion of "brotherhood and unity" (an aspect of "political correctness"), this helped rock bands attract audiences in parts of Yugoslavia other than their own, often responding to the local musical preferences (reflecting simple financial pragmatism). Thus, for instance, the "regional" battle of the bands in the Srem District in 1966 (which included Razmaženi from Ruma, Sirmium from Sremska Mitrovica, Klire from Stara Pazova and Aveti from Inđija) was won by the band Razmaženi, whose repertoire consisted exclusively of "covers" of folk songs. This gave them the opportunity to record the songs 'Moj dilbere' and 'Oće babo da me ženi' for Radio Belgrade (which eventually never happened) (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 81, 293). Among the rare studio recordings of the band Dinamiti from Osijek, which launched the careers of such diverse figures of Yugoslav popular music as Krunoslav Kićo Slabinac, Dado Topić, Josip Boček or Miroslav Šaranović, one can find the songs 'Čađava mehana' and 'Čačak kolo', "in order to cheer up the audiences at village dance parties" (2009: 167). According to their own testimonies from 1966, the band Roboti from Zagreb witnessed delirium in the audience when they played the Bosnian folk classic 'Bosno moja' and some Dalmatian folk songs in a Viennese bar. At a festival in Italy in May 1968, the band wore custom suits with embroidered folkloric ornaments from Gračani in the outskirts of Zagreb (2009: 299).

According to Siniša Škarica, long-time producer and music executive at the record company Jugoton, fellow media executives who worked with young rock musicians in the early 1960s, wary of "Americanization", insisted on recording their own or Yugoslav original compositions:

> newly-composed songs or covers of folk or classical motifs. There are many examples – from Bijele strijele, Sjene, Atomi and Mladi to Zlatni dečaci, Crveni koralji and Iskre. (Raković 2011: 371)

The song 'Osmijeh' by Drago Mlinarec and Grupa 220, recorded in late 1966 in the studio at Radio Zagreb, is considered to be the first rock hit written by a Yugoslav rock musician. The song achieved such popularity that other bands included this song in their repertoire (the first such example in the Yugoslav context). Their first record, released in the following year, contains Mlinarec's song 'Večer

na Robleku' ('Evening on Roblek'). This song was a condition for releasing the record because the Jugoton executives wanted the band to include a cover of a (Slovenian) polka in their repertoire (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 202).

The first record by the band Zlatni akordi (The Golden Chords) from Zagreb, released in 1966, included the standard rock hits 'My Generation', 'Lady Jane', 'You Were On My Mind' and their "beat" version of the Dalmatian traditional song 'Marice divojko'. Four years later they invested great hopes in the number 'Čerge', composed by their new member, a young singer from Osijek named Zlatko Pejaković, and based on the *melos* (folk music) of Slavonia. This again came as a result of the influence of Jugoton executives: one of them suggested that a band from Zagreb should follow the lead of Dubrovački trubaduri and use folkloric elements in their music (2009: 362). Even the notable pop band Novi fosili (formed in 1969 from members of the disbanded ensemble of Dražen Boić), began to create music with juxtaposed elements of jazz and folk songs of Međimurje. The musical preferences of Novi fosili were at the time "based on jazz" (2009: 270).

Macedonian folklore crossed the borders of the socialist republics of Yugoslavia with the greatest of ease. In addition to Iskre, Siluete and the aforementioned Zlatni dečaci, Crni biseri (the band of Belgrade's notable rock pioneer Vlada Janković Džet) could not resist its allure. The first record by Crni biseri contained Džet's number 'Ne odlazi', which contained Macedonian folkloric elements (2009: 126). In 1967, Delfini from Zagreb released a (rhythm & blues) version of the Macedonian traditional song 'Kaleš bre Anđo', on which they wanted to use a *daf*.[5] Since none of the band members knew how to play the instrument, Jugoton editor and producer Pero Gotovac sat in with them (2009: 162). Delfini from Split had an (instrumental) track based on Macedonian *melos* and titled 'Sedam koraka' ('Seven Steps') on their first record, released in 1968. The band's members, proud of this achievement, claimed that they were the only Yugoslav beat band allowed to have four of their own songs on their first record (2009: 157).

Crveni koralji from Zagreb (according to some sources, it might have been the group 4M) launched a new dance in 7/8 time called the Makedo. Following their lead, the Belgrade band Smeli and their composer Vojkan Borisavljević launched a new dance called the Touch on the TV program *Omladinski kviz* (*Youth Quiz*) (1966), accompanied by his music inspired by the Macedonian folkloric heritage. It turned

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5 Originally a Persian frame drum, with the frame usually made of hardwood with metal rings attached, and a head made of goatskin.

out that this experiment was also largely unsuccessful. Borisavljević complained in the magazine *Džuboks*:

> There was little interest in the Macedonian rhythms, although everyone is moaning about a national style. While the television [presenter] was introducing the new dance, the camera panned the orchestra... (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 335)

Naturally, the Macedonian *melos* was present in the rock music of Macedonia as well: at the first festival of Yugoslav pop music held in Zagreb on 3 September 1968, the band Bis-Bez from Skopje performed their version of the folk song 'More sokol pie'. Like many other artists after them (Leb i sol, Dado Topić, Azra, Toše Proeski, etc.) their repertoire included the folk classic 'Si zaljubiv edno mome' ('I Loved a Girl'), etc.

But what about Bosnia? What made the popular music scene in Bosnia (and specifically in Sarajevo) unique in the Yugoslav context – such a strong identity marker for generations of Bosnians with different ethnic backgrounds? First of all, the early rock musicians' insistence on authorship and originality, along with singing in the native language – which came from the executives in the relatively underdeveloped media and recording industry (Vesić 2014: 9–14), in comparison to the other capitals of the Yugoslav socialist republics. "Ljudi, dajte nešto svoje," ("people, do something of your own") was a paradigmatic call to young rockers that came from Esad Arnautalić, composer, producer and music editor at Radio Sarajevo[6] (Nikčević 2014). Arnautalić was also the founder of the Music Production Department at Radio Sarajevo and founder of the music festival Vaš šlager sezone (Your evergreen of the season). According to Kornelije Kovač, Arnautalić created this festival to "finally pull Sarajevo out of the grey zone on the margins of the goings-on in music... so that musicians and composers would start wondering what's going on over there in Bosnia" (Kovač 2010: 203). Though responsible for the mega-successful version of the French Eurovision chanson 'Elle était si jollie' ('Bila je tako lijepa') performed by Dragan Stojnić (1965) as an early Yugoslav popular music hit which came from Sarajevo, Arnautalić decided that the city should have its own, original music.

> He said: 'Anyone who has something of his own, let him bring it. Anyone who doesn't, so long.' (*Ko ima nešto svoje, nek' donese. Ko nema, vozdra.*). (Vesić 2014: 13)

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6 The early supporters of pop music among the executives of Radio Sarajevo included, among others, Nikša Dabović, Zlatko Daniš and Vladislav Bezuljak.

His brother Ismet Nuno Arnautalić was a founding member of the band Indexi. Indexi responded promptly to Esad's call, and their entire repertoire was soon in Serbo-Croatian. The reputation of the music being produced in Sarajevo also gained momentum owing to the efforts of two poets, lyricists whose style was highly appreciated on the popular music scene, Vlado Dijak (1925–1988) and Duško Trifunović (1933–2006) who was also a well-known television personality[7] and an early supporter of rock and roll.

In other words, the reproductive rock culture of the time was not well appreciated in the media outlets in Sarajevo. However, although this policy encouraged originality and authorship, a lot of local musical talent was lost due to the lack of infrastructure for the music industry. Sarajevo did not have a record company until Diskoton was founded in 1973, which is one of the reasons why many pioneers of rock and pop music moved from Sarajevo to Yugoslav centres which provided more opportunities for music professionals, mainly Belgrade and Zagreb. The early manifestations of rock culture reflected a cultural clash between the "global" and the "local": following the current *gitarijada* trend (festivals of young, unsigned bands), Sarajevo held its own *gitarijada* in March 1967 under the title Electricity threatens sevdah: the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina under 220 volts (Raković 2011: 426).

Among the first bands in Sarajevo to incorporate folk motifs in pop/rock music was Zid, founded in the late 1960s by Nikola Borota Radovan, composer and later producer of the album *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* (*If I Were a White Button,* see above). His combination of pop and folk was well received locally, as Borota also worked on a TV program where he "pushed" songs derived from folkloric traditions (Vesić 2014: 37). At the time of Bijelo dugme's first album, his influence on Goran Bregović was also substantial. With his subsequent project Kamen na kamen (which included the future pan-Yugoslav pop diva Neda Ukraden), Borota continued to explore new vocal concepts based on the use of folklore, which eventually led to a "rather apparent 'redressing' of *sevdalinkas* in modern attire (Hanka Paldum, Sejo Pitić, Mile Kitić)" (Borota in Pavlović 2013). Borota wrote some of the lyrics for Indexi, whose members in 1967–68 also included Kornelije Kovač. While still a member of Indexi, Kovač maintained a double identity which would mark the rest of his long career in Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav show business: he worked on

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7 His youth program 'Na ti' (To You) introduced 12 new tracks from local artists every month.

festival pop music, which garnered him publicity and official recognition, while at the same time experimenting with more sophisticated music which included the use of folklore. His contribution to the early stages of the career of Indexi thus included the number 'Boj na Mišaru' ('The Battle of Mišar'), where Kovač used the lyrics of Serbian epic poet and *guslar* Filip Višnjić (1767–1834) and the traditional *saz* from a family of Turkish and Iranian stringed instruments. For this number, guitarist Slobodan Bodo Kovačević played a "solo" using the ultimate instrument of epic folklore – the *gusle*, a strong national identity marker for several ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, especially in the subsequent conflicts (Žanić 1998; Čolović 2008: 133–182; Milojević 2006). In a recent interview, Kovač made a comment on the fate of this song:

> At that time everything was *ours*, Yugoslav: *our* epic poetry, *our* tradition, *our* culture. That is how we lived... The song 'Boj na Mišaru' ends with the lyrics:
> *Rani sina pak šalji na vojsku / Srbija se umirit' ne može...* (Feed your son and send him into battle / Serbia cannot find its peace...)
> Who would even have dreamt of all the things that have happened in the meantime...
> They recorded the song, although Jugoton never released it. However, 'Boj na Mišaru' performed by Indexi and Davorin Popović re-emerged as a bootleg in the 1990s. And in Bulgaria, of all places! During the siege of the city, that song was played for the Sarajevans from Pale!? I hope not too often. (Nikčević 2014)

When he moved from Sarajevo to Belgrade, Korni grupa became Kovač's most important project. In 1969, he participated as a composer in the Yugoslav pre-selection for the Eurovision Song Contest with the song 'Cigu ligu', whose main feature was described as "abundant and tasteful use of folk *melos*" (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 241–242). Instead of the song 'Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme', the first "shepherd rock" song could easily have been Korni grupa's 1969 track 'Pastir i cvet' ('The Shepherd and the Flower'). Here, a young shepherd awakens in the mountains, takes his *frula* (traditional flute), and plays for his flock:

> With the song 'Pastir i cvet', Korni grupa went to the Netherlands, to the Singing Europe festival, where they won the award as the most interesting and most original band. My bassist played a *saz*, having found it previously in some village in Bosnia-Herzegovina; the other guitarist played a *šargija*; the drummer played a *tarabuk*, and I played a little Indian flute, which I otherwise learned to play just so I could do the introduction to the song. (Kovač in Nikčević 2014)

Korni grupa's greatest commercial success, 'Trla baba lan' (1970) (soon afterwards recorded by the Egyptian-Italian pop diva Dalida as 'Ram dam dam'), was derived from a traditional Serbo-Croatian proverb. Kovač later transposed his eclectic fascination with folklore in his collaboration with Yugoslav celebrity pop/folk performers like Zdravko Čolić or Lepa Brena. In the same interview he explained that even Zdravko Čolić's famous 1977 disco hit 'Pjevam danju, pjevam noću' was based on Hungarian folklore: "Pure *csárdás*!" Nevertheless, Kovač claims: "I have never primarily relied on folkloric melodic and harmonic structures; instead, I borrowed little motifs which demonstrate that what I am doing is still somehow *here*, that it exists in our Balkan traditions" (Nikčević 2014).

In 1974 Korni grupa eventually did represent Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest in Brighton (famous for ABBA's win with the classic 'Waterloo'), with the song 'Moja generacija' (i.e. My Generation), "which was unimaginable for any contemporary (Yugoslav) rock band" (Arnautović 2012: 158). Korni grupa's ambivalent attachment both to alternative rock and light mainstream music, often provoked public debates, and fellow rock musicians even accused Kovač of the "genocide of rock and roll" (Kovač 2010: 48). He was criticized on similar grounds by Aleksandar Žikić in his book *Fatalni ringišpil* (1999: 126, 127, 175).

In 1971, Ismet Nuno Arnautalić, together with Goran Bregović and Zoran Redžić, founded the band Jutro – the early version of Bijelo dugme. After parting ways with Arnautalić in 1973, the rest of the band continued rehearsals with Miodrag Bata Kostić, who had recently left YU grupa. At this period Bregović showed keen interest in "Bata's shy *ethno-rock* endeavour 'Kosovski božuri'", acclaimed at the time by audiences and critics alike (Vesić 2014: 37).

It is interesting to note that the first attempts at *ethno-rock* by Bijelo dugme were received with the almost identical rhetoric of unconditional support which Aleksandar Žikić used in the discussion of 'Kosovski božuri' and YU grupa's combination of folklore and hard rock. At least this was the case with Ognjen Tvrtković in the first article on Bijelo dugme published in *Džuboks* in July 1974, before the release of their first album:

> The composer and musical leader of the band Goran Bregović insists on a blend of the Yugoslav folkloric tradition and the 'hard-rock' style, which produces interesting combinations and an original sound which makes them different from other bands. This especially applies to the tracks from the first two small records released for Jugoton – *Top* and *Glavni junak jedne knjige* – which include the tasteful use of motifs from Bosnian folk music. (Tvrtković 1974: 29)

The uneasy balance between the "global" and the "local" in the overall oeuvre of Bijelo dugme, the long-lasting "shepherd rock" debate and its mass popularity in both the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav contexts can all be situated within the on-going conflict along the lines of a division between two types of cultural capital – the global and the local. Their respective proponents continually struggle to promote their own cultural resources as legitimate (Cvetičanin, Nedeljković and Krstić 2012: 55). Furthermore, such conflicts have "clear political aspects" (Cvetičanin 2007: 257). At least in the post-Yugoslav context, as a form of accumulation of global cultural capital, *cosmopolitanism* (being "in touch with the (Western) world" and therefore "cultured and socially acceptable") is still used as a discursive weapon against newcomers from the villages, refugees and other "peasants", perceived as both culturally and morally deficient from a superior urban standpoint (see Simić 2010).

In the early days of Bijelo dugme, Goran Bregović's work tiptoed along the elusive border between "covert folklore" and "Mića's (Milić Vukašinović) idea of cosmopolitanism" (Ivačković 2013: 126). This was also reflected in the band's appearance, "original on the global scale", including Bosnian peasant vests, sequins and platform boots worn at the time by the likes of Sweet and Slade. "Glam rock and a Bebek[8] moustache" (Ivačković 2014: 234) was their magic formula for success. Outfits which met the fashion standards of the contemporary English rock stars made a striking impression on the fans (especially teenagers searching for a new generation of idols) and fellow musicians alike. Bregović's ability to impersonate Jimmy Page on stage was also highly appreciated (see Aleksić 2011: 112). Concocting an indigenous formula of Yugoslav popular music, he came to represent an affirmative answer to Dražen Vrdoljak's rhetorical question: "Can a Yugoslav play rock and roll?" (Ivačković 2013: 133–134) Bijelo dugme consequently established itself as the first truly "pan-Yugoslav rock phenomenon" (Vitas 2006: 13). Eventually, in the Yugoslav context, Bijelo dugme's "indigenous stylistic developments" to some extent undermined the relevance of American and British pop-rock for the local music scene (see Frith 2004).

The album *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* was released on 18 November 1974, causing a national sensation (Vesić 2014: 47–82; Ivačković 2013: 124–129). This has been described in many biographies about the band's history (Štrbac 1977; Pavlović 1980; Vrdoljak and Glavan

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**8** Željko Bebek, the lead singer of Bijelo dugme.

1981; Vesić 1985; Krstulović 2005; Osmanović 2007). Using a limited number of characteristic examples, this paper argues that this launch was not an isolated turning point in the history of Yugoslav popular music, but an element of a specific continuum. The influences of traditional and newly-composed folk music and the commercial compromises which rock musicians made with the taste of the folklore-leaning audiences and media executives were not only present continually, but were embedded in the very foundations of the cultural and media phenomenon known as "Yugoslav rock". The myth of *jaranization* launched in 1974 with the inauguration of shepherd (quasi-)rock merely obliterates this fact, in the struggle for the symbolic capital which this fantasy of "pure" and uncompromising rock and roll, as the elite urban culture of young (anti-)socialist Yugoslavia, might leave to its post-Yugoslav "successors".

Observed from this perspective, the only "extraordinary" thing about the album *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* was its exceptional commercial success and access to new audiences – urban and rural "peasants" alike, crossing the imaginary border drawn between asphalt and mud. If Yugoslav rock and roll was ever subversive and controversial, this record and the rest of the band's career challenged this myth of the border which must never be crossed – otherwise, the "asphalt" would be irretrievably drowned in the "mud" of the *papak* (urban peasant) mentality and bad taste associated with the backwaters of (globalized) civilization.

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# Early Slovenian Gramophone Records and Their Popularity

Drago Kunej

## INTRODUCTION

A new technology of sound recording and reproduction was developed at the end of the 19th century using the gramophone, which soon monopolised the market and replaced the phonograph and wax cylinders. At the beginning of the 20th century, gramophone discs with previously recorded music prevailed, resulting in a substantial impact on the performance and consumption of music.

From its very beginning, the appearance and growth of the recorded music industry were mainly a result of various commercial aspirations. The early period of sound recording and reproduction, and the associated growth of the music industry, was predominantly marked by a battle for patents and market dominance. Thomas Edison, whose device was the first to be able to record and play back

recorded sound, patented and thus legally protected his device, which he called the phonograph, immediately after inventing it in 1877. This caused Emile Berliner to approach his idea of sound recording in different manner to avoid the existing patents, in developing what would become the gramophone in 1888. Instead of the wax cylinders which were used to record sounds by the phonograph, he opted for a disc as the medium and used lateral sound inscription in a groove, as opposed to the vertical, "hill-and-dale" inscription used in Edison's phonograph. Both of these important characteristics that separate gramophones from phonographs later played a crucial role in securing the dominance of the gramophone and its discs. Due to their recording method, gramophone recordings were much simpler to produce than phonograph recordings, and therefore the reproduction devices could be produced and sold at lower price, while pressing and copying records was much less costly than copying cylinders. Berliner soon licensed his process to mass-produce gramophone records to other companies that produced commercial records, effectively resulting in their mass production and the growth of the music industry. The companies soon began competing on the market, which often caused the smaller ones to go bankrupt or to be acquired by larger competitors (cf. Burt 1963; Lechleitner 2004).

Gramophone companies realised very early on that in order to sell gramophones and records, they needed to offer the consumers their local music, which was familiar to them and which they could easily identify with. The performers and repertoire were selected on the basis of various factors. In Europe, the most telling example is that of the Gramophone Company, which approached marketing in a unique way. Very early on, the company opened subsidiaries which often covered large language groups in Europe and were responsible for local recordings and marketing. Through this approach they gained a commercial advantage based on a continuous supply of new recordings, engaging a variety of performers, and attracting large numbers of buyers. The gramophone companies in the United States approached their marketing of foreign-language and folk-music recordings in the most comprehensive and systematic way. These recordings were aimed at immigrant groups, which were considered excellent consumers. Special sales catalogues with series labelled *ethnic music* or *foreign speaking* promoted records in various immigrant groups' native languages (cf. Gronow 1982).

This paper introduces Slovenian material on 78 rpm gramophone discs, recorded in the earliest period of recordings up to the beginning of the Second World War, and specifically analyses the

popularity of these early recorded songs and tunes among listeners and gramophone companies. For the purpose of this analysis, a vast and detailed database of gramophone recordings from the period was created, based on extensive archive research and material collection at various locations. The search for the recordings was carried out in cooperation with a wide network of Slovenian and international institutions and individuals (collectors, experts and researchers). The research took place between 2009 and 2012 as part of the research project "Sound Material from Gramophone Records as a Source for Ethnomusicology and Folklore Research" at the Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU).

The database contains over 2,650 documented discography units, approximately 1,250 digital copies of sound recordings, and almost 3,000 digital units of visual material. The sheer volume of the material collected has exceeded all expectations, and now represents the basis of the Digital Collection of Gramophone Records at the Institute of Ethnomusicology (GNI DZGP). This material testifies to the existence of a relatively large number of gramophone records with Slovenian (folk) music recorded before the Second World War. It represents an important cultural heritage. The material preserved in electronic form can provide a basis for various studies, while allowing easy access to the content.

Slovenian material on old gramophone records, known predominantly as 78 rpm records or shellac records, can be chronologically classified in several ways. However, it makes sense to focus on a division into two periods based on the developments in recording technology: initially, recordings were made acoustically, and after the 1920s, recordings were made using electricity. The first period lasted from the time of the earliest recordings to around 1925. During this period, recordings were made without the benefit of electronic amplification, and the sound quality (fidelity) was rather inferior by later standards. The sound from some instruments, such as violins, could not be picked up accurately unless the instruments were modified to concentrate the sound. Furthermore, it was very difficult to record larger groups of performers because only a limited number of musicians could be located close to the horns. As a result, the majority of the early Slovenian singers were accompanied by just one or a few instruments, and only small instrumental groups were recorded. The second period began circa 1925, when the so-called "electrical process" for cutting gramophone discs was introduced (cf. Lechleitner 2004). This recording process featured the use of microphones, electronic amplification, and electromagnetic recording heads.

The result was a great improvement in fidelity over the acoustic process, and the capability to record larger orchestras. The new technology also brought about significant changes in performance practice, ensemble structure, methodological approach, recording aesthetics, and other areas, all of which is reflected in the recorded material and the marketing of the records.

Slovenian recordings could further be divided into two large groups, according to the location of recording sessions: firstly, recordings made in Ljubljana and other European cities and, secondly, recordings made by Slovenian immigrants in the US. This division is also based on the recorded material's characteristics, although many recordings were marketed globally and grew beyond ethnic and geographic borders.

## THE EARLY SLOVENIAN GRAMOPHONE RECORDS

The first gramophone recordings of Slovenian music were made shortly after the new technology was introduced. However, these recordings did not attract much attention on the Slovenian market.

Slovenians were aware of the possibilities of recording and sound reproduction early on, as can be seen from various newspaper articles. One of the earliest published articles in Slovenia that relates to gramophones can be found as early as 1890, soon after the gramophone first appeared on the market. In the newspaper *Dolenjske novice,* Alfons Oblak published a rather comprehensive article titled 'Fonograf, grafofon in gramofon' ('Phonograph, Graphophone and Gramophone'). Basing his article on the World's Fair in Paris in 1889, he included a brief description of the operation and history of the devices and added his thoughts about the possibilities arising from the new technical developments. An editorial note reveals that Oblak, who was a merchant, wanted to become the main representative and retailer of gramophones in this part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Oblak 1890: 139). Most probably, nothing came of this grand plan of his, since no further advertisements by Oblak for his gramophones can be found in the newspapers.

Although different gramophone companies produced recordings with Slovenian content before the First World War, [1] it was the

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1 Slovenian recordings from the period have been preserved on various labels, such as Gramophone Co., Zonophone, Dacapo, Odeon, Jumbo, Jumbola, Homokord, Favorite, Kalliope, Lyrphon, Parlophon, Pathé and others.

Gramophone Company that played a major role in the beginnings of the music industry in Slovenia. During the early years of the 20th century, the Gramophone Co. monopolised the sales of gramophones and records in Europe (cf. Gronow and Englund 2007: 282). In addition, the company's model of recording and the nature of its business practices set an example for future recording companies. The Gramophone Co. recordings are therefore highly important to the European context and especially for the understanding of the beginnings of the music industry in the Slavic countries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans. It is no coincidence that the first recordings of Slovenian music were made by the Gramophone Company.[2]

At the turn of the century, when gramophones and gramophone records were gaining worldwide popularity, news about the new technology was becoming more common in Slovenian newspapers as well. In 1900 the newspaper *Slovenec* published a report about a lecture in Ljubljana on reproduction from "a gramophone, which was kindly made available by local retailer Mr. Fran Čuden" (Slovenec, 9. 11. 1900, p. 3). The article does not say whether Mr. Čuden was selling gramophones or if he merely lent his own gramophone for the purpose of the lecture. Listening to gramophone records, also at public events, became increasingly frequent in the following years, as is shown by various newspaper reports.

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**2** The founding of the Gramophone Company in London is closely connected with Emil (later Emile) Berliner, the inventor of the gramophone and owner of patents for the gramophone and gramophone record production. Berliner, who was a successful businessman in the United States (most notably with the U.S. Gramophone Company and the Berliner Gramophone Company), wanted to expand to Europe. In May 1898, the Berliner Gramophone Company (soon renamed the Gramophone Company) was founded in London and held exclusive rights to sell gramophone records in Europe. The company first marketed only American products, however by agreement with Berliner it also set up a recording studio in London. In the summer of 1898, Frederick (Fred) William Gaisberg, a recording expert from the United States, arrived in London and the first recording sessions in Europe soon took place. In December of the same year, a subsidiary for the pressing of gramophone records, Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft, was set up in Hannover, Germany, where Berliner's brother owned a telephone factory. In 1899, the Gramophone Co. started establishing outlets and subsidiaries in larger European cities. That same year the company also bought the original picture of a dog listening to a gramophone and named it His Master's Voice. The picture soon became the logo of the Victor Talking Machine Company in the USA, which had close ties to the Gramophone Co. in the UK. Approximately a decade later, circa 1910, the Gramophone Co. adopted the picture as its logo, which replaced the earlier "Recording Angel" logo, which featured an angel writing on a gramophone record with a feather. The company also began production of typewriters in December 1900, and later electric clocks, and changed its name to the Gramophone and Typewriter Company (G&T). The new products did not turn out to be very successful, and hence, in 1907, the company changed its name back to the Gramophone Company, which was kept until 1931, when it merged with Columbia, creating Electric & Musical Industries (EMI). For more details about the history of the Gramophone Co. see Sherman 2010; Friedman s.a.

From 1902 onwards, gramophones and gramophone records were being systematically advertised in Slovenian newspapers, which often advertised "international music and singing" at the same time (cf. Kunej D. 2014). However, the advertisements at the turn of the century did not yet include Slovenian recordings.

The sole exception is the recordings of two songs made in Vienna for the Gramophone Co. in 1902 by the internationally acclaimed Slovenian singer Franc Pogačnik, a.k.a. "Naval" (cf. Kelly 2009). According to the current knowledge, these are the oldest available recordings of Slovenian music on gramophone discs. Both songs, 'Pred durmi' ('At the Door') and 'Ljubici' ('To My Lover'), were released on single-sided records, which were still being printed at that time. They are listed with their German titles as well and are listed as being 'Slovenian traditional' songs, although they were most probably merely composed on the basis of material from the Slovenian folk tradition. These recordings very soon found their way to the Slovenian audience. In those times, listening to gramophone records was often part of the programme at various cultural events, as attested by the following article in the current events section of the newspaper *Slovenec*. "Quite charming pieces emanated from the gramophone with a solo performance by our own Naval ringing out as the most delightful of all" (Slovenec, 7. 3. 1902, p. 3). Proof that these two records were also on sale in Ljubljana comes in the form of an advertisement in the newspaper *Slovenski narod*, in which clockmaker Rudolf Weber offers "A magnificent selection of discs from hard rubber, including Slovenian discs, performed by court opera singer Fran Naval-Pogačnik" (Slovenski narod, 2. 7. 1902, p. 6). However, these first Slovenian records were not in any way emphasised in the advertisement, and were soon thereafter taken out of its wording.

In the autumn of 1905, Rudolf Weber began advertising Slovenian gramophone records again, but this time he paid special attention to them by emphasising and labelling them as a special novelty. *Slovenski narod* ran an advertisement, announcing:

> New! From today on, Slovenian records for gramophone, excellent singing on the recordings, are available [...] clockmaker Rudolf Weber. (Slovenski narod, 28. 10. 1905, p. 10)

The news about Slovenian recordings was highlighted in bold letters using a special font. This advertisement was repeated in the newspaper several times over the next few days. A somewhat later advertisement, meanwhile, also listed the titles of records in Slovenian:

> Male performers: 'Naprej zastava slave' ('Forward, Flag of Glory!') – 'U boj' ('Into Battle') – 'Slovenske pesmi' ('Slovenian Songs') – 'Al' me boš kaj rada imela' ('Will You Love Me Just a Bit?') – 'Zagorski zvonovi' ('Mountain Bells') – 'Kje so moje rožice' ('Where Have My Flowers Gone'). (Slovenski narod, 9. 11. 1905, p. 6)

New Slovenian records for sale, moreover, included instrumental songs performed by a tambourine band: "'Sokolska koračnica' ('Falcon March') – 'Liepa naša domovina' ('Our Beauteous Homeland')". Based on the newspaper articles, it can be assumed that these Slovenian recordings were made for the Gramophone Co. in around the first half of 1905. However, Weber closed his shop in 1906, and in the second half of 1906 and throughout 1907 there was no systematic advertising of gramophones or gramophone records and no mention of Slovenian recordings.

A review of Slovenian advertisements shows that some of Slovenian gramophone recordings first appeared in 1902 and later in 1905, but more often and more systematically from the second half of 1908 onwards, when Gramophone Company records with recordings from Ljubljana first appeared on the market (Kunej D. 2014).

## SLOVENIAN RECORDS MADE IN LJUBLJANA

The big turning point in advertising gramophone records in Slovenia occurred in 1908, when clockmaker Fran P. Zajec of Ljubljana placed an advertisement in *Slovenski narod*. The advertisement announced a large stock of gramophones and records, including Slovenian material. Not long after that, he published an article in the newspaper profiling Slovenian performers and advertising a selection of recordings by each of these performers. At the beginning of December 1908, he also published an advertisement with an extensive list of performers and recordings. This advertisement provided, for the first time, a detailed list of Slovenian recordings published on Zonophone records in 1908, which had clearly been recorded before the summer of that year. The Zonophone logo with the new trademark of the Gramophone Co. (the famous illustration of a dog listening to "his master's voice") can be clearly seen at the top of the advertisement. Apparently Zajec obtained a license through an Austrian company to sell Gramophone Co. products in Slovenia, because Gramophone Co. used its numerous subsidiaries to market its records on various labels, which included the Zonophone label. In the weeks leading up to Christmas 1908,

many other merchants also published advertisements selling gramophones and records and many also highlighted new Slovenian recordings. Looking at the newspaper advertisements, it can be concluded that the systematic and frequent advertising of Slovenian recordings on gramophone records began in the second half of 1908, when new Gramophone Co. recordings appeared in the Slovenian market with recordings from Ljubljana.

Until recently, recordings of Slovenian music made in Ljubljana by a few gramophone companies before the First World War had been almost entirely overlooked. The reason for this could be that many of the earliest gramophone recordings were made in larger European capitals, e.g. Vienna, Berlin and Budapest, where recording venues were located in hotels or halls (and later also in recording studios), and where performers were invited for recording sessions. This method of recording was financially more efficient, as it was cheaper to invite performers to recording venues in major cities than to transport large, heavy and cumbersome equipment to performers. Nevertheless, some companies recorded outside the major recording centres, as this allowed them to record a more varied programme with diverse performers who were local and thus better known and more popular with the local audience. Thus, the companies secured the local market for the sales of their records and gramophones (cf. Pennanen 2007). Recording experts from various companies often brought their recording equipment to important regional centres, where they used larger hotels or suitable local halls to set up impromptu recording studios. For Slovenian recordings, these included mainly Zagreb and Ljubljana. The company that did the most recording across Europe and worldwide was the Gramophone Co., with its headquarters in Britain and with many subsidiaries in different European countries.

In 1907, the Gramophone Co. apparently began a systematic strategy to enter the market in the southern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans. This year marks the beginning of frequent recording sessions in the larger regional centres of this geographical area. Two recording experts, brothers Franz and Max Hampe from Berlin, were responsible for the recording. They were employed by the Berlin subsidiary and mostly recorded in central, south-eastern and eastern Europe (cf. Kelly 1995, 2000, 2009; Pennanen 2007).

The first extensive recording sessions in the southern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans were made in 1907 by Franz Hampe. In the spring of 1907, Hampe first went to Lvov, followed by Budapest, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade, from where he returned to Berlin. In 1908, his brother Max Hampe (1877–1957)

began recording in the same region. Judging from the matrix numbers, he started recording in Budapest and continued in Zagreb, Sarajevo, Ljubljana, Shkodër (Albania) and Montenegro. Whether the cities followed in this very order, as suggested by the matrix numbers, cannot be fully determined, as it has often turned out that the running order of the matrix numbers cannot be entirely relied upon. Still, it can be said with confidence that the recordings from this trip were made before the summer in 1908, which can be proved by the advertisements in Slovenian newspapers, which started to advertise the Slovenian records from this trip from early July onwards (cf. Kunej D. 2014). Max Hampe made recordings in Ljubljana again in the spring of 1909 (during his trip from Berlin to Budapest, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Graz, Prague, Vienna, Frankfurt etc.), and in the summer of 1910 (Berlin, Prague, Genoa, Lausanne, Ljubljana, Vienna, Berlin) (cf. Kelly 1995, 2000). Between 1907 and 1910, Max Hampe recorded in Ljubljana three times. Based on the matrix numbers, it can be estimated that he made about 160 recordings during this period.

The recording sessions of the Gramophone Company that took place in Ljubljana in 1908 represent a significant turning point in the recording of records with Slovenian material because they set an example later followed by other gramophone companies. At the end of that year, the first Slovenian recordings by Dacapo, a company from Berlin, were made, and published by the same label a short time later. In the following years, the company Favorite also made recordings in Ljubljana. Various sources make it possible to conclude that recording experts from the most important European gramophone companies did record in Ljubljana, some of them more than once. A lot of these records were later reissued and made available on the European as well as the American markets.

From the preserved recordings, catalogues, and other lists and data sources, it can be concluded that Slovenian music was also recorded in Zagreb (Croatia), Vienna (Austria), Berlin (Germany) and other European places where numerous Slovenian artists were present. Slovenian music was also recorded by musicians from other (Slavic) nations (cf. Edison Bell Penkala 1927; Rasberger 1930; Staklarević 1997).

It is therefore not surprising that the merchant Fran P. Zajec soon considerably expanded his inventory of gramophone records and gramophones. In an advertisement from the middle of 1910, he boasted the largest stock of gramophones and gramophone records in Slovenia and informed the public that a price list for Slovenian records including over 400 recordings could be obtained from him. Although

some of the material he offered was probably only "adapted" for Slovenian consumers and merely seemed to include recordings of Slovenian origin, this is still a surprising number of records with Slovenian material, especially because they had appeared on the Slovenian market over a fairly short period of two years.

## RECORDINGS BY SLOVENIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA

The sale of records featuring music performed by immigrants presented an important marketing opportunity for American record companies. Because so many immigrants, mainly from the Old World, had found their new home in the USA, the music industry started seeing them as potential buyers and began recording so-called ethnic music or music for foreign-speaking buyers. A large number of such records contained popular and folk songs and characteristic instruments, which helped the immigrants to keep their memories of the motherland.

Slovenian immigrants to the United States represented a good market for gramophone records. As they had done for immigrants from other countries, the large record companies produced Slovenian-language catalogues of records by Slovenian performers for Slovenian listeners. In doing so, they were largely counting on immigrants' nostalgia for their homeland and hoping that this would increase record and gramophone sales. For example, the 1925 catalogue *Victorjevi Recordi v Slovenščini* (*Victor Records in Slovenian*), which especially emphasised that it contained all of the Slovenian records issued by the company up to January 1925, started out by stating:

> With the help of Victor, you can hear the music of your native land and enjoy the best and most beautiful sounds of the land where you were born. Refresh your memories of the distant days of your youth in a far-off homeland. The songs that you sang and the music that you danced to is sung and played here by the best and most popular artists, your fellow countrymen. (Victorjevi Recordi 1925: 1)

Slovenian artists made recordings for various gramophone companies, including all three then leading USA record labels: the Victor Talking Machine Co., Columbia Graphophone Co. and Okeh Records. The sessions were mostly recorded in New York, Chicago and Cleveland.

American record companies undertook the most comprehensive and systematic ethnic music marketing campaigns, with a view

to addressing the needs of numerous immigrants who were excellent buyers of gramophone records. Adverts which offered gramophone records with Slovenian recordings can be found in several newspapers, especially *Ameriška domovina* (*American Home*) and *Amerikanski Slovenec* (*American Slovenian*). Companies often used distinct series of catalogue numbers for records that were intended for immigrants in order to increase their market visibility. Such series were at first represented by large blocks of catalogue numbers, reserved for foreign-language records. However, after 1920, with the growing number of such records, large companies started to mark individual series with prefixes and suffixes.

The Victor, Columbia and Okeh companies, the leading gramophone publishers of foreign-language records in the USA, attached specific catalogue numbers to Slovenian records as well. In 1929, while updating its catalogue numbering system, Victor introduced the prefix "V" and allocated a block of numbers to each ethnic group. The numbers also differed for different-size records. Slovenians received the block starting with V-23000 for 10-inch records and V-73000 for 12-inch records. In a similar vein, from 1908 onwards, when it started marketing double-sided records, Columbia used the prefix "E" for "European" or foreign-language records, which includes Columbia's first Slovenian records. Due to changes in the disc manufacturing system, in 1923 the company replaced the catalogue numbering system and substituted the prefix E with the suffix "F" (*foreign*). Slovenian records were allocated the numbers between 25000-F and 26000-F for 10-inch records and 68000-F and 69000-F for 12-inch discs. In 1921, the Okeh Phonograph Co. began mass publishing foreign-language records on 10-inch discs, and usually sold the records made in the US under the Okeh label and licensed European records under the Odeon label. It was also then that it started using various blocks of catalogue numbers, with which it marked records for individual ethnic groups or target audiences. Based on catalogues for foreign-language records from 1923, 1926 and 1928, Pekka Gronow and Richard Spottswood state that Slovenian recordings were allocated the numbers between 24001 and 25000 (Gronow 1982: 41; Spottswood 1990: xi).

A glance at catalogues of records made in the USA prior to the beginning of the Second World War shows that almost 600 gramophone records of Slovenian music in the USA had been published by then (cf. Spottswood 1990). These mainly include various arrangements of folk songs, as well as a fair share of folk tunes performed on the accordion or by smaller bands. Many of these recordings were

reissued in Europe and sold on the Slovenian market (cf. Glavni katalog Columbia 1932; Rasberger 1930). Early songs, recorded in the period between the mid- to late 1910s, often reflected a longing for the native country and the family left behind, as well as impressions of the new homeland. But many well-known Slovenian folk songs were also recorded. From 1923 onwards, both the number of recordings and the variety of performers increased. In 1924, 1925, and 1926, there were 40 to 50 compositions recorded per year, and in 1927, 1928, and 1929, between 80 and 105 per year. In 1930 and 1931, the number of recordings fell back to around 40 per year, and then from 1932 onwards recordings almost completely tapered off.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE AND POPULARITY OF EARLY SLOVENIAN GRAMOPHONE RECORDS

When analysing the recorded material and the selection of performers on gramophone records, it is necessary to take into account various factors which affect this selection. It is essential to understand that gramophones and gramophone records were goods intended to be sold, and the aim of the music industry from the very beginning has been to generate profits and increase production. The Gramophone Co. approached marketing in a very unique way from the very beginning. By establishing subsidiaries that operated in regions which often corresponded to larger language areas in Europe, it concentrated on local recording sessions and marketing of the recordings. Each subsidiary was responsible for its own commercial activities and as a rule it also decided independently about the choice of performers and the repertoire appropriate to its region in order to successfully sell the records and gramophones.

Risto Pekka Pennanen (2007) confidently assumes that the Gramophone Co. had a clear recording and marketing strategy in the geographical area of the southern Slavic nations and the Balkans. However, due to the nationally, politically, culturally and religiously varied territory, it was not economically feasible, or even possible, to record all types of performances in different places. On the other hand, the similarities between the languages made it possible to market some music genres beyond the national, language, cultural and geographic borders. It also did not make sense to record western classical music locally, as it was easy to market the recordings that were made in European capitals.

In the early days of the gramophone industry, the recording techniques determined the selection of performers and the recorded material. Technical weaknesses made it difficult to convincingly record anything other than solo voices, smaller vocal and instrumental groups and modified brass band ensembles (cf. Kunej D. 2008, 2014). An analysis of Slovenian choir music recordings from that period shows that for instance the Glasbena matica choir appears in considerably smaller numbers. Apparently, based on the number of recordings, a quartet from the Glasbena matica was much more suitable for recording (cf. Kovačič 2014).

As with the majority of activities in the gramophone industry, records containing Slovenian material were made mainly due to a desire for sales and profit. The fate of the discs was predominantly decided by the market. Those performers who were well received by the buyers made records more frequently as well as for various gramophone companies, and successful discs were reissued several times, thus reaching a wider audience.

Discs from recording sessions in Ljubljana before the First World War are few and far between. Despite that, the Digital Collection of Gramophone Records (GNI DZGP) located at the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, contains quite a few records and graphic material from these records, mainly those by Slovenska kmečka godba, literally translated as Slovenian Farmers' Band, and various singing groups made up of members of Glasbena matica. There are even several copies and various reissues of some records. The experience of researchers of historical sound recordings and collectors of gramophone records makes it possible to surmise that those records that were more popular and therefore sold better are also easier to find today (cf. Gronow 2014). It could therefore be concluded that some discs recorded in Ljubljana were also favourably received by the buyers and sold well. Some records by these performers were reissued in the following years by various record labels, including those located in the US, which can also serve as a confirmation of popularity of these records with the buyers, and of their market success. Uncharacteristically, however, apart from the adverts, these records had no major impact on the media and the performers. The preserved reports, chronicles, archival materials and various newspaper sources contain almost no information on the recording sessions and records, even though this was probably the first such event in what would later become Slovenia. This holds true for all performers who made recordings in that period and for records of various genres.

When it comes to Slovenian records in the USA, the situation is quite different, as most have been preserved. An important reason for this might be that the majority of these records were made between the two world wars, when the gramophone industry was in its heyday and when records sold very well in general. However, what should not be overlooked is the significant interest of the buyers, Slovenian emigrants, in such records, and their special attitude towards them.

An overview of the recorded Slovenian music shows that gramophone records mainly included music and songs which were frequently performed at various cultural events in that period and which were also a staple of the songbooks and repertoires of folk musicians. The arrangements were fairly simple and were meant for smaller groups, making the organisation and technological aspects of recording easier. It also made more sense commercially to offer well-known and well-established music, i.e. well-liked and with recognisable musical content.

Traditional music can frequently be found on the early Slovenian gramophone recordings. This music has important cultural, ethnomusicological, folkloristic, and ethnochoreological value and significance. Most of them represent very early sound recordings of Slovenian traditional music (cf. Kunej D. 2008).

Gramophone records containing traditional instrumental music are especially interesting. On the topic of the Slovenian material, Rebeka Kunej (2013, 2014) points out, based on a study of the gramophone records made by the Hoyer Trio, that records with traditional dance melodies were appealing enough for a certain audience to attract buyers. This leads to the conclusion that some traditional Slovenian dance melodies were so popular at the time that the performers wanted to present them and the public wanted to buy them, thus allowing the gramophone companies to benefit from them financially. Because of the commercial nature of the recorded material, the decisive criterion for the choice of music was its popularity (with the audience as well as with the performers). On the other hand, the material later recorded by folk music researchers in the field, and for documentation purposes, was made in accordance with the researchers' interests. As a result, only the content that the researchers assumed to be academically relevant was typically recorded. One could almost say in some cases that the audio material on the old gramophone records could actually be a more telling source for the actual musical practices than the audio materials recorded by researchers in the decades since the 1950s. At the very least, it can be considered to be an excellent comparative resource. As such, gramophone records can help to shed new light on traditional dance music. Listening to these

recordings gives us insight into the sound of the traditional instrumental dance music from the period when the recordings were made and from which period Slovenians have no other recordings.[3]

The case study of the Hoyer Trio gramophone records further reveals the beginnings of the popularisation and commercialisation of Slovenian traditional music and its interweaving with other genres. Many Hoyer Trio records contain music born out of the folk heritage and enriched with the popular US genres of the day. Slovenian performers greatly contributed to the creation and popularisation of the new polka musical genre, and the Hoyer Trio are seen by many as the pioneers of Slovenian polka music in the USA. Cleveland, with its large population of Slovenian immigrants, became the centre of polka music and developed its own Cleveland Style, also called the Slovenian Style. Slovenian polka music reached its peak of popularity with Frankie Yankovic, whose Americanisation of Slovenian music created tunes that were not only popular with other ethnic groups, but also pop music lovers in general. He recorded a couple of million-seller records, was given the nickname "America's Polka King," and received a Grammy in 1986, the first ever to be awarded for this music genre.

Matt Hoyer and his Hoyer Trio were among the originators of the new style and were very successful performers. The accordion was joined by the banjo and the guitar; the traditional Slovenian folk music was thus imbued with jazz and other popular music genres, evidently resulting in a winning combination. The band's performances and records were not only immensely popular, but also influenced the future generations of Slovenian polka musicians in the USA. For his immense contribution to the development of Slovenian polka music, Matt Hoyer received a lifetime achievement award from the National Cleveland-Style Polka Hall of Fame and Museum in Cleveland. Matt is considered by many to be the originator of Slovenian polka music in the USA and is often called the pioneer or granddaddy of Cleveland-Style Polka Music (cf. National Cleveland-Style).

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3 It was understood until recently that the oldest recorded examples of Slovenian traditional dance music were directly connected to the field research of the Institute of Ethnomusicology and its tape recordings; the Institute acquired its first tape recorder in 1954 and started making systematic field recordings in January 1955, when the oldest field recordings of Slovenian instrumental folk music were made (cf. Kunej D. 1999). But after the old gramophone records were listened to, many of the recordings could be defined as traditional music. The ethnochoreological case study of Matt Hoyer's and the Hoyer Trio's records – based on collected historical and ethnological data about the Trio, on analysed sound material from preserved and digitised original records, and on different sources and metadata accompanying the records – shows that most of the folk-dance music repertoire had already been recorded on gramophone records (Kunej R. 2013).

The recordings on early gramophone records nowadays represent a priceless repository of recorded sound and can, due to their historical value, be justifiably considered to be a highly important musical heritage, as well as an important source for the understanding of music production and its transformation in the beginning of the 20th century. The recordings encompass various musical and artistic genres and reflect the aesthetics and sounds of the past. Since music is an experiential phenomenon, difficult to describe and verbalise, this is especially valuable. Recorded material makes it possible to take a look at certain musical and aesthetic tastes of a given period. Because of the wealth of content and sound conveyed by such a collection, it can be of interest to all academic disciplines dealing with the research of music and artistic performance from the historical perspective.

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The volume *Sounds of Attraction: Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Popular Music* features articles that touch on a longer historical framework, beginning before socialist Yugoslavia and leading up to the present. Its aim is to contribute to further discussions on the relationship between the development of the popular music scene and the Yugoslav socialist system. From what we know about popular music in former Yugoslavia and its later destiny, the aesthetic preferences of music audiences appear to have had a much deeper impact on the development of the socialist state and its successors than is usually thought to be the case. The collection is divided into three parts:

**I. Feelings**

Ana Hofman and Martin Pogačar provide a reflection on the post-socialist present with a focus on historical and contemporary uses of partisan songs. They highlight the dynamic forces that changed the concepts of resistance in music from WWII until the present.

Ana Petrov presents the emotional pull of present-day concerts of popular former Yugoslav acts and deals with the ways Yugoslav popular music serves as a means for producing ideologies of love in the post-Yugoslav era.

Rajko Muršič writes about Yugoslav popular music and imagination. By reconsidering the anthropological study of the exotic, he draws parallels with musically constructed Otherness after the breakup of Yugoslavia.

**II. Stories**

Miha Kozorog provides a fine-grained ethnography of a group of young Bosnian war refugees who migrated to Slovenia and formed a punk rock band in collaboration with alternative (youth) culture organisations.

Tanja Petrović presents the parody band Rokeri s Moravu. Its radical intervention into the Yugoslav popular music and entertainment industry challenged the established language ideology and the cultural hierarchy between urban centre and rural periphery.

Petra Hamer studies patriotic songs recorded in Sarajevo in the period from 1992 to 1995, highlighting two functions of music: the healing power of music and music as a form of resistance.

### III. Memories

Urša Valič presents the substantial photographic archive at the Museum of Recent History in Ljubljana, which covers the development of popular music in Slovenia and Yugoslavia.

Irena Šentevska investigates the indigenisation of rock music in Yugoslavia in the 1970s, obvious references to folk music and the discourses that followed on urban and rural elements in popular music.

Finally, Drago Kunej presents Slovenian recordings on 78 rpm gramophone discs recorded in the period from the earliest recordings to the beginning of WWII.

Zbornik *Zvoki privlačnosti: Jugoslovanska in pojugoslovanska popularna glasba* (*Sounds of Attraction: Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav Popular Music*) prinaša besedila, ki se dotikajo daljšega časovnega okvira, ki se začne z obdobjem pred nastankom socialistične Jugoslavije in se sklene v sodobnosti. Namen zbornika je prispevek k razpravi o odnosu med razvojem popularnoglasbene scene in jugoslovanskega socialističnega sistema. Izhajajoč iz tega, kar vemo o popularni glasbi v nekdanji Jugoslaviji in njeni kasnejši usodi, je mogoče ugotoviti, da so imele estetske izbire glasbenih občinstev bistveno globlji vpliv na razvoj socialistične države in njenih naslednic kot smo menili doslej. Zbornik sestavljajo trije deli.

**I. Občutenja**

Ana Hofman in Martin Pogačar predstavljata refleksijo posocialistične sedanjosti z osredotočanjem na zgodovinske in sodobne uporabe partizanskih pesmi. Posebej poudarjata dinamične sile, ki so spremenile koncepte odpora v glasbi od druge svetovne vojne do danes.

Ana Petrov predstavlja čustveno privlačnost sodobnih koncertov sedanjih izvajalcev glasbe nekdanje Jugoslavije in se ukvarja z načini, na katere je mogoče uporabljati jugoslovansko popularno glasbo kot sredstvo ustvarjanja ideologij ljubezni po jugoslovanski dobi.

Rajko Muršič piše o jugoslovanski popularni glasbi in predstavah o njej. S sklicevanjem na antropološke raziskave eksotike prikaže vzporednice z glasbeno konstruirano drugostjo po razpadu Jugoslavije.

**II. Zgodbe**

Miha Kozorog prispeva podrobno etnografijo mlajše skupine mlajših bosanskih vojnih beguncev, ki so se preselili v Slovenijo, kjer so v sodelovanju z lokalnimi alternativnimi (mladinsko-)kulturnimi organizacijami ustanovili pankrokovsko skupino.

Tanja Petrović predstavlja parodično rokovsko skupino Rokeri s Moravu. Njena radikalna intervencija v jugoslovanski popularni glasbi in industriji zabave je postavila pod vprašaj ustaljeno jezikovno ideologijo in kulturno hierarhijo med urbanim središčem in ruralnim obrobjem.

Petra Hamer preučuje domoljubne pesmi, ki so nastale v Sarajevu med letoma 1992 in 1995. Pri tem je poudarila dve vlogi glasbe: njeno moč pri zdravljenju in glasbo kot obliko odpora.

## III. Spomini

Urša Valič predstavlja bogat fotografski arhiv v Muzeju novejše zgodovine v Ljubljani, ki se dotika razvoja popularne glasbe v Sloveniji in Jugoslaviji.

Irena Šentevska sledi podomačevanju rokovske glasbe v Jugoslaviji v sedemdesetih letih. Pri tem posebej poudarja očitna sklicevanja na ljudsko glasbo in diskurze, ki so sledili urbanim in ruralnim elementom v popularni glasbi.

Drago Kunej predstavlja slovenske posnetke na gramofonskih ploščah na 78 obratov, ki so nastali v obdobju od najzgodnejših posnetkov do začetka druge svetovne vojne.

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Popular music in former Yugoslavia appear to have had a much deeper impact on the development of the socialist state and its successors than is usually thought to be the case. The collection by the authors from the region presents feelings, stories and memories on popular music in Yugoslavia and its successor states.

Popularna glasba v nekdanji Jugoslaviji je imela veliko globlji vpliv na razvoj socialistične države in njenih naslednic, kot bi morda izhajalo iz običajnih mnenj o njeni usodi. Zbornik, v katerem sodelujejo avtorji in avtorice z območja nekdanje skupne države, predstavlja občutenja, pripovedi in spomine na popularno glasbo v Jugoslaviji in njenih državah naslednicah.

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Zupaničeva knjižnica