Title:

SOCIAL SENSE AND EFFECT OF MUSIC:

PREVAILING IDEOLOGY IN MUSIC CURRICULA IN CROATIA

BEFORE AND AFTER ITS INDEPENDENCE

both during my graduate education in USA and by correspondence now when I live and work in Croatia.

I am thankful to my husband Nikica for his patience and support in dealing with my craziness during the process of research and writing. I would also like to mention my dear friends Jadranka and Robert Balog who have taken time to read and discuss important points in my manuscript and helped occasional feelings of hopelessness. A special thanks goes to my little son Ivano, a real blessing in my life and the cutest source of positive energy that spreads happiness and pure joy for everyone around. Finally, I am grateful beyond measure to my parents Ljiljana and Ljubomir and my brother Saša for giving me enormous amount of love and encouragement during all the stages of my education and work. They have been continually beside me and always believed that I would one day reach my destination. The accomplishments of this work are theirs as they are mine.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

CONVENTIONS OF STYLE

<u>Abbreviations</u>

Croatian historical terms are used in their original form throughout this document. The most frequent examples are NDH or Nezavisna Država Hrvatska [Independent Croatian State] and HDZ or Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica [Croatian Democratic Union].

<u>Terminology</u>

The terms "modern," "independent," "post-war" and "post-communist" Croatia all signify the period beginning with Croatian separation from the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. They are interchangeably used throughout this document. This is also the case with the terms "socialist Yugoslavia" and "former Yugoslavia," both of which refer to the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia after World War II and prior to Croatia's independence.

The term "collective musicianship" is rooted in the socialist idea of "art for all" and the intention to bridge the gap between art and common people. It is coined to signify active involvement in the music making in socialism.

The term "multinational unification" reflects the intentions of the official cultural policy in former Yugoslavia to suppress any borders within the Yugoslavian collective, including national, cultural, class, gender or age. It is promoted through the slogan of "brotherhood and unity" of all peoples that lived on the territory of socialist Yugoslavia.

The term "Croatization" is a process which describes the revival of Croatian national ideology and re-traditionalization and de-secularization of Croatian society. It is manifested in intensive national rhetoric, increase of religiosity and the emphasis on national cultural production in independent Croatia.

<u>Translations</u> of materials are mine unless otherwise indicated.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Aims of Research and the Structure of the Project

"There is probably no other human cultural activity which is so all-pervasive and which reaches into, shapes, and often controls so much of human behavior"[1]

Approaching music from a sociological perspective, this book deals with the concept of ideology in relation to music. The focus of investigation is on the reflection of ideology and power relations in the music curriculum before and after Croatian independence. The goal of this work is to help our understanding of how and why certain musical values come to be accepted as common sense, how these values are reproduced through history and, moreover, how they perpetuate social relations. The educational system is viewed as a social mechanism that aids in this perpetuation and regulation

The opening statement is particularly powerful when we realize that it comes not from a music educator, but from a respected cultural anthropologist. A major premise of this work is based on A. Merriam's idea that music is a symbolic system that reflects the social reality of the people that make it and consume it. As a symbol of the culture, music contains information that helps better understanding of social and cultural issues in general.

The objective is to prove that music curricula can have an important political role in defusing and eliminating ethnic conflicts or in helping promote national identity. Significant shifts and changes in the musical values and preferred musical styles in Croatia after the war in the 1990s show that political identity can be superimposed over cultural specifics. The actions of pressure groups in exerting influence over the curricula and music promoted by the media in the period prior to and after Croatian independence reveal that music is an ideological construct.

The ideological shift in the music curriculum and the change in the concept of music identity in Croatia during the 1990s adequately document a close relationship between politics and music. In the late 1980s and early 1990s Croatia was experiencing a period of transition from being a former Yugoslav republic to becoming an independent democratic country with ambitions to be accepted by the European Union. This particular political position resulted in the

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[1] Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 218.

strong need for national rhetoric and the enforcement of national music production. In order to find out how and why this shift in the ideological orientation of the country affected the educational concepts and the content of the music curriculum, as well as the types of music promoted and broadcast by media, this research is based on a historical perspective.

The intention here is to expose the idea of historical specificity of ideology. Coming to this point of view, I was influenced by the German tradition of dialectical thought. Dialectical thinking was the core of the philosophy that came to be identified with the "Frankfurt school" of critical theorists, among whom Theodor W. Adorno was one of the most sophisticated thinkers. Dialectics is a critical thought that "abandons the idea that things are explicable in isolation or according to their surface appearances and instead views its objects in relation to their mutual, underlying and changing historical development."[2]

In other words, social facts need not be analyzed in isolation from each other and from history, but as historically interrelated constructs. Ideological formation of musical value reflects the social reality and, as such, it needs to be seen as a practical manifestation of big political issues. The usage of the expression "tradition" or "traditional" relies on the notion of tradition as symbolic construct. Tradition is viewed as a symbolic construct since its authenticity is always defined in the present. From this perspective, tradition represents a process of interpretation rather than actual genuine "old ways." Different positions and meanings of "tradition" in music in Croatia prior to and after its independence confirm this assertion, suggesting that, depending on the interpretation and particular cultural history, tradition may refer to the old folk songs, but also to the ones whose assigned value is traditional, although they may have been created in a recent past.

The theoretical framework is based on writings that deal with the connection between music and society (Martin 1995, Merriam 1964, Eyerman and Jamison 1998, Rose 1990), curricula and social change (Foster 1965, Haack 1997 and 2000, Urchm 1968), education and warfare (Coulby 2000 and 2001), and the ideological construction of meaning and the role of music (Kater 1997, Green 1988 and 1999), while the approach to the research relies heavily on a combination of sociological perspective and semiotics of music and the idea that music, by itself,

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[2] Lucy Green, *Music on Deaf Ears: Music Meaning, Ideology, Education* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1988), 4.

signifies nothing. In the interest of clarifying this perspective on music, it is useful to quote Igor Stravinsky:

> I consider that music is, by its very nature, powerless to express anything at all, whether a feeling, an attitude of mind, a psychological mood, a phenomenon of nature. If, as is nearly always the case, music appears to express something, this is only an illusion and not a reality.[3]

Within this kind of semiotics, music, if it has any meaning, would involve connotative meaning. This is the meaning derived from the verbal or situational context (or what Stravinsky calls "an illusion"). It is argued that music has no denotative or independent meaning because it refers to nothing outside itself. Since any music represents a rich source of non-music parameters that are related to music, the study of music has to consider a variety of interactions, relationships and extra-musical phenomena involved in the context of music-making and music performing.

For this reason this work focuses on a number of processes that take part in the formation and dissemination of the music curricula. Such an approach is necessary in revealing the reasons for particular changes in music curricula as well as the concept of music identity in Croatia. This is because the truth/meaning is not imbedded in music itself, but hidden in socio-historical aspects that constitute the reasons for changes in both the concept of music identity and music curricula in Croatia.

The structure of this project is based on the deconstruction method, a product of postmodernist thought. Music is particularly suitable to demonstrate the deconstructive principle because music within itself is incapable of producing any meaning. The deconstruction method in music investigation means that the quest for truth is done by deconstruction of what is outside of music (exosemantic perspective or analysis of non-musical aspects), rather than analyzing what is inside of music (endosemantic perspective or analysis of music itself).[4]

In other words, while seeking the meaning of music (inside), one must deconstruct a variety of non-musical phenomena (outside) that carry the meaning reflected in music. For this reason, the scope of this research goes beyond sonic qualities of music and is based on deconstruction of the totality of aspects and interactions around music, in this case, socio-political agendas involved in the creation and dissemination of the music curricula and the (re)construction of the concept of music identity.

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[3] Igor Stravinsky, *An Autobiography* (New York: M. & J. Steuer, 1936), 53.
[4] See William Bright, "Language and Music: Areas for Cooperation" *Ethnomusicology* 7, no. 1 (1963): 26-32.

Political consequences of the fall of Yugoslavia in the 1990s as well as the national ideology of a newly created Croatian state are "readable" through the changes in the music curriculum in Croatia after its independence. The book traces the shift of educational policies from the period when the educational system was used to help support unity among the different ethnic groups of the former Yugoslavia to the more recent tendency of creating a curriculum that would help (re)create the feeling of a Croatian national identity.

Documents investigated for the purpose of this work reveal that music curricula in Croatian schools before and after its independence exemplify the influences and pressures coming from political propaganda of two different ideologies (socialist and democratic). For this reason, music curricula is not analyzed as an isolated phenomenon that solely resides in an educational or musical domain, but as part of a "social totality" and as a reflection of complex patterns of political and economic processes.

The introduction provides an anthropological perspective on the recent war in Croatia. A brief historical overview is given in order to clarify the history of the conflict and to foster understanding of the reasons for the shift of political orientation and its repercussions on the content of music curricula as well as on the concept of music identity in Croatia.

In the second chapter the notion of ideology and its relationship with music is established. Multiple meanings, concepts, approaches and the issue of objectivity in defining ideology are discussed here, as well as the applicability of Marxist and post-Marxist perspectives on ideology. This involves looking at the approaches suggested by writers working with different ideas on ideology. The emphasis is placed on the contribution of Marx's ideas on the notion of ideology and their relevance to this work. Music is approached as a social practice and manifestation of culture.

Chapter three views schools as social institutions that serve the interests of the society and function as agents of political socialization. By instilling the necessary skills and values into the minds and behaviour of the population, schools have a significant role in shaping and developing children's values, attitudes and aspirations. School's role in the process of socialization is discussed through several important parameters, such as the content of the curriculum, specific symbols and rituals present in the school, as well as the role of a teacher as a source of attitudes and values. Special attention is placed on the educational and political role of the school performance and the socialist value of collective musicianship, primarily through the school choir.

10

Focusing on the ideological shift of the concepts of education, chapter three also investigates conceptual changes that were made in order to meet the needs of the prevailing ideology. Those changes are investigated through changing attitudes towards collective musicianship, cultural policies and concepts of tradition, the different treatment, position and cultural value of folk songs, as well as the ideological interpretation of the value of popular music. By contrasting the educational concepts in socialism with those of modern Croatia, the intention is to reveal the specific educational and social purposes of schools from both periods.

Focusing on the ideological role of music, chapter four presents social sense and effect of music. The intimate connection between ideology and music is explained through the political role of Partisan and patriotic songs, the roles of music during the war and the emphasis on national rhetoric and national music expressions in independent Croatia. Examples from this chapter represent practical application of theories discussed in previous chapters. The emphasis is placed on song texts, because they provide clear insight to the variety of social issues and cultural activities that constitute particular cultures and function as powerful carriers of ideological messages.

The final section of this work deals with the process of "Croatization" and interest in and awareness of Croatian national forms of expression. The term "Croatization" is used to signify the revival of Croatian "national ideology" which Josip Županov describes as a "process of re-traditionalization and de-secularization of Croatian society."[5] The position of religious music in the music curriculum and the public life as well as the national music production promoted and broadcast by media is examined. The intensity of national rhetoric and promotion of national forms of expression suggest that music is an ideological construct because it symbolically represents the intentions of the prevailing politics. The central idea of this work, and that is "specific social sense and effect"[6] of music is by thus confirmed.

The approach is a mixture of sociological perspective, anthropological views on historical facts, an informative survey about changing cultural policies in Croatia in the 1990s and personal recollection. Although serious attempts to avoid any kind of biased writing have being made, exposure to war brought unavoidable emotional involvement. For that reason, it was very hard to

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[5] Živanov, Josip. „Theses on Social Crisis-the Case of Croatia" in
SEER SouthEast Europe Review for Labour and Social Affairs, vol. 1 (2001): 39-49. Also available at www.ceeol;
Internet, accessed April 2009.
[6] Taken from Adorno's writings on music's social mediation and further discussed in Lucy Green, *Music on Deaf Ears: Music Meaning, Ideology, Education* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1988), 7.

stay rational in interpretation and hold an objective view. However, it is my belief that papers inspired by direct experiences are more documentary and "real," so my own first-hand observations about the country's socio-cultural change reflected in music potentially bring a sort of vitality to the subject. Since the topic deals with politically sensitive matters, I apologize in advance to all those who disagree with my points of view. After all, since by nature humans are political animals, anyone who disapproves of views or interpretations presented, should view this work as an expression of diverse opinion in a healthy democracy. On that note, at the end of this opening section, I would like to quote Einstein who said: "If you are out to describe the truth, leave elegance to the tailor."

The War in Croatia: An Anthropological Perspective on the History of the Conflict

In Eastern Europe, where history is often regarded as a science, or even a religion, it is not rare to find different interpretations of events and historical facts. Since sources about the history of the Balkan lands and Eastern Europe are often unavailable or unreliable, telling the history of Croatia becomes a demanding task. Many documents and sources are not obtainable, either because they have not been catalogued, or because they are simply misplaced. Also, some of them are not accessible because they represent politically sensitive matters, and as such, they are in government possession.[7]

The most commonly written topics about Croatian history include more recent periods such as the 1990s war in Croatia, as well as the Ustasha (Croatian: Ustaša) regime in the period of the NDH or Nezavisna Država Hrvatska [Independent Croatian State] between 1941 and 1945. The Independent State of Croatia was proclaimed on April 10, 1941 over the greater part of present-day Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina and Srijem. This right-wing organization enforced racial laws and formed eight concentration camps acted as a Nazi puppet regime and

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[7] In order to avoid possible biases, the historical facts used for the purpose of this work are based on a combination of data from the following sources: Stjepan Antoljak, *Pregled hrvatske povijesti* [An Overview of Croatian History] (Split: Orbis/Laus, 1994); Ivo Banac, *Raspad Jugoslavije: Eseji o nacionalizmu i nacionalnim sukobima* [The Fall of Yugoslavia: Essays on Nationalism and Nationalistic Confrontations] (Zagreb: Durioux, 2001); Dušan Bilandžic, *Hrvatska moderna povijest* [Modern Croatian History] (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 1999); Antun Dabinović, Rudolf Horvat, Tomislav Jonjić, Lovre Katić et al. *Hrvatska povijest* [Croatian History] (Split: Naknada Bošković, 2002); Harold Lyndall. *Yugoslav Socialism: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Dragutin Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske* [History of Croatia] (Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 1994); Ivo Perić, *Povijest Hrvata* (Zagreb: CTT, 1997). This work also uses historical information obtained from numerous online sources.

was defeated together with Nazi Germany. It officially ceased to exist in May 1945, when antifascist partisan forces, joined by the Soviet Red Army, caused mass retreat of the Ustashe.

There is also a vast historical literature on the People's National Liberation Movement (Croatian: *Narodnooslobodilački pokret* or NOP), [8] organized in the summer of 1941 under the leadership of Tito and Croatian communists. Tito's original name was Josip Broz. He was a Yugoslav revolutionary and statesman, secretary-general (later president) of the Communist Party (League of Communists) of Yugoslavia from 1939 to 1980. He was also the Chief Commander of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army (1941-1945) and the Yugoslav People's Army (1945-1980), and marshal (1943-1980), premier (1945-1953) and president of Yugoslavia (1953-1980). Figure 1 shows Tito as the president of former Yugoslavia.

Figure 1: Josip Broz Tito, the president of former Yugoslavia.[9]

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[8] Historical literature uses the terms *Narodnooslobodilački pokret* [NOP, People's Liberation Movement] and *Narodnooslobodilačka borba* [NOB, People's Liberation Struggle] interchangeably. The term NOB is used more frequently than NOP because it describes both, the movement and organized resitance.

[9] The picture of Tito was obtained from Tito's homepage available from www.titoville.com; Internet, accessed March 2009.

The period of World War II and the anti-Fascist movement is an important and frequently revisited historical topic because it resulted in formation of the second Yugoslavia, composed of Yugoslav peoples/nations and national minorities in a joint socialist state.[10] In 1946 it changed its name to the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, and again in 1963 to the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. SFRY bordered Italy and Austria to the northwest, Hungary, Romania to the north, Bulgaria to the east, Greece and Albania to the south and the Adriatic Sea to the west. The following map shows the position and ethnic structure of former Yugoslavia within the Balkan region.

Figure 2: The position and ethnic structure of former Yugoslavia.[11]

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[10] Former Yugoslavia is sometimes called second Yugoslavia because it was formed from remains of the pre-war Kingdom of Yugoslavia under the name Democratic Federal Yugoslavia.

[11] The above map was designed by the National Geographic Society Cartographic Division and was published by *National Geographic* Vol. 178, No.2, August 1990 , less than a year before the civil wars broke in ex-Yugoslavia, on page 105. Colors represent areas where an ethnic nationality constitutes 50% or more of the population.

After World War II, Croatia was one of six constituent republics in the second Yugoslav Federation. As a result of the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia declared its independence in 1991. Along with Slovenia and Macedonia, Croatia became a multiparty republic that gradually achieved international recognition and economic viability. The Republic of Croatia (Croatian: Republika Hrvatska) today is a parliamentary democracy with an elected president.

The Republic of Croatia covers an area of 56,538 square kilometers, stretching 1,776 km along the east coast of the Adriatic Sea. Territorial waters cover another 31,000 square kilometers. Of Croatia's 1,185 islands, 66 are inhabited. In the northwest, Croatia shares a sea border with Italy and a land border with Slovenia, while in the north it borders the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Croatia also shares borders with the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina and another border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (the former Socialist Republic of Montenegro) at its southernmost tip.

Croatia adopted its current constitution on December 22, 1990 and amended it in 1992. According to 2001 Census which was the first official census conducted in the Republic of Croatia since its declaration of independence and disintegration of the former SFRY, Croatia had a total of 4.381.352 inhabitants. Concerning national structure, the 2001 census records data show 22 ethnic minorities.[12] With 201.603 persons, Serbian minority is the largest minority community which make 4, 54% of the total population of Croatia. Compared with 1991 Census, the results from 2001 Census show that number of persons belonging to majority increased by approximately 11.5% while national minorities decreased by approximately 50%. As a consequence of war between 1991 and 1995, the most drastic decrease was registered among Serbs (65%) and Montenegrins (49%). The following figure shows the political map of today's Croatia.

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[12] Data by the State Institute of Statistics, www.dzs.hr; Internet, accessed April 2009.

Figure 3: Map of Croatia today.[13]

Although rather small, Croatia is regionally diverse as a country. Southern Dalmatia and Istra with Primorje in the coastal area, northern Slavonia and the region around the capital city of Zagreb, and centrally-placed Lika, Gorski Kotar, Kordun and Banija, all had different histories, both within and outside Croatian historical borders. Croatia is located on the northern edge of the Balkans. This strategically important position between East and West has largely determined its political destiny: Roman Empire, Roman Catholicism and Central Europe from the west and Orthodox world, and Islam from the east. In its earliest history, Croatia was an independent kingdom. The territory from the early middle ages included what is today Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and some of Bosnia. For eight centuries, Croatia was a political unit with special rights, first within the Hungarian Kingdom, and then within the Habsburg Empire.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Dalmatia, the southern coastal region and the original center of the Croatian Kingdom fell to Venice, and its hinterlands, Slavonia and most of today's Croatia, were taken by the Turks. Therefore, the country was divided between tiny Habsburg-controlled civil Croatia and the Croatian Military Frontier that policed the Turkish border. Figure 4 shows the Military Frontier that functioned as a permeable membrane on the new border with Turkey.

Figure 4: Military border dividing Croatia between Ottoman and Habsburg Empires (marked with a red outline).[14]

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[14] This map is available from
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/be/Militargrenze%2C_Wojwodowena_und_Banat.jpg; Internet, accessed March 2009.

In the late seventeenth century, Austrian Habsburgs expelled Ottomans from Hungary and Croatia.[15] The depopulated, formerly Turkish-held lands of Croatia and Slavonia were resettled by large number of refugees from Turkish areas, while many Croats left for safer areas in Austria and Hungary. Settlers also came from Bosnia, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire. The largest minority of settlers were Orthodox Christians. Croats and Serbs within Croatian lands were differentiated primarily by religion: Croats were Catholic and Serbs Orthodox.

Dalmatia and Istria were joined to the Habsburg Empire in 1815. They became Austrian rather than Hungarian provinces, so they remained separated from the rest of the Croatian lands. Croatia and Slavonia were formally part of Hungary, although a large portion of their territory remained under direct Austrian rule until the late nineteenth century. The Croatian army helped the Austrians put down the Hungarian revolution of 1848. Croat leaders hoped that the Habsburgs would reward their help by separating a unified Croatia from Hungary. However, the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, which created the nation of Austria-Hungary (also called the dual monarchy), again assigned Croatia and Slavonia to Hungary and Dalmatia to Austria. Unification and greater autonomy became the primary demands of most Croatian political parties in the last years before World War I (1914-1918).

After World War I, Croatia became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Croatia lost its autonomy and her lands were divided into numerous administrative units in this new Serb-dominated multinational kingdom. Figure 5 shows a map of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia with marked borders of the Banates: the administrative units of Drava, Sava, Vrbas, Littoral, Zeta, Drina, Danube, Morava and Vardar Banate.

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[15] This happened after the Mohač battle in 1699.

Figure 5: Kingdom of Yugoslavia with administrative divisions into Banates.[16]

Croatia was a part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1918-1941. In 1941 NDH [Nezavisna Država Hrvatska], or the Independent State of Croatia, was established. The right-oriented Ustasha regime was then put in power and Fascist invaders, especially Italy, which took parts of the Croatian coast, encouraged it. Due to the exodus of Serbs, Jews and Croatian communists, after the capitulation of Italy in 1943, a big number of Croats joined the antifascist partisan movement and fought on the side of the partisans against the Ustasha movement.

During World War II, partisans (multi-ethnic, communist) favored proletarian Yugoslavia, while anti-communist nationalists Croatian Ustashe favored an independent Croatian nation-state. Serbian Chetniks, on the other hand, favored Yugoslavia under Serbian

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[16] The map is available from http://public.carnet.hr/hpm/s025900v.htm; Internet, accessed March 2009.

domination.[17] Adding to the complexity was Yugoslavian multi-ethnic structure. The reason why it is routinely characterized as an "artificial" creation is because it was composed of nationalities held together only by Tito and the Communist Party. Although Tito left Yugoslavs with huge foreign debts, and the International Monetary Fund stepped in with loans and regulations, even after his death in 1980, Tito's pictures hung in stores and public buildings. In the mid-1980s Yugoslav teenagers still ran relay races across the country in Tito's name. The lingering cult of Tito was still present for Tito's birthday celebration, also known as National Youth Day. Partisan films were a regular feature of a state-run television network. Each night the television broadcast in Croatia ended with the chorus of a song: "Comrade Tito, we follow in your ways." Today Croatian television concludes the program with the instrumental version of the Croatian band-aid song "Moja domovina [My homeland]."[18]

The division of Yugoslavia into republics, each defined as a dominant "nation," posed a basic structural problem for those who were not of the dominant group. The slogan "brotherhood and unity" intended to create room for minorities in the multi-ethnic structure of Yugoslav society. The fact that adds to the confusion is that in South Slavic languages, the word "narod" means both people and nation. This shows incompatibility with American definitions, since nationality is an attribute of citizenship, and can be chosen regardless of ancestry.

This concept is closely connected with cultural identity in Yugoslavia. After World War II, Yugoslavia was a homogenous country built under strong ideological premises of equality of all ethnic groups. The Yugoslav educational system promoted a Yugoslav and socialist worldview. This meant that ethnicity was not used as a political force, but Yugoslavia favored a multi-ethnic state with presumed equal rights for all. As we shall see later in the text, songs in communism functioned as a powerful ideological tool that supported and transmitted the Titoist slogan "brotherhood and unity." Enforced in cultural production, ethnic barriers diminished from everyday life, but that did not last forever. Unlike the situation after World War II when people declared themselves as Yugoslavs, after the 1970s there was a certain pressure within each republic to declare belonging to a specific nation. Children from mixed marriages were instructed to choose one nationality over the other, rather than being "Yugoslav." The reason was the

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[17] Chetniks were a Serbian right-wing oriented formation organized by Serbian villagers to protect themselves from the Ustashe. Similar to the role of Ustashe in modern Croatia, the Chetnik movement in new Serbia was glorified as a symbol of nationalism with the intention to enhance military commitment of the new generations.

[18] This song is one of the rare war-related songs that took on a new role as a call-sign for the national television. The new function prolonged its existence.

intention to decentralize Yugoslavia's state power from federal government to the republics and to stop the Communist Party monopoly over politics.

It is important to note that Yugoslav brand of socialism unlike the highly centralized Soviet brand was increasingly decentralized. Since that was so, it was not surprising that the Communists themselves devolved into national parties, and that in a struggling economy, they protected the interests of their own republics. Croatia and Slovenia complained that they carried an unfair economic burden within Yugoslavia. They earned the bulk of the foreign currency, and most of it was used to subsidize the south. This was supposed to help poorer regions in the east and south, but many began to suspect that the money supported an overly large army and went directly into the hands of the corrupt government leaders.

In the early 1980s, Yugoslavia had a hard currency debt. Western nations required repayment of the large debts. The lack of currency became a serious problem. The Yugoslav currency dinar had to be repeatedly devalued. During the late 1980s, an austerity program took place. Imports were limited and exports forced. As a consequence of the new policies, a system of rationing gasoline, coffee and laundry detergent was instituted. In order to limit the use of hard currency abroad, and to restrict black market actions, especially in coffee, detergent, denim and leather clothes, foreign travel was restricted.

Shortages became increasingly common. Some items, such as coffee and detergent, could only be purchased periodically, with ration coupons. The purchase of gasoline, cooking oil and sugar was restricted in many regions. Toothpaste, stockings and chocolate were available only randomly and people had to organize networks of friends and family in order to get those products before they disappeared from the store shelves.

People were afraid of the shrinking power of the dinar and the declining availability of goods, so they stocked up with certain items, keeping them in cellars or basements for (even) "worse days." A new system of rationing included electricity. The towns were divided into districts and each day one of the districts would be without electricity from 2 to 11 p.m. This opened up a new dimension of social time for people; more visiting and talking in the evenings, less watching TV. Those who couldn't watch television went to another part of the town to watch it with family or friends.

Although the costs were rising and the scarcity of some consumer goods was increasing, there was little poverty, aside from that of marginalized Roma people. Most of the working and middle-class people could afford to vacation within Yugoslavia, new houses were still built,

young people still went out and new clothing was purchased despite outrageous costs (rent on a state-subsidized apartment was $10.00 per month and a pair of shoes about $20.00). There was also little wealth, except among political leaders who had foreign cars and weekend houses and other status symbols about which others could only dream. Since most of the people still lived within the reach of an ordinary life, they had reason to hope.

The goal of the austerity program was to stabilize the national debt. However, the dinar had been devalued twice before 1990. A new two dinar note was worth the same as an older 20,000 dinar note. Pensions and other fixed incomes were barely adjusted to accommodate inflation. Many received salaries only in theory. Sometimes people received only half of their paychecks. The discontent of the people was rising along with the prices. By the mid-1980s, coffee and other luxury items were back on the shelves, but at much higher prices. People had to find a way to survive the inflation. Those who lived in Rijeka drove to Trieste, Italy to buy groceries. Those from Zagreb went to Graz in Austria or Hungary to do the same. This was done despite the high cost of the gasoline. Inflation, unemployment and disappointment were the facts of life.

In 1990, Croatia began talking and thinking about creating a confederacy. The argument was not ethnic, but economic; some claimed that as much as 70% of the gross income (as republic) was taxed by federal government. Also, bearing analogy to the appearance of capitalist elements long before a full-blown capitalism appeared in west Europe, Josip Županov concludes that political capitalism may have appeared much earlier in Socialist Yugoslavia (and in Croatia as a part of it). He states that political capitalism was "under the mask of workers' self-management [and] reached its peak particularly in two Yugoslav republics, Croatia and Slovenia." In this sense, the efforts at the reform of Socialism and Croatian demands for looser federation can be viewed as manifestations of the emerging political capitalism.

As communist regimes collapsed one by one in Eastern Europe, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, broken up into national components, was also losing popularity. Slovenes and Croats were the first to demand multi-party free elections. The communist nationalists still dominated Serbian politics. The newly elected non-communist governments of Croatia and Slovenia sought a reorganization of the federation, which was not acceptable to the Serbs because this meant confederation with looser ties.

The only institution that was holding together well was the army. Composed of draftees and professional politically reliable officer corps, the Yugoslav army during Tito was a large

army for such a small state, and it was armed with expensive modern weapons to protect the Cold War border. The draftees were young and usually stationed far from home. The powerful psychology during Tito's era was to make those young men feel that it was their army. The soldiers were well respected and children from schools often visited nearby bases and had lunch with the soldiers. As a child, I remember a whole class going to the military base in my hometown where soldiers showed us around the base, demonstrating modern weapons, discipline and the power of the army. At the end of the tour we had lunch with them. The children ate from metal dishes and cups and had a typical military meal. On the other hand, officers were a privileged caste. They lived in greater comfort than ordinary people, with high salaries and special privileges. The requirement was high loyalty to the political regime.

In addition to the strong military base of the country, there was also the Territorial Defense Force. Numerous exercises called "Ništa nas ne smije iznenaditi" [Nothing must surprise us], in which armed citizens filled parks and streets, were an important part of Territorial Defense activities. Hospitals, schools and factories had closets full of weapons to be used in case Russians and their allies invaded. Even high school pupils had regular paramilitary instruction. I remember being in elementary school and experiencing one such exercise. Of course, I did not understand back then why the school bell rang in the middle of the class. As the bell was ringing, we all had to go to the school basement, leaving the classrooms in a nice and organized manner.

The Slovenes held on to their Territorial Defense weaponry as Yugoslavia began to pull apart, but the Yugoslav army disarmed the Croats and citizens of Bosnia and Hercegovina prior to the beginning of hostilities. Once Slovenia and Croatia declared independence in June of 1991, the war began, the war of the modern army, air force and navy, against unarmed or barely armed citizens. Independence came easily for Slovenes. Their war against the Yugoslav army happened and finished quickly, it was publicized very well and it was not very bloody. Slovenes had their own language and territory, they did not share a common border with Serbia, plus they did not have a substantial Serbian minority. The Croatian war was long and very bloody. The outcome is millions of refugees in Croatia, the infrastructure in ruins, irreparable ecological damage and large belts of territory under Serbian occupation.

According to 2001 article from Revija za socijalnu politiku [Revue for Social Politics], the total number of killed and displaced people between 1991 and 1995 in Croatia is 13,583.[19] According to statistical data from 2001, 54% of Croatian territory was exposed to war and destruction with 36% of the population that lived in this territory. Besides missing and killed persons, the war created a new population category of refugees. The number of refugees in Croatia decreased from 550. 000 in 1991 to 386.264 in 1995. During the same period the number of refugees outside Croatia decresed from 150 000 to 57 000. The official records from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare list 37,180 wounded citizens of Croatia.[20] The total casualties of war in Croatia show a high proportion of civilians while the total determined number of war-damaged museums and galleries in Croatia between 1991 and 1995 includes seventy museum buildings, galleries and collections. Forty-four of them suffered damages of holdings.[21]

The history of Yugoslavia shows that definitions of ethnic identity were not a matter of personal choice, but an important part of state policy, variable according to the changing definitions of the state. Within the communist system, regional economic disputes were the focus of inter-republic conflict, where the leadership of one republic would blame the leadership of another for failed policies. Political leaders and others in power used available cultural symbols associated with nationality or ethnicity in order to gain backing for political agendas that were not primarily ethnically motivated. Music in both systems (socialist and democratic) played an important role in this process.

As a reflection of major political change and social conflict, heated discussions in the newspapers, interviews on television and movies all dealt with the past: who was doing what, for

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[19] Although the article "Ratne štete, izdaci za branitelje, žrtve i stradalnike rata u Republici Hrvatskoj" from Revija za socijalnu politiku [Revue for Social Politics] vol. 8, number 2 from 2001 states 13,538 war victims (article available online at http://www.rsp.hr/ojs2/index.php/rsp/article/view/225/229; Internet, accessed April, 2009), article on Croatian demographic losses by Dr. Dražen Živić titled "Direkte demographische Verluste (Kriegsopfer) in Kroatien 1990–98 infolge der großserbischen Aggression und einige ihrer Folgen" published in Društvena istraživanja [Social Research Journal], Vol.10 No.3 (53) June 2001 (available online at: http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=31354; Internet, accessed April, 2009) claims 20,091 victims of the war. Dr. Živić explains this number due to the fact that none of the official state institutions systematically deals with the total number of war victims (some government institutions have number of people killed, while some officials only deal with refugees and missing people). For this reason, the official information is always given with a disclaimer that the numbers are only partial and not precise because different methods of collecting the data make them incomparable.
[20] This data is provided in the above mentioned article from Revue for Social Politics.
[21] The information is taken from the web site "War damages on museums and galleries in Croatia," a project financed by the Ministry of Culture of Republic of Croatia, available from www.mdc.hr/stete /eng/fs-glavni.html; Internet, accessed March 2009.

what reasons, who received what and how. Popular songs started invoking historical events and the roles of important historical figures. Religious holidays became very important, primarily as markers of national identity. Music textbooks started including church songs, for the first time after a long religious silence during communism. Weddings and funerals began to be more associated with church services than ever before. Many wedding processions started including national symbols such as the Croatian flag, which was a custom that reflected desire for political correctness. People wanted to make a statement and the question of nationality was very important at the time. The media and music particularly promoted national symbols blurring the line between patriotism and nationalism.

Such reaction is understandable due to the scope and social dynamics of the ethno-national conflict Croatia experienced in its war for independence. Even after the war operations had ended and the territorial re-integration of the country had been achieved, a strong emotional bitterness and nationalist sentiment remained present as a reminder of military aggression and "deep-seated historically constructed enmities brewing beneath the surface of forty-five years of relative political calm"[22].

It is appropriate here to quote Ivo Andrić who published a novel *Na Drini Ćuprija* [*The Bridge on the Drina*] in 1945, for which he was awarded a Nobel Prize in Literature. The novel is a story about Višegrad, a town in the heart of Bosnia and Hercegovina. The town is divided by the river Drina, and the story begins with the construction of the bridge. It is an unusual novel in the sense that the only enduring character is the bridge that initially links the Turkish community with a Serbian community across the river. Later, the bridge separates or unites, in cycles of cooperation and conflict, Muslims, Serbs, Croats, Hungarians, Jews and others who come into the region through 500 years of history. Governments, politicians, families and individuals come and go, together with ethnic domination or subordination, but the bridge remains. Change occurs, the cultural content of the groups who identify themselves as different nationalities converge, but the ethnic boundaries, emblems and markers of difference remain.

After the turbulent times of war in Croatia, the meaning of Andrić's novel contains a set of new connotations and different perspectives. Witnessing antagonism between different cultures, traditions, religions and civilizations (Eastern and Western), it evokes many places in

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[22] Mary Kay Gilliland Olsen, "Bridge on the Sava: Ethnicity in Eastern Croatia, 1981-1991," *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 1-2, vol. 11 (1993), Special Issue: *War among the Yugoslavs,* available from http://condor.depaul.edu/~rrotenbe/aeer/aeer11_1/gilliland.html; Internet, accessed March 2009.

Croatia and Bosnia that exist divided by changing political borders that people are crossing every day, living in one place and working in another. A particular passage in which Andrić describes life in the town of Višegrad after the Ottoman Empire yoke ended and the new government, the Austrian Habsburgs, came to power, describes circumstances after World War II which are comparable to the particular sociopolitical climate in the aftermath of the recent war in Croatia. Here is an excerpt from the novel:

> After the first years of distrust, misunderstanding and hesitation,
> when the first feeling of transience has passed, the town began to find its place in the new order of things. The people found work, order, security. That was enough to ensure that here, too, life, outward life at least, set out "on the road of perfection and progress." Everything else was flushed away into that dark background of consciousness where live and ferment the basic feelings and indestructible beliefs of individual races, faiths and casts, which, to all appearances dead and buried, are preparing for later far-off time unsuspected changes and catastrophes, without which, it seems people cannot exist and above all the peoples of this land.[23]

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[23] Ivo Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 173-174.

CHAPTER TWO

ON IDEOLOGY AND MUSIC: ESTABLISHING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Defining Ideology: Multiple Meanings, Concepts, Approaches and the Issue of Objectivity

Marxist and post-Marxist writers on ideology (Adorno 1976, Althusser 1972, Marx and Engels 1965, Larrain 1983) have put forward different meanings, concepts and approaches in defining ideology. Finding a single comprehensive definition of ideology is a complex task due to the fact that ideology involves individual concepts of "the truth" as well as interpretations of the society and its aspects. That is because ideology represents sets of ideas, values or assumptions that large numbers of people in a given society believe in at any one time. For this reason, the discussion of ideology is difficult to maintain in a rational, objective sphere. Objectivity is difficult when discussing the connection between music curricula and ideology in that the link between the two often does not assume an objective but an evaluative approach.

The term "ideology" implies a wide range of definitions encountered in the current literature:[24]

a) the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life

b) a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class

c) that which offers a position for a subject

d) false ideas that help to legitimize a dominant political power

e) forms of thought motivated by social interests

f) socially necessary illusion

g) the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world

h) action-oriented sets of beliefs

i) the indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure

j) the process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality

k) imaginary resolution to real contradictions

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[24] Definitions of ideology are randomly selected from a variety of literature on ideology consulted for the purpose of this book.

The above formulations are randomly selected and are not necessarily comparable with each other. While (d) has a pejorative connotation, implying false ideas that help to legitimize dominate political power, (b) is neutral, stating a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class. Still, (f) is preoccupied with ideology as a part of reality or unreality, i.e., ideology as socially necessary illusion, while the rest are more concerned with the *function* of ideas within social life. However, despite a great diversity of opinion, most scholars nonetheless share certain general views about ideology. The following are different ways of defining ideology.

The most general and neutral of all meanings is the one that sees ideology as the material process of the production of ideas, beliefs and values in social life. This is neutral because it is based on the broader meaning of "culture" in that both culture and ideology here denote the cultural processes and practices of a particular society. A slightly less general meaning of ideology represents ideas and beliefs that symbolize the condition and life-experiences of a specific, socially significant group or class. In this context, the notion of ideology is similar to that of the "world view." The latter brings to mind fundamental matters, while ideology is not necessarily expressed in this way.

There is still a definition of ideology that emphasizes the promotion and legitimatization of certain social groups' interests. This ideological perspective is action-oriented because ideology is seen in relational terms, and ignores the importance of the power of the dominant class. Another nuance of this definition acknowledges the role of the dominant class in unifying the social structure. Here ideology is seen as the promotion and legitimatization of dominant class interests, where those interests represent not merely imposing ideas from above, but maintaining the society as a whole.

This is a functionalist view on ideology and is associated with Emille Durkheim, who sees ideology as a "glue" of society that holds everything together. Durkheim's view is shared by the French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser. According to Althusser, ideology represents "a particular organization of signifying practices which goes to constitute human beings as social subjects, and which produces the lived relations by which such subjects are connected to the dominant relations of production in a society."[25] Here, ideology functions as an imaginary relationship that individuals have with their real conditions of existence: in other words, what

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[25] Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (New York: Verso, 1991), 18.

people represent to themselves in ideology is not their real world as such, but their *relationship* to the real world. This way of understanding ideology explains the power of media and education in instilling ideological messages. This is what Paulin Hountondji refers to, in his *African Philosophy: Myth or Reality* (1983), as "culturalist ideology." Discussing "culturalist system" the author writes:

> All these flaws, real or imaginary, are present in culturalism.
> They are even organized into a vast ideological (i.e., indirectly political) system…*indirectly political,* for ideology is camouflaged politics. Culturalism is an ideological system because it produces an indirect political effect. It eclipses, first, the problem of effective national liberation and, second, the problem of class struggle.[26]

Ideology in Marxist and Post-Marxist Writings

Marxian views on ideology have influenced numerous writers and interpretations of ideology, and by being so widely present in literature, have gradually formulated the notion of ideology itself. The relevance of Marx's view on ideology for this work is that it provides a solid base for the connection between politics and cultural production. This supports the idea of music as a political construct, which is the main point of this work. Also, Marx's view on this concept is based on the historical perspective that links up with my intention to promote historical specificity. Marx explains the role of ideology in history through the assumption that each historical development has a corresponding form of consciousness.

If all the periods in history contain a certain type of ideology, it would be wrong to discuss any historical, cultural and social change without considering the ideology that belongs to it. This means that social facts should be explained not in isolation from each other and from history, but as historically interrelated constructs. For this reason, this work analyzes ideological formations of musical values and music identity as a part of the totality of the society, for those are explicable only in relation to the other parts of the social structure. Such a holistic approach to the society explains the relationship between different aspects of the society and the impact that politics has on them.

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[26] Paulin J. Hountondji, *African Philosophy: Myth or Reality,* trans. Henri Evans (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 162.

According to Marx, all human societies have to have ideologies because they represent *specific formations* or *representations* of ideas, concepts, myths or images that are essential to the historical life of societies. Functioning as a link between the historical life of a certain social group, ideology is commonly explained as a form of "social consciousness." Although it seems self-explanatory that ideology, as system of representations, is a certain form of consciousness, it is important not to be misled and to understand that ideology is profoundly unconscious. This is the point of disagreement between Marx and some of his followers. One of them is L. Althusser (1918-1990), a French philosopher whose major works were published in the 1960s and 1970s. Although Althusser essentially agreed with Marx's view on ideology as the material base of the society and the class power, he disagreed with Marx's view on ideology as "forms of social consciousness."

Explaining his point of view on this matter, Althusser noted that ideology is not just about ideas or consciousness, but it is a material practice carried by groups and individuals. He gives the example of the school that cannot be understood in ideological terms as a set of illusory ideas. Rather, it needs to be analyzed as a form of institutional practice. Ideology entails actions such as voting or praying or a type of school curriculum, and these actions or practices are basically "governed by the rituals in which these practices are inscribed, within material existence of an ideological apparatus, be it only a small part of that apparatus; a small mass in a small church, a funeral, a minor match at a sports' club, a school day, a political party meeting, etc."[27]

The importance of Althusser's work and thinking for this work is primarily because of his focus on ideology and education. Stating that ideology "treats individuals as subjects,"[28] Althusser holds that ideology has the power to impose a certain imaginary relation that people will have with their reality. According to Althusser, people have little control over this process and have no way to avoid it. The first encounter with ideology happens very early, during the process of socialization when individuals gradually learn the cultural norms and ways of behavior appropriate for a particular society. This process is continued in school, and backed up by media and popular culture.

Although Marx and Althusser disagreed in their views on ideology being a "form of social consciousness" (Marx) or "material practice carried out by groups and individuals" (Althusser), there is agreement that education is a state apparatus that carries a strong political

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[27] Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971), 158.
[28] Ibid., 162-163.

character. The theoretical framework for this book rests upon this agreement in explaining why and in what respect ideology and music curricula have anything to do with each other.

Marx explains this relationship in the following words: "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its *ruling* intellectual force."[29] Stating that those who are the owners of economic forces have the power to shape the ideas that determine the nature of a society, Marx recognizes the connection between ideology and education and, consequently, music curricula. Althusser, on the other hand, explains this relationship in the following words:

> To put this more scientifically, I shall say that the reproduction of labor power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also…a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order, i. e. a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class 'in words'…the school (but also other State institutions) teaches 'know-how,' but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its 'practice.'[30]

For both Althusser and Marx, education is the dominant ideological state agency with power to ensure the continuity of the power of the ruling class. Through the educational process, individuals learn a sort of "unwritten agreement" that summarizes norms and values, concepts of behavior, communication, and represent an unquestionable basis of the society. Although this "agreement" is perpetuated among the members of the society through different state apparatuses, this does not mean that all the members of the society actually agree with the accepted norms and values, but it means, rather, that the members of the society assume that everyone accepts them as universal, immediate and absolute truth. Therefore, ideology formulates the meaning of "the truth" for the members of the society, and has the power to "explain things in a way that is to the advantage of certain social strata and the ill of others."[31]

The above discussed Marxian and post-Marxian views on ideology are used in formulating the theoretical framework for this work and the examination of the political intentions of the class that dominates economic forces in society. For this reason, events and

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[29] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 61.
[30] Ibid., 127-128.
[31] Lucy Green, *Music on Deaf Ears: Music Meaning, Ideology, Education* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1988), 2.

decisions seemingly outside of the realm of music are discussed here and placed in relation to changes in the music curriculum. Music curriculum is analyzed as an ideological construct whose corpus helps perpetuate the class and power structure in society. First, that is because curriculum is a product of a certain society, and as such, it contains social aspects in its construction. Secondly, all curriculum units produce a range of effects that turn out to support the interests of the ruling class. The actions of pressure groups in exerting influence over the curriculum are adequately documented in the case of changes in the music curriculum in Croatia before and after its independence.

Why is Music Prone to Become an Ideological Term?

> It is not the style of music itself, or even its economic position, but the content of the claims being made for its superiority that make the position ideological.[32]

To discuss and understand ideological components in music, it is important to point out why and in what respect ideology and music have anything to do with each other. The discussion starts from the fact that there is no such thing as music existing independently of the social world; any type of music is affected by its social background and the people that create it, and listen to it. Therefore, the most reliable way to investigate social meaning in music is to view music *in* culture and *as* culture. This anthropological perspective of music is proposed by Alan Merriam, who defines music as "a product of human behavior in time and space."[33] Emphasizing the relationship of music to culture, Merriam suggests that music is not to be studied isolated from the culture. In this form he views music as "an uniquely human phenomenon that exists only in terms of social interaction."[34]

Proposing a universal model that involves study on three analytic levels, "conceptualization about music, behavior in relation to music, and music sound itself,"[35] Merriam established a system of investigation that was logical, complete and inclusive. The benefit of Merriam's model is not only that it covers a broad range of concerns in regards to

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[32] Ibid., 10.
[33] Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 7.
[34] Ibid., 27.
[35] Ibid., 37.

music, but also reveals the causality between music and human behavior; without concepts that affect behavior, behavior cannot occur, and without behavior, music sound cannot be produced.

Merriam's model clearly suggests that there is close connection between music and society. In Merriam's words: "in order to understand why music structure exists as it does, we must also understand *how* and *why* the behavior that produces it is as it is, and *how and why* the concepts which underlie that behavior are ordered in such a way as to produce the particularly desired form of organized sound."[36] Being a product of human behavior and a reflection of a particular cultural context, music carries social and political implications which make it prone to become an ideological term.

Another reason for a connection between ideology and music comes from the distinction between musical and ideological value in music. The discussion of any kind of music incorporates comparing it to other types of music. For instance, in order to discuss popular music, one must consider other categories such as jazz or classical music from which it is differentiated. The names of various types of music come into existence and have any meaning only in contradiction to each other. This implies that the major point of distinction between different musical styles is the question of value, which emanates from particular properties that are ideologically constructed.

For example, the twentieth-century ideological positions suggested that superior musical value comes from properties such as complexity, originality or universality. These properties are ideological in their construction for several reasons. One is because they are coming outside of music itself and have nothing to do with music as a sonic phenomenon. Rather, those constructions should be seen as extra-musical since they disregard the musical content and focus on its prescribed value.

Assuming that a piece of music has a certain quality and appeals to people regardless of who they are, or where and how they live, the value of such music, therefore, must be independent of any interests of the people who value it. Hence, claims about "universality" or "complexity" of a certain piece of music are ideological because they involve musical values that are placed outside music itself. This confirms that discussion of a particular aspect of music is in itself ideological because it contains implications about the music value. Song texts clearly reveal the political roles of music.

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[36] Ibid., 7.

Expressing "aspects of the experience of individuals in society,"[37] songs respond to social situations, and help reveal both private and communal aspirations of the people that create and consume them. Since they reflect a variety of sociological processes and historical issues that affect culture, song texts represent an extremely rich source for the understanding of deep-seated values, sanctions and problems of a given group of people. They offer a better understanding of socio-historical processes and communal aspirations of a particular group because, "apart from their poetic and musical values, they [songs] often provide significant sociological data, expressed for the most part in metaphorical language."[38] Displayed as a verbal source, song texts provide clear insight to the variety of social issues and cultural activities that constitute a particular culture and function as powerful carriers of ideological messages. To quote Merriam, songs "reflect the attitudes of the common people towards the conditions of their society."[39]

Music is prone to become an ideological term because "songs provide freedom to express some ideas and comments that would not be acceptable in a normal language situation."[40] Using metaphorical language, song texts directly or indirectly express ideas, comments and issues that are present in a particular cultural context. Providing reconstruction of the variety of processes and cultural activities that constitute a certain society, songs help to reveal the values and cultural characteristics of a particular culture group.

Hidden or open ideological messages in songs reflect precisely the social reality and political aspirations of both community and individuals. For this reason, deconstruction of the variety of non-musical matters reflected in music/songs, helps our understanding of the socio-historical processes of a given group. This was the case with songs that promoted unity and brotherhood of all ethnic groups in the territory of former Yugoslavia. Their power to transmit messages promoted political ideas and functioned as a "cushion" for possible ethnic conflict. The inclusion of Croatian themes and religious songs and references in schools and public life in independent Croatia reflected the new socio-political roles of music, which also served the interests of the prevailing ideology.

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[37] John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 89.
[38] Kazadi wa Mukuna, lecture at Kent State University, Fall 2001.
[39] Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music*, 194.
[40] Kazadi wa Mukuna, lecture at Kent State University, Fall 2002.

Social Construction of Musical Meaning: Music as a Social Product, Practice and Manifestation of Culture

> You cannot prescribe to a symbol what it may be used to express.
> All that a symbol CAN express, it MAY express.[41]

Social construction in musical meaning is one of the main aspects of the sociology of music that investigates the ways in which social formations are reflected in musical structures. The reason the meaning of music is a common topic of numerous writings about music is the very nature of music – a sonic means of communication that affects us in ways that are not simply reversible to verbal or visual representations. Although it seems obvious that music conveys meanings to a variety of people, in certain situations and surroundings, it is often hard to determine what that meaning is and how it is communicated. The difficulty of answering these questions is reduced with the awareness that meaning in music is socially constructed.

The social structure of musical meaning comes from the fact that when "people create music, they reproduce in the basic qualities of their music the basic qualities of their own thought processes."[42] This is because musicians, composers and listeners do not exist in a vacuum, but function within prescribed parameters, values and sets of behavioral patterns from their society. For this reason, different cultural contexts generate different forms of music. That is why music can only be understood in terms of its culture and the meaning of music is not to be found in its sonic structure, but in a variety of non-sonic phenomena that influence and shape the music itself. This confirms Merriam's definition of music being a product of human behavior and suggests that musical styles are related in complex ways to the basic characteristics of the society in which they are created.

For Christopher Ballantine, one of the scholars influenced by the work of Theodore Adorno in researching the links between music and society, "the musical macrocosm replicates the social macrocosm."[43] By discussing the values and ideologies that are articulated in various musical styles, Ballantine demonstrates the influence of Adorno's thoughts. Although it is difficult to determine how the "social macrocosm" is reconstructed in the "musical macrocosm,"

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[41] Quote by Ludwig Wittgenstein, cited in Peter J. Martin, _Sounds and Society: Themes in the Sociology of Music_ (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 25.
[42] John Shepherd, _Music as a Social Text_ (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 12.
[43] Quoted in Martin, _Sounds and Society: Themes in the Sociology of Music_, 127.

according to Emille Durkheim, social forces have somehow predisposed people to act in such ways as to bring about appropriate forms of music. It is possible to deduct that both the socially constructed nature of meaning in music as well as its ideological qualities confirm the Marxist model of society where the economic base or substructure ultimately determines the cultural superstructure.[44]

The best way to explain the social construction of musical meaning is to say that it does not reside in musical objects or pieces, but is assigned to them by real people in real situations, thus carrying social implications. The social construction of meaning in music was the base of the research done by Alan Lomax, who attempted to correlate folk song style with components of social structure. The starting point of his research was that folksong in any society is a symbol of the culture and people that create and listen to it. Lomax explained that the function of the song is "to express the shared feelings and mould the joint activities of some human community."[45]

During the 1960s Lomax guided an ambitious research project that aimed to explore and test the relationship between performance style and the structural patterns of society. The results of the developed method, called "cantometrics," were mostly as expected: "some traits of song performance showed a powerful relationship to features of social structure that regulate interaction in all cultures."[46] The fact that song style reflects the essential cultural forms suggests a social construction of musical meaning and proves that song (or art in general) is not invented as a self-realization and expression of individual emotions, but exists as a "collective symbolization of dominant cultural patterns."[47] This is furthermore emphasized in the conclusion of general discovery of cantometrics where Lomax claims that "a culture's favored song style reflects and reinforces the kind of behavior essential to its main subsistence efforts and to its central and controlling social institutions."[48]

Music plays an important role in the socio-cultural life of any human group because it is "a creative factor in cultural growth."[49] Another more recent study "Music education in culture: A critical analysis of reproduction, production, and hegemony" (Rose, 1990) confirms the close connection between music and central social institutions of the society. Linking music, education,

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[44] See Jorge Larrain, *Marxism and Ideology* (London: MacMillan Press, 1983).

[45] Alan Lomax, *Folk Song Style and Culture* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1968), 1.

[46] Ibid., 3.

[47] Ibid., 131.

[48] Ibid., 133.

[49] Charles Seeger, "Folk music as a Source of Social History," *The Garland Library of Readings in Ethnomusicology* vol. 3, special series: *Music as Culture*, ed. Key Kaufman Shelemay (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 13.

and society as interdependent and not isolated phenomena, Rose concludes that music effectively aids the formation of students' social and cultural consciousness. In other words, if music reflects culture and reinforces desired behavior and cultural models that are determined by the dominant structures, it is clear that music, as Durkheim put it, has the power to "evoke and affirm the authority of society in the minds of individuals."[50] If that is so, musical style needs to be seen as an important political tool in the hands of prevailing politics.

The question why music serves as a powerful political tool is best answered through its link with culture and the fact that music is a social product, practice and manifestation of culture. Since it is tied to the culture in a way in which descriptive capacities of language are not, music has the ability to "reveal the nature of feelings with a detail and truth that language cannot approach."[51]

In pointing out the link between music and society it is appropriate to recall Merriam's definition again here since "music is a human phenomenon produced by people for people and existing and functioning in a social situation."[52] This implies that the principles of musical organization are related to social experiences. Accordingly, it is possible to conclude that "music serves as a sign or a symbol of different kind of human experience."[53] In this respect, detecting the cultural conventions of a certain society and analyzing its music as a pure sound phenomenon cannot reveal connotations involved in music, nor can it help to denote possible messages that are inserted in its creation.

Since music is a part of oral tradition, and as such, offers information about the cultural context, ideas, comments and issues that are present in a particular cultural context are frequently "readable" through music. Hence, musical meaning is not a consequence of the universal structure of human minds and it cannot be understood through sonic qualities, but is socially constructed through a variety of processes in which musical sounds become symbols whose meaning is contained in the collective memory of the people in different cultural contexts.

An interesting study titled "Collective memory in a transition society" (Dumbrava, 1998) deals with music functioning as a symbolic representation. The study investigates the function of symbolic representation in the national flag and national anthem of Romania after the revolution

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[50] Quoted in Martin, *Sounds and Society: Themes in the Sociology of Music*, 131.
[51] Susanne Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key* (New York: Mentor Books, 1959), 191.
[52] Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 187.
[53] John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 72.

of 1989 by comparing the recollections of 48 subjects about two patriotic songs: one with no apparent political ties while the other with strong political implications. The researcher interprets the result in which recollections were stronger for the neutral than the political song through a strong probability that political song memories were affected by people's intense repression of symbols related to the former regime's ideology.

It is clear that people in all cultures associate certain sounds and musical styles with particular social meanings and cultural settings and consider them "natural." For those who are outside of a particular cultural context, there is nothing "natural" about a particular music and its meaning. Since the forms of music somehow correspond with structures of society, the investigation of musical organization demands understanding of social organization.

In summation, meaning in music is socially constructed because both musical organization and conventions are shaped and exist according to the dominant cultural patterns. Relying on the fact that music is a social product, this study proves that political transformation is related to the change in the concepts and style of music. Change in the music curriculum and the type of songs sung in Croatian schools before and after its independence was a consequence of the change in the ideological and political orientation of the country.

CHAPTER THREE
SCHOOLS AS AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

School Curriculum as a Tool of Political Control

Various writers agree upon the fact that state apparatuses such as media or education carry a strong ideological character (Karl Marx, Theodore Adorno, Louis Althusser). Education and media are the most effective sources for imposing the ideas from the powerful to the powerless, most particularly because what people represent to themselves in ideology is not their real world as such, but their *relationship* to the real world. Due to their ability to interpret this imaginary relationship that individuals have with their real conditions of existence, education and media can be especially efficient political tools: media in representing this relationship, and education in teaching it. Both help the perpetuation of social relations and ensure that individuals accept their roles and adapt to the current political and economic climate.[54] Since schools continue to be subject to change based on the change in sociocultural landscape, this chapter focuses on ideological underpinnings of educational practices and discourse and views schools as social institutions that serve the interests of the society and function as agents of political socialization.

There are three basic elements that support the school's role in socialization process: 1) the school curriculum and textbook content; 2) specific symbols, rituals and procedures present in the school; 3) the teacher as a model and source of attitudes and values. The following text comments on each one of these points and provides examples of their manifestation in Croatian schools.

1) The school curriculum and the textbook content

The feeling among most of the authors that deal with the relationship between education and politics is that textbooks and the school curricula strongly reflect political agendas. David Coulby emphasizes the role of curricula in identity formation, assuming direct correlation between the individual and the state politics or the prevailing ideology:

> School and university curricula (along with churches, sporting clubs, newspapers and media, families, language and cultural clubs and communities, heritage tourism) serve to ensure that as each individual is engaged in the process of identity formation or reformation, a central

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[54] See the detailed theoretical elaboration on ideology in Chapter Two of this document.

inscription will consist in the taken-for-granted rightness of the principles and practices of the state concerned.[55]

Textbooks and materials used in class readily speak about the political role of school curricula. Textbooks in Croatia reveal the shift from one model of political orientation to another.[56] That is because these books are selective, just like all histories, and so are the perspectives from which they are written. Comparing music textbooks from former Yugoslavia with those in modern Croatia, it is possible to conclude that they operate selectively. While the tendency of education in former Yugoslavia promoted a pan-Yugoslav sense of identity, that of Croatia reflects the need for the reassertion of Croatian national unity. For that reason, textbooks in independent Croatia are focused on the history of Croatia only and its national cultural production.[57]

National orientation is evident in the selection of the authors of the texts. Foreign authors held 43% of the texts in the past, and now that is only 29%. History books cover world history with 40% of texts, while national history is covered by 60%. Texts about social conflicts, especially the ones with a national component, are prevalent in history books. Commentary after these texts emphasizes their national component. History books emphasize the suffering of Croatian people through its history and its belonging to European (not Balkan!) culture and civilization. References to common past and socio-cultural connections with former Yugoslavia are avoided.[58]

The examination of textbooks in independent Croatia reveals that experiences from the socialist past are replaced with the most recent period of national oppression. The number of texts that deal with the national question is dramatically higher than in times of ex-Yugoslavia. Such

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[55] David Coulby, *Beyond the National Curriculum* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 49.
[56] The analysis of the Croatian textbooks is largely based on data from the study titled *Problems and Perspectives in the Development of Schooling in Croatia* by Ladislav Bognar, available fromhttp://www-gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/csbsc/country_reports/Education_Croatia.htm; Internet, accessed April 2009.
[57] Data from Bognar's study, ibid.
[58] The following story is an indicative example of erasing the common past with former Yugoslavia. In 1981, citizens of Duga Resa, a town in Croatia, planted a small forest with 88 trees as a birthday present for President Tito. Today this forest has been cut down by the citizens of the town, mostly the same people that planted it. Their interpretation of this action was that they have removed "the last remnants of the communist regime." This clearly shows a systematic modification of collective memory, which is typical in times of war, when there is no place for individual memories, but the old collective memory (the whole nation praising Tito and weeping at his funeral) is replaced by the new collective memory (ten years after that, the nation considers him a "communist dictator"). The story is taken from the article "The Culture of Lying" by Tom Pilston available at http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/the-culture-of-lying-1173428.html: Internet, accessed March 2009.

texts make up 19% of all the textbooks, while in the old textbooks those made only 6%. [59] A corroborative example is the poem "Hell" by Ivan Goran Kovačić, which talks about the fascist Ustaše movement and its evil actions during World War II. Although perpetrators are not specified, the textbook commentary asks the question: "What contemporary atrocity toward the Croatian people does this remind you of?"[60]

This is an example of an indirect ideological message inserted in the textbooks. The role of the curriculum as a powerful political tool is expressed in two ways in this commentary. First, there is a lack of historical objectivity which covers the historical truth of the nationalism of the Ustaša movement and the ethnic cleansing of Jews, Roma and Serbs. Second, the new ideology is inserted in the question which hints at the unnamed oppressors in the recent war, and those are Serbs.

About 17% of the texts in the old textbooks covered the war (World War II primarily). In 73% of them the war was glorified and participation in it was presented as an honor and only 25% were written with a pacifistic orientation. The new textbooks, however, reduced the number of war texts to 8%. The majority (56%) is still favorable of war, although there is a larger number of texts (30%) that favor peace. Most of the texts imply that crimes are committed not by individuals, but groups of individuals, suggesting the group responsibility, instead of individual responsibility. [61]

Unlike the position of religion in socialist Yugoslavia, when religious practices were taken away from the public life and the school curriculum, in general, the new textbooks contain a large number of references to religious themes. This is more the case with the lower elementary school grades (five and six), than in the upper grades (seven and eight). These texts talk about Christian holidays and are connected to various Biblical themes or poems and have a devotional character. They often have national themes and speak of religion as a form of patriotism, thus reflecting the role of school in the socialization process.[62] The openness to religious themes is

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[59] Data from Ladislav Bognar's study available from http://www-gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/csbsc/country_reports/Education_Croatia.htm; Internet, accessed April 2009.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Data from Ladislav Bognar's study available from http://www-gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/csbsc/country_reports/Education_Croatia.htm; Internet, accessed April 2009.
[62] The socialization process is evident in the classroom display of religious symbols. The picture of Tito, which was inevitable classroom "decoration" in times of former Yugoslavia, is now replaced with the Christian cross or the new Croatian checkered flag.

also reflected in the music textbooks which, unlike music textbooks in former Yugoslavia, contain religious songs.[63]

Regarding the selection of the textbooks, in former Yugoslavia there was a single music textbook that teachers were supposed to follow without much possibility of change. The modern Croatian state allows more freedom in choosing the type of textbook that can be followed. However, the problem is that all the textbooks available on the market first need to pass a sort of "filter" in order to be permitted on the market. This authorization comes from the Croatian Ministry of Education, which proposes curricula and expects the authors of textbooks to follow suggested programs. The outcome is that the textbooks' contents are not too different from each other, because their authors have to follow a centralized concept of instruction coming from the Ministry of Education. This explains why the only major differences among available music textbooks on the market today are not in their contents, but in the included musical examples. Moreover, due to centralized educational decision making and the fact that official acceptance and availability of these books on the market enables their authors' promotion, some music teachers interviewed for the purpose of this work suggest that there is a space for the monopoly over the production and dissemination of school textbooks.

2) Specific symbols, rituals and procedures present in the school

Studies on the socialization effects of schools investigate the use of symbols, rituals and other forms of ceremony in schools. The use of rituals with specific symbols that instill desired political concepts will be examined through performances in socialist schools. These included a variety of school activities such as reciting, drama, ballet, folk dancing, sport competitions, pupils' artwork and music, all of which carried educational and ideological messages. The value of socialist school performance was not measured by the number of performers nor the length of the program, but by its program content, or more specifically, its pedagogical/educational influence on both pupils and the wider community.[64]

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[63] The political changes and the war brought back to the public the previously forbidden Croatian symbols and themes, and religion is one of them. See detailed examination of this phenomenon in Chapter Four.

[64] The content of the school performance varied according to the occasion. There were school shows that celebrated important historical events, people (war heroes or other important people) as well as important holidays such as New Years Day or national holidays such as Youth Day (May 25, celebration of Tito's birthday), Mother's Day (March 8), Military Day (November 22). Most of the schools in former Yugoslavia in addition had shows that celebrated both, the beginning and the end of the school year.

School performances in socialism are defined as "organized performances with cultural, art and educational content performed by pupils and teachers within or outside school as a part of holidays and various celebrations. The task of the school performance was to connect school with the political and cultural life of the community as well as the whole country."[65] Socialist definition of school performance suggests that school has to serve certain "social duties."[66]

Another task of socialist school performance was to help maintain the desired concept of "cultural entertainment." This means that besides its moral and educational functions, the contents of a school show reflected the type of entertainment supported by the state. Socialism views entertainment as an important social need of every culture. Since every community has to have some form of entertainment, the role of socialist school performance was to provide a type of entertainment that teaches socialist ideas and values.

Symbolizing the life of a family and the community as a whole, school performances helped the formation of a "socialist man." According to communist ideology, active involvement in the school show develops the sense of collective consciousness and working for the benefit of the community. Therefore, its social role was to increase pupils' awareness of the importance of communal work. This is also reflected in the value of "collective musicianship," active involvement in music making in socialism due to its potential to "raise the level of social consciousness and the awareness of the need for collaboration."[67]

In summation, schools provided the moral and aesthetic education, and actively transmitted ideological messages. In this sense, the socialist school performance functioned as a sort of a ritual in which music in symbolic ways assured the ideological and cultural uplifting of the masses. Due to the shift in political orientation, modern Croatian schools today do not place such a large significance nor the same function of the school performance.

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[65] A. Ećimović, "Kako treba sastaviti programe školskih priredaba [On the Content of School Performances]," *Muzika i škola* [Music and School] 9, vol. 3 (1964): 83.

[66] Social duties would begin with the ideological propaganda in the introductory text read by the master of the ceremony or a local communist activist and a politician. That was the beginning part of a collage composed of dance and musical numbers, spoken numbers, either recitations, or sketches in which the enemy is ridiculed and socialism glorified.

[67] Jozefina Hajek, "Tamburice i muzikalnost djece [Tamburitza and children's musical talent]," *Muzika i škola* [Music and School] 3, vol. 2 (1957), 63.

3) The teacher as a model and a source of attitudes and values

Teachers are considered the most important source of the political impact of schools, because their teaching styles and personalities have a considerable effect on pupils. Joža Požgaj, distinguished Croatian music educator from the post World War II period, wrote extensively about the importance of the socialist teacher's personality. In his writings on music education, the author frequently points out the necessary aspects of a teacher's character. He talks about the requirement for "extensive general education and culture [of music teachers] because only such a person has the right to be called a teacher and educator."[68] Požgaj uses the following words in describing the role of a socialist music teacher: "a music teacher, probably more than other teachers, should not only be a strict educator, but also a good man [sic!], father [sic!] and a child's friend."[69] Such interpretation of the role of a teacher reflects romantic attitudes of socialist pedagogy in which "you cannot become a teacher unless you are willing to act like a father."[70]

Socialism viewed music as a cultural good that serves human happiness. For that reason, the role of a music teacher was to use music and "help affirm joy, happiness and love for the nation."[71] Furthermore, the teacher in socialism also needed to be aware of "the potential of music to teach pupils to consciously acknowledge current socio-historical problems."[72] For this reason, in times of former Yugoslavia, pupils had the opportunity to participate in a variety of music activities within schools: choirs, instrumental ensembles, solo singing, folk dancing, organized visits to concerts and operas, and music history groups.[73] Through those different activities teachers functioned as mediators of ideological messages. The role of the teacher shifted from a communist to a democratic orientation and didactic principles after Croatian independence. This emphasizes the importance of the role of a teacher as transmitters of socio-political values.

As can be deducted from the above discussion, music teachers, the textbook contents, school performances and the presence of national symbols in the classrooms all convey messages

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[68] Joža Požgaj, *Metodika glazbene nastave* [*Methods of Music Education*] (Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Hrvatske, 1950), 20.

[69] Ibid, 21.

[70] Quote by Komensky; see Joža Požgaj, "Ličnost muzičkog pedagoga kao dominantni odgojni faktor [Personality of a Music Teacher as a Dominant Educational Factor]," *Muzika i škola* [Music and School] 6, vol. 2-3-4 (1961):70.

[71] Pavel Rojko, "Pjevanje u Osnovnoj školi [Singing in Elementary School]," *Tonovi* [Tones] 2, vol. 7 (1992): 7.

[72] Joža Požgaj, *Metodika glazbene nastave* [*Methods of Music Education*] (Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Hrvatske, 1950), 21.

[73] Music history groups were one of the available elective activities in socialist schools. Children that chose this activity were involved in intensive studying of music history, listening to classical music pieces and writing reports on musical styles, composers or musical forms.

which contain political connotations, thus revealing the role of school as an important tool of political socialization.

Ideological Shift in the Concepts of Education

Althusser identifies schools (along with mass media and popular culture) as ideological state apparatuses which "function massively and predominantly by ideology."[74] For him, it is the school that instills into people the technical and cultural skills, as well as values. He writes:

> The school takes children from every class at infant-school age, and then for years, the years in which the child is most 'vulnerable', squeezed between the family state apparatus and the educational State apparatus, it drums into them…a certain amount of 'know-how' wrapped in the ruling ideology...it is by apprenticeship in a variety of know-how wrapped up in the massive inculcation of the ideology of the ruling class that the relations of production in a capitalist social formation [society],
> i.e., the relations of exploited to exploiters and exploiters to exploited, are largely reproduced.[75]

By instilling the necessary skills and values into the minds and behaviour of the population, school has a significant role in shaping and developing children's values, attitudes and aspirations. As Lucy Green points out, "education imbues children with self-images, expectations and achievement orientations that fundamentally correspond to their existing social situations."[76] In terms of socialism in times of former Yugoslavia, introduction of socialistic humanism and other revolutionary social changes had a significant effect on the educational concepts as well as the school system itself.

In the case of modern Croatia, political changes in a newly independent country required corrections of some of the old educational policies. In the following text, educational practices during socialist Yugoslavia will be compared with the ones after its fall in order to point out how school serves the interests of the society.

The educational system in Yugoslavia was based on a self-governmental, socialist and atheist view and the planned economy. The system included the education of preschool age

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[74] Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971), 141.
[75] Ibid., 148.
[76] Lucy Green, "Ideology," in *Key Terms in Popular Music and Culture,* ed. Bruce Horner and Thomas Swiss (Chicago: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 11.

children (up to 6 years old), primary school age children (6 to 14 years old), secondary school age children (14 to 18 years old) and academic level (18 to approximately 24 years old). This educational system covered regular pupils, pupils with developmental difficulties, as well as pupils from ethnic minorities within Yugoslavia. The classes from fifth to eight grades were taught by teachers trained in the cognate area. The first four grades had only one instructor, who covered all classes. Although such an educational structure remains in the independent Croatia, there exist important differences between the concepts of socialist and modern Croatia.

The political rhetoric of the legendary president Tito reveals the socialist concepts of education:

> For the successful development of socialism, it is important that civilization and socialistic culture are progressing. A high level of material culture and social development requires a high level of spiritual culture. Only when those are in balance, is it possible to have proper social change…[In our country] education and cultural consciousness has to move ahead our social development, instead of stopping it, because every stagnation in social development means backwardness. For this reason the school system in Social Federative Republic of Yugoslavia needs to be built and to develop according to the general goals of our socialistic community in order to help the improvement of material goods and cultural development and the building of socialistic social relations.[77]

The socialist concept of education considers school an important factor that helps build a bridge to a classless society. For this reason, the concept of education in former Yugoslavia relied on the idea of *odgoj i obrazovanje* [education and upbringing], and not only *obrazovanje* [education], as is the case in Croatian schools today. Upbringing was an essential part of school education because socialist ideology used schools for creating a better and more just society where everyone has equal access to knowledge.[78] Inclusion of *proizvodni rad* [productive work] in socialist school curricula readily speaks about the role of education in assisting the process of building a more just socialist society. It is important to clarify here that the socialist interpretation of the significance of productive work was not only that it was a practical application of the knowledge gained in class, but even more its role was in removing the gap between intellectual and physical work.

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[77] Excerpt from the speech Tito gave at the 7th Congress of Yugoslav Communist Party [Savez Komunista Jugoslavije.]
[78] This explains the name of the music classes in socialist schools – *muzički odgoj* [music upbringing].

A similar concept was reflected in the "collective musicianship." Active involvement in music making in socialism is rooted in the idea of "art for all," and the intention to bridge the gap between art and common people. In times of socialism, music was part of the process called "socializing of the culture." This process was not an original invention of Yugoslav socialism, but like many political ideas at the time, it was rooted in Marxist thinking. It meant exchange of artistic and cultural goods within the working and other social processes. In other words, culture and art are no longer an isolated part of society, or confined to the so-called elite, but by active music making in all levels of society such as schools, factories, different cultural societies or other recreational activities, music and art were introduced to everyone.

In modern Croatia, the model of music education places the emphasis on active listening to music. According to the research done in the early 1990s, although as much as 74% of Croatian school children like to sing, the songs they sing are not school songs, nor traditional folk songs. Another research project investigated the status of traditional folk song among school children. The results of this research showed that 32% of pupils openly reject traditional folk song, and only 2,2% of pupils like and listen to traditional folk music, while the rest declared a neutral position.[79] The purpose of active and intensive listening to music is to introduce music (mainly artistic) and to develop the musical taste of the pupils.[80] Listening to music is interpreted as "the only activity that enables the pupils to appreciate music."[81]

The education system in modern Croatia largely inherited school models from former Yugoslavia. However, upon the disintegration of former Yugoslavia in 1990, some conceptual changes were made in order to meet the needs of the politically independent Republic of Croatia. Other elements proven as good in the old system were preserved.

The UNESCO report on the changes in Croatian education after the new state was established notes the following changes: "ideological transformation of educational system, removal of ideology-orientated subjects and reinstitution of catechism in schools….the ideas of the planned economy were replaced with market-oriented and free-enterprise initiatives, funding policy changed, the old Yugoslav homeland principle was substituted with Croatian, private and

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[79] See Pavel Rojko, "Pjevanje u Osnovnoj školi [Singing in Elementary School]," *Tonovi* [Tones] 2, vol. 7 (1992): 13.

[80] This is reflected in the change of the name of the class from "Muzički Odgoj [Music Upbringing]" into "Glazbena umjetnost [The Art of Music]."

[81] Pavel Rojko, "Slušanje i upoznavanje glazbe [Listening to Music and Music Appreciation]," *Tonovi* [Tones] 1-2, vol. 9 (1994): 12.

alternative schools were allowed, new model of preparation of funding and publishing textbooks was applied."[82]

Achieving the set goals was difficult due to conditions of life, work and education. As a result of the destruction of Croatian cities and the fact that a quarter of Croatian territory was occupied by Serbia during the recent war, strong national feelings among common people were created. People started looking at independence as a historical turning point and a final affirmation of Croatian nationhood. The solution to the national question in Croatia had a strong impact on education.[83]

The national question and its reflection in the school system are closely connected with the ongoing social and economic reforms in the country. As a result of the war, unprofitable transitional economy and process of privatization, the protests of teachers were common, but the right-wing had no creative solution to it, while the left was not well articulated in its ideas. For this reason, discrepancies in treatment of the national question in Croatian schools still exist and a solution to satisfy the demand for educational democratization posed by the European community has not yet been established.

For a long time, the Croatian school system has been centralized. Although "teachers and other experts are statutorily required to draw up their own programs and choose textbooks and other teaching aids, neither the school nor the teacher can influence the amount of time allotted to any particular subject and expressed in a specified number of hours."[84] The Ministry of Science, Education and Sports still prescribes the curricula and syllabi in all fields of education and decentralization is only present in the implementation after the decision has been made. Imposing educational reforms from above is one of major challenges for independent Croatia to adopt to European approach to education.

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[82] The entire UNESCO report on Education in Croatia is available at http://www.unesco.org/education/wef/countryreports/croatia/rapport_2_3.htm; Internet, accessed April 2009.

[83] In solving the national question, Croatian society was traditionally politically divided between left and right. The left option called for the resolution of the problem in the context of the multiethnic union of Southern Slavs, while the right option was for an independent Croatia. After the fall of Yugoslavia, the left-wing option failed to exist and with it a solution for the treatment of different ethnic groups within Croatia. Although the present government emphasizes the idea of reconciliation, the discrepancy in the treatment of various ethnic groups within the territory of Croatia still remains.

[84] From UNESCO International Bureau of Education report on Croatian, updated version from May 2007 available from http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/archive/Countries/WDE/2006/CENTRAL_and_EASTERN_EUROPE/Croatia/Croatia.htm; Internet, accessed April 2009.

Although the country has a long tradition of pedagogy as an academic discipline, teachers and schools still have no meaningful influence on the development of and changes in the school practices and educational policies. Due to low salaries and poor working conditions, teachers became socially insecure. With that, there is a general public perception of teaching job as an easy one (small working hours and long holidays) which is often used as justification for their poor material status. Bad economic and professional status of teachers in Croatia resulted in their exclusion from educational policy making and made them powerless in stopping the change of the values they are supposed to convey to the pupils.[85]

Comparing education systems in Croatia before and after its independence, it is possible to conclude that although the political arbitrariness typical of the earlier, communist school system within former Yugoslavia is less evident, it is still present today. For example, when the new government of the new independent Croatian state came in power in the early 1990s, Croatian Studies as a new field of study was created, although study of Croatian history, society and religion already existed in the universities. This was clearly a political move paralleling the need to reassert Croatian national identity. The plan was to rank this new field of study equal with already established ones, but the academic senate refused to accept this idea suggested by the top political leaders at the time. [86]

Croatian school system still reflects prevailing ideology. After the change of political system and democratization in 1990s, the communist ideology of ex-Yugoslavia inserted into school curricula has been replaced with the new socio-political orientation of independent state of Croatia. The result was re-definition of national-group subjects (Croatian, history, geography) and introduction of religion as an elective subject in 1990/91.

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[85] Constant insufficient budget for education has led to a poor status of both schools and teachers in Croatia. According to national estimates stated in 6th UNESCO *International Bureau of Education* report on Croatia, the total budget of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports in 2004 was 4.1% of the GDP. Updated report from May 2007 available from http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/archive/Countries/WDE/2006/CENTRAL_and_EASTERN_EUROPE/Croatia/Croatia.htm; Internet, accessed April 2009.

[86] On July 22nd, 1998, Croatian daily paper "Jutarnji list" wrote: "Already for years Croatian Studies have operated outside the normal university rules. For example, the majority of the instructors in Croatian Studies have never before taught at a university, and they do not have a formal license to teach at that level that would justify a professorship. Some lecturers, retired members of the philosophical faculty, are older than the legal retirement age of 70. Croatian Studies are also illegal on the level of instruction itself. All eight areas…were proposed by an unlawful body..."

From Multinational Unification in Yugoslavia to Croatian National Unity: Reflection of the Political Changes in the Music Curricula

The examination of the music curricula before and after the fall of Yugoslavia reveals that music in schools is frequently used to meet political objectives. The comparison of the changing concepts in the music curricula in Crotia is viewed through the political lens of the multinational unification process before independence and the increasing need for expressions of Croatian national identity after independence.

Examining the relationship between music curricula and politics, this section attempts to answer the following questions: In what manner is music in schools used for certain political objectives? Which music is used to fulfill political purposes? To what extent is political music involved in the (re)creation of tradition?

These questions will be discussed through several points, all of which reveal the influence of political pressures and changing ideology on the music curriculum:

1) changing attitudes towards collective musicianship
2) cultural policies and concepts of tradition
3) different treatment, position and cultural value of folk songs
4) ideological manipulation of the value of popular music

1) Changing attitudes towards collective musicianship

The main intention of music education in former Yugoslavia was "to develop pupils' expressive skills and reproductive artistic activities…[as well as to] enable pupils to positively influence their community by taking part in cultural activities of the community."[87] Knowing the principle of equal treatment of all pupils within music curricula in socialism, regardless of their talent or interest, it is understandable why all pupils were encouraged to be actively involved in music playing and singing. Therefore, music education was considered an important element in improving the quality of musical culture in schools and wider communities because the pupils not

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[87] Joža Požgaj, *Metodika glazbene nastave* [Methods of Music Education] (Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Hrvatske, 1950), 161.

only developed "love and need for music…[but the school] is preparing them to be an active part of the music life of their community."[88]

The importance of music playing in socialism was explained through "practical application of learned music knowledge, development of musical taste, introduction to a large number of patriotic and traditional songs and, above all, developing the sense of discipline and feelings of personal responsibility for the success of the group."[89] These educational elements and benefits of collective music playing are in line with socialist ideology and the idea of communal activity and unity of interest. The importance of collective musicianship in socialism comes from the role of socialist education, which is to "help in preparing pupils for social life…develop pupils' creative skills and interests…and emphasize the sense for collective work and collaboration."[90]

In 1963, Truda Reich wrote extensively about playing instruments at school. Providing argumentation that explains the benefits of such activity, Reich reveals ideological implications of collective musicianship. She gives reasons such as: "music playing develops working habits…increases discipline and teaches the individual to obey the interests of the collective before his own [sic!]…teaches children to value the work of others…improves awareness of the importance of organized work…a child that plays an instrument will not be aggressive and will not break school inventory [sic!]…"[91]

Schools in Yugoslavia had some form of uniform ensemble, either a choir, accordion or tamburitza ensemble. The following excerpt shows an example of a collective musicianship excercise from socialist Yugoslavia textbooks. The melody in both examples is reserved for voice or melodic instrument such as guitar or accordion. Songs are from the Netherlands and Japan and their inclusion comes from the socialist idea of "teaching internationalism."

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[88] Joža Požgaj, "Dobro i zlo u muzičkoj odgojnoj praksi naših škola [Good and Bad Sides of Music Education in Our Schools]," *Muzika i škola* [Music and School] 1, vol. 6 (1966), 21.

[89] Joža Požgaj, *Metodika glazbene nastave* [Methods of Music Education], 164.

[90] Institute for education, science and culture of People's Republic of Croatia issued this School Plan and Program number 7514/54 on 16 July 1954, 13.

[91] Truda Reich, "Bavljanje muzikom oblikuje čovjeka [Music Playing in the Process of Forming Personality]" *Muzika i škola* [Music and School] 2, vol. 8 (1963), 59-61.

Figure 6: Collective music playing: two songs from the international repertoire.[92]

In times of former Yugoslavia, tamburitza was one of the most popular instruments. The tambura/tamburitza is a plucked lute, a traditional musical instrument of the South Slavs and some non-Slavic peoples in southeastern Europe. The ancestor of this instrument was brought to Bosnia and Serbia by the Turks during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The instrument

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[92] This example is taken from the fifth-grade music textbook *Pjevajte i svirajte 2* [Sing and Play 2] by Josip Završki and Lovro Županović, (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1977) 31.

found its home primarily among the Muslim population, but gradually it was accepted by the other inhabitants of South Slavic countries. Through the migration of Croatian ethnic groups, it was brought to Slavonia (northeastern Croatia), and Bačka (the northwestern part of the province of Vojvodina), so that by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it became the most prominent musical instrument in Slavonia and Vojvodina (formerly a part of Austro-Hungarian Empire, and from 1918 constituent part of Yugoslavia).[93]

Along with tamburitza bands, choirs were the most popular form of collective musicianship. That was because a choir represented the cheapest and simplest form of music making, as it did not require musical equipment or much investment. Reflecting the trend of unification of the multinational structure of former Yugoslavia, the repertoire of both choir and tamburitza ensembles in socialism promoted a uniform music that combined stylistic traits of different ethnic groups in the teritorry of former Yugoslavia.

Besides their role in the promotion of the communist slogan of "brotherhood and unity" of all ethnic groups in ex-Yugoslavia, choir and tamburitza ensembles reflected the need to move away from the real folk idiom and usage of traditional instruments. That was because communist ideology associated rural culture with backwardness. Stylized versions of traditional music were performed, along with adaptations of popular tunes for *a capella* choirs or choirs with instrumental accompaniment (piano, violin, accordion).[94]

Choreographed folk dances in former Yugoslavia provide an excellent example of stylization and refinement of tradition. Unlike choirs that represented an appropriate non-traditional model of a traditional folk song, there did not exist any appropriate non-traditional dance that could replace the authentic one. The only way to raise folk dance to a higher artistic level was to stylize it, as well as the type of music associated with it.

The following example shows the original version of a traditional tune from the coastal area of Croatia "Oj more duboko [Oh deep sea]."

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[93] Information taken from Josip Andrić, "Tambura [Tambura]," Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike, vol. 2. ed. K. Kovačić (Zagreb: Jugoslavenski Leksikografski Zavod "Miroslav Krleža," 1984) 450-451.

[94] There was a core of music composed solely for tamburitza: overtures (by Josip Canic), suites (by Vinko Vodopivec) and even an operetta (by Gjuro Prejac.

Figure 7a: Original version of the traditional tune "Oj more duboko [Oh deep sea]." [95]

The next example presents a stylized version of the same traditional tune composed for choir by Croatian composer Jakov Gotovac.

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[95] Josip Završki, Nikša Njirić and Lovro Županović, *Iz svijeta glazbe* [From the World of Music], seventh and eighth grade music textbook (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1977), 38.

Figure 7b: Stylized choir version of "Oj more duboko [Oh, deep sea]."[96]

[96] Ibid., 41.

The idea of collective musicianship relied on the educational and functional role of music in socialism. The attitudes towards it have changed after the fall of Yugoslavia. Attempting to avoid the socialist commitment to music for the masses in modern Croatia, the accent is placed on the artistic value of music. For that reason, the emphasis is placed on active listening to music and the development of the musical taste of pupils. Due to the change of political orientation of the country after the fall of Yugoslavia, the function of socialist active involvement in music making rooted in the idea of "art for all" is no longer needed for bridging the gap between art and common people.

<center>2) Cultural policies and concepts of tradition</center>

The socialist system had special mechanisms and institutional organizations through which culture was spread within all aspects of the society. Culture was treated as a way of life, and many professional and amateur cultural societies were found within factories, schools and other social institutions. Schools, factories and city boroughs had their own societies for the arts and culture. Children were involved in the program called "Muzička omladina" [Musical Youth], which meant inclusion of school children in organized visits to theatres and concert halls by which all pupils would see an opera, classical concert or drama as a part of their elementary education. The format of the lecture recital was used to introduce socialist school children to a variety of musical styles, composers and aspects of music history. The concept of such educational concerts stems from socialist ideology and the idea that culture and art are for everyone, and are not reserved for the elite.

In order to understand why socialist Yugoslavia strongly promoted culture within various aspects of the society, it is necessary to look into some socio-historical reasons involved in this phenomenon. Due to the post World War II destruction in terms of material and spiritual goods when cultural values were neglected because of the dominance of existential issues, Yugoslav officials recognized the need for improvement of the cultural level of the society. As a result, numerous music schools were founded, as well as different music courses that were a part of the free education offered by *Narodno Sveučiliste* [Peoples' University] in every city. It is important to note that music schools were either free or there was a symbolic amount of tuition individually calculated according to the pupil's parents' salary. This was the case with the courses offered at Peoples' Universities, as well.

Due to the need for cultural improvement, former Yugoslavia enforced cultural activities. One of them was playing in a tamburitza ensemble. This instrument was preferred over guitar or

<center>56</center>

mandolin because it represented a part of local culture and tradition. Also, tamburitza lessons were considered inexpensive because the teacher would instruct a whole group at the same time. Socialist teachers had tamburitza lessons as a part of their school training. The fact that 10,000 tamburitza instruments were sold in 1958 confirms the popularity of this instrument.[97]

There were numerous professional and amateur tamburitza bands. The popularity of this folk instrument was due to poor economic conditions after World War II, and the tamburitza was one of the cheapest instruments and widely available because it was made by local people. Also, the tamburitza was considered easy to learn (much easier than violin). Other instruments such as accordion or piano were too expensive at the time. Almost every school had a tamburitza band, and even radio stations paid professional musicians to play in radio tamburitza ensembles that accompanied folk dances and played stylized versions of traditional folk music as well as arrangements of classical music.[98]

In the times of former Yugoslavia, the tamburitza had an important role in multinational unification. This process is rooted in the official cultural policy in former Yugoslavia, where any borders within the Yugoslavian collective, including national, cultural, class, gender or age, are suppressed. The intention to unify different ethnic groups in socialist Yugoslavia called for a more or less joint, synthesized folklore that would bridge regional and ethnic specifics and turn diverse musical traditions of the peoples of Yugoslavia into an invented, unifying pan-Yugoslav music tradition.

For that reason, tamburitza ensembles performed "polished," orchestrated medleys of traditional melodies of different ethnic groups in the territory of former Yugoslavia. This is a classic example of socialist realism in music: in order to unify different nations and minorities within former Yugoslavia, official cultural policy promoted pan-Yugoslav cultural and musical identity.[99] A uniform, homogenous genre that reflects the South Slavic "monolithic idea of

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[97] Slavko Janković, "Tambura kao muzičko-pedagoško sredstvo [Tamburitza as musical and pedagogical tool]," *Muzika i škola* [Music and School] 4 –5, vol. 3 (1958): 101.

[98] In 1941, the Croatian Radio-Television Tamburitza Orchestra was founded as a professional ensemble of the Zagreb radio station. In order to gain an international appeal, the ensemble played arrangements of classical music written for tamburitza, such as Mozart's *Rondo alla Turca*, or works by Verdi and Beethoven.

[99] The multiethnic structure of the society in former Yugoslavia was composed of Croatians, Bosnians, Serbs, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Albanians, Rom and Vlachs. Music and socialist ideals such as "brotherhood and unity" were used to bridge their ethnic differences.

Oneness" was thus created.[100] This music carried "the specific characteristics of the regions…[and] became a music which is the property of all the peoples of Yugoslavia."[101]

The promotion of pan-Yugoslav identity is also reflected in the school textbooks. The following example is the textbook presentation of the folk music of Yugoslavia. A unified Yugoslavian folk tradition is presented by showing the spread of different folk instruments within the territory of former Yugoslavia. Ethnic structure, and cultural and regional differences are neglected, as well as the differences between musical styles and traditions.
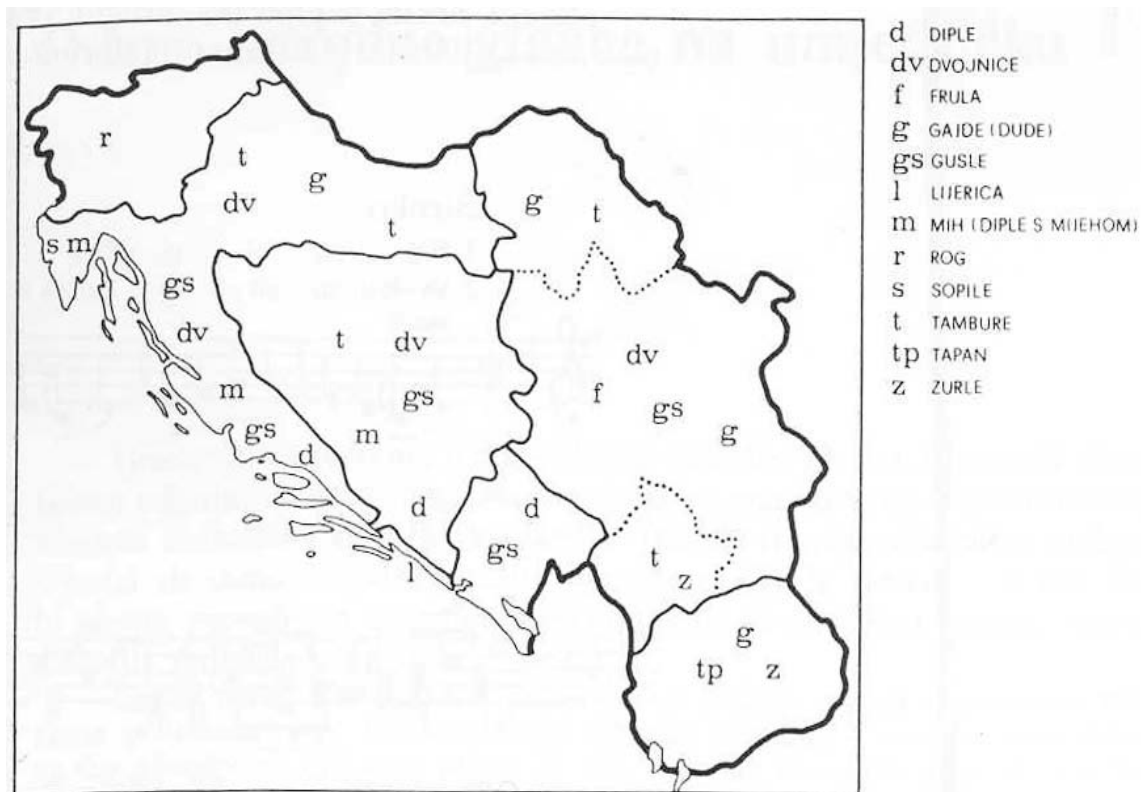
Figure 8: Map of the spread of traditional instruments in the territory of former Yugoslavia.[102]

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[100] Naila Ceribašić, "Heritage of the Second World War in Croatia: Identity Imposed Upon and By Music," in *Music, Politics and War: Views from Croatia*, ed. Svanibor Pettan (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1998), 126.

[101] Ibid., 127.

[102] Završki, Josip, Nikša Njirić and Lovro Županović, *Iz svijeta glazbe* [From the World of Music], the seven and eight grade textbook (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1977), 23

After the change in political reality in Croatia in the 1990s, this concept of unified identity shifted in the opposite direction: the new function of music was to emphasize specifics of these different ethnic groups. By the late 1980s, music emphasized Croatianess or Serbianess, rather than Yugoslavianess. The emphasis was on the expression of the cultural, social, historical and musical differences, not commonalities. The following figure shows a textbook presentation of the folk music of independent Croatia. The map presents each particular region and its musical characteristics. No references are made regarding the regional differences within Croatia, and associations and cultural connections with former Yugoslavia are omitted.
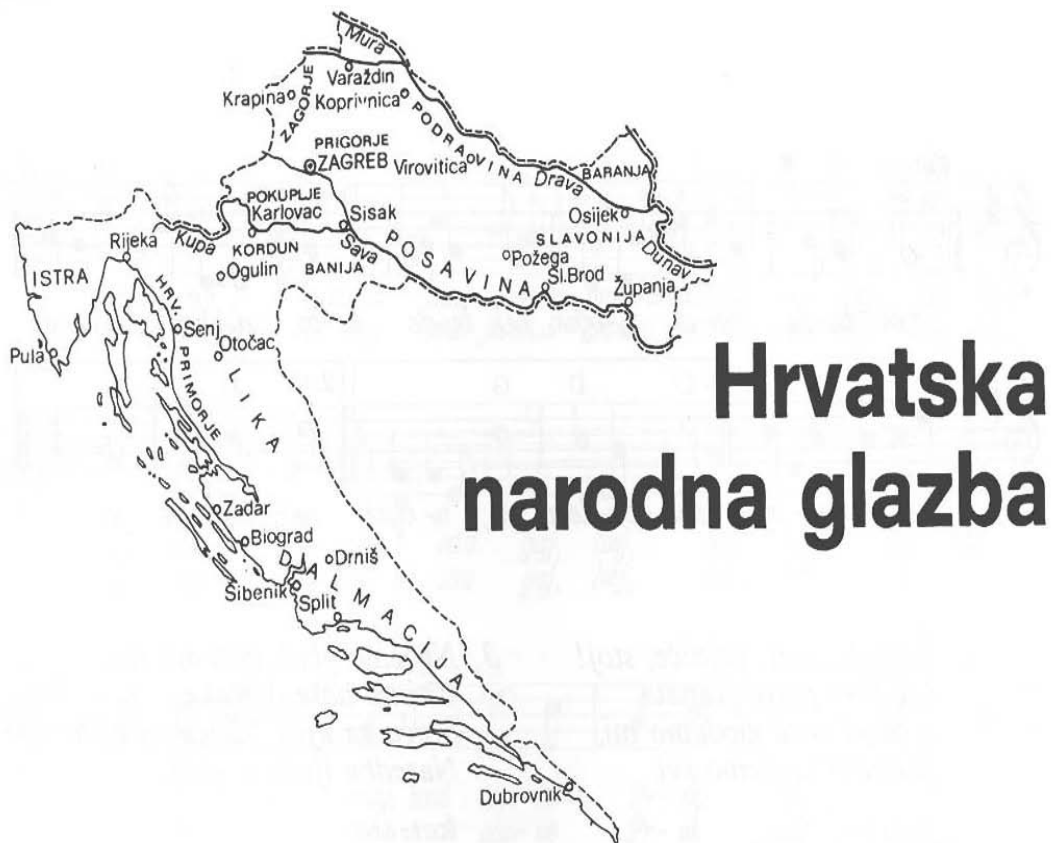

Figure 9: Presentation of Croatian folk music.[103]

After the fall of communism, the process of transition from socialism to capitalism resulted in a change of cultural policies that eventually brought change in the treatment and position of music within society. According to the social transformation and the laws of the newly introduced capitalist society, after the fall of former Yugoslavia, the culture started relying

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[103] Stjepan Novačić and Rajko Ećimović, *Glazba za nas* [Music for Us], the fifth-grade music textbook, (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994), 58.

heavily on the interests and changes in the market. Because of economic instability and great damage after the recent war in Croatia, the state budget could not sufficiently support the cultural needs of the country, so that many amateur and professional cultural and/or folk societies ceased to exist. Music schools in modern Croatia are no longer free, and the government no longer subsidizes tickets for concerts and theatre performances, so that art and culture slowly became reserved for those who could afford it.

<div align="center">3) Treatment, position and cultural value of folk songs</div>

In his analysis of a vast number of school textbooks, Volgesaenger[104] concluded that the treatment of traditional songs is either their complete integration into music curricula or complete ignorance. Binkowski[105] also noted that the history of traditional song in music education goes from overestimation to radical rejection. The inclusion of traditional folk song in schools has frequently been a matter of heated discussions by music educators, not only in the socialist countries, but also in the West. Socialist countries always considered traditional songs important and of a high value. The existence and popularity of professional folklore ensembles in most socialist countries proves this fact.[106]

Folk songs prevailed in the socialist music curricula because of their political role in "teaching patriotism….[and] enforcing unity and brotherhood as well as supporting mutual respect [between all the peoples of ex-Yugoslavia]."[107] Josip Završki, one of the most distinguished music educators and strong promoters of choir singing, explained the socialist view on ideological meaning in the singing and playing of folk music:

> Singing and playing folk music and compositions of our [Yugoslav] composers develops the sense of belonging and builds pupils' patriotism…[folk music also] surpasses ethnic and national borders creating the sense of cosmopolitism and general feeling of belonging to the world and human mankind. [108]

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[104] Quoted in Pavel Rojko, "Pjevanje u Osnovnoj školi [Singing in Elementary School]," *Tonovi* [Tones] 2, vol. 7 (1992): 11

[105] Ibid., 12.

[106] The number of fifty-six folk songs out of a total of eightyone in the textbook for fifth and sixth grade approved in 1961 suggests the important position of folk music in school curricula at the time. Data from Ibid., 10.

[107] Ibid., 9.

[108] Josip Završki, *Rad s pjevačkim zborom: metodički priručnik za nastavnike glazbene kulture i voditelje dješjih pjevačkih zborova* [Working with Choir: Method Guide for Music Education Teachers and Children Choir Directors] (Zagreb: Hrvatsko Književno Društvo, 1999), 9.

Folk songs reflect the history of a group, and as such they hold a significant place in the school curricula. The ultimate goal of the inclusion of folk songs of peoples of Yugoslavia was to educate pupils to appreciate different musical and cultural expressions coming from different ethnic groups in the territory of former Yugoslavia. Therefore, the cultural value of folk songs prior to Croatian independence was seen through its power to preserve and protect multinational unification of all the peoples of Yugoslavia.

In modern Croatia, the cultural value of folk songs reflects the need for Croatian national unity. Although both periods prior to and after Croatian independence recognized traditional folk song as a cultural good, the interpretation of its cultural value was different due to political circumstances. Unlike former Yugoslavia which saw the cultural value of traditional folk song in its power to unify all the peoples of Yugoslavia, the independent Croatia sees its cultural value in its potential to reassert and renew Croatian national identity. For this reason educators in modern Croatia carefully select representative examples of tradition whose function is to symbolize the nation and affirm Croatian national identity.

In order to understand the selective approach in the formulation of Croatian musical identity, it is important to understand that there are three ethnographic zones in Croatia. They resemble three distinctive regional peasant cultures that connected with larger geographical areas: Panonic to Central European, Adriatic to Mediterranean and Dinaric to Balkan. Accordingly, each one corresponds with particular ecological and historical conditions. Traditional music from these regions, both vocal and instrumental, also displays regional differences.

Figure 10: Map of the three ethnographic zones in Croatia.[109]

Containing desirable concepts of music and cultural identity, music from Pannonic and Adriatic region of Croatia is selected as representative of national music tradition.[110] Those are the regions whose music expressions are closer to the Western European tradition with which Croatia wants to be associated. The cultural traits of the Dinaric region of Croatia are continuously viewed as an embarrassment to Croatians because they carry associations with the East and references to a common past with former Yugoslavia.

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[109] This map was obtained from the article by Svanibor Pettan „The Croats and the Question of their Mediterranean musical Identity" availailable from http://www.umbc.edu/eol/3/pettan/index.html; Internet, accessed April 2009.
[110] *Klapa* singing is a typical vocal form of the Adriatic region, which is becoming increasingly popular and present in Croatian media. It consists of a group of people of the same sex (typically male) and similar age that sing in three or four parts. Although singers from the neighboring Dinaric zone also form small groups and sing mostly in two parts, this type of singing is not promoted in Croatia because of the use of narrow, non-tempered intervals that carry associations with the East and rural heritage.

Promoting a selected type of musical identity that serves the particular political interests of a newly formed state, prevailing ideology in independent Croatia displays the power in reshaping musical values and tastes. After 1991, Croatian schools enforced local, Croatian musical culture and values while the music of the other ethnic groups lost their place and significance in the curriculum and media. In the music curriculum, mostly Croat and world authors are studied, and there are almost no references to the authors from other parts of the Balkans. At the time, it was most important to promote Croatian cultural values in order to express feelings of belonging to the nation, and music was used as a powerful political tool in the process of promoting a redefined national identity.

The attitudes towards traditional music in modern Croatia are somewhat contradictory. Tradition is treated as an affirmation of national, Croatian cultural heritage, and the authenticity and beauty of Croatian traditional music are openly praised and highly valued. On the other hand, official cultural policy emphasizes the need to "improve" traditional sound and bring "rural bearers of traditional music closer to the fine arts."[111] For this reason polished versions of traditional music and arrangements of traditional music are promoted in the public performances. Whereas in the time of former Yugoslavia, when choreographed dances were a popular means of promoting the nation, tamburiza ensembles now have a significant role in this endeavor.

Due to the emphasis on the artistic value of music, Croatian music educators saw the need to change the position of traditional music within school curricula. That did not mean complete exclusion of traditional music from the schools, but it meant that there should be a lesser number of traditional folk songs in the schoolbooks. Following the switch in ideology after the fall of former Yugoslavia, those songs that are associated with the East, Serbia, Montenegro and socialism were quickly removed from the textbooks. Traditional songs that remained in the textbooks were either Croatian or Macedonian or Slovenian (the songs from these regions were considered neutral since Croatians did not have a history of conflict with either of them). Songs from Serbia and Montenegro, on the other hand, were completely removed from the curriculum in the 1990s.

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[111] Naila Ceribašić, "Heritage of the Second World War in Croatia: Identity Imposed Upon and By Music," in *Music, Politics and War: Views from Croatia*, ed. Svanibor Pettan (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1998), 115.

4) Ideological interpretation of the value of popular music

Ideological interpretation of the value of popular music helps us understand the real reasons for its minor significance and modest presentation in Croatian school curricula in both periods. The issue of popular music in the context of general education is a frequently discussed topic. This is due, first of all, to numerous misunderstandings of this concept and the problem of defining the term "popular music."[112] Also, there is a lack of appropriate criteria for measuring the value of popular music. The following text focuses on the inadequacy of the usage of the concept "popular" music and explains the roots of the attitudes towards the value of popular music that determine(d) its position within school curricula.

According to statistics, pop music comprised about 70% of the radio programs in Yugoslavia,[113] but within the aesthetic continuum it was traditionally positioned significantly lower than so-called classical music. Confusion starts with the fact that classical music and popular music cannot be placed within the same aesthetic continuum because they not only come from, and thus reflect, different socio-political contexts, but they are expressed differently. Unlike popular music that emerged after the invention of mass media, classical music existed before mass media and is not guided by the laws of the market. Also, Western classical instruments, within classical form and orchestration, express classical music, while pop music uses a wide variety of instruments outside of this group.

Although these reasons suggest differences between so-called classical and popular music, popular music is frequently valued within the same traditional system that measures the value of classical music. Consequently, there are numerous interpretations as to whether popular music should or should not be a part of the school curricula and in what way. Problems and advantages of both solutions are discussed and different views offered:

1)   Willam sees the problem of inclusion of rock music in the school curriculum in teacher's education and the fact that their music education is based on so-called classical music.[114]

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[112] The term "popular" becomes inadequate because it refers to popular, widespread, easy-to-understand, people's music. A good example is jazz music, frequently categorized as a form of popular music although the socio-intellectual status of both, listeners and performers, as well as their number is not illustrational example of popularity such is the case with mainstream pop.

[113] P. Milošević, "Music Broadcast on Yugoslav Radio Stations in Figures and Percentages" *International Review of Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 2 (1971): 291-293.

[114] Pavel Rojko, "Masovni mediji, popularna glazba i glazbena nastava [Mass Media, Popular Music and Music Education]," *Tonovi* [Tones] 14, vol. 15 (1991): 20.

2)   L. Fisher thinks that rock music is helping [students'] understanding of electronic music,[115] while M. Alt goes even further in asserting that music education today has to contain all types of music, including different styles of pop music.[116]

3)   Opposing positive views on the inclusion of popular music in the school curriculum, Adorno states that "critical sociology of music has to look into the reasons why popular music today, unlike that of a hundred years ago, is so bad and extremely low in quality [so that] human dignity and aesthetics are offended by it [sic!]"

There is a long history of negative attitudes towards popular music in Croatia. In the period of NDH (Nezavisna država Hrvatska or Independent Croatian State) during the World War II, foreign songs were not desirable because they impoverished and destroyed "the purity" of Croatian traditional heritage. The problem of inclusion of popular music in school curricula in former Yugoslavia was its "class impurity." Popular music was regarded as a product of a civil, bourgeois society and the capital market, and as such was not in line with basic points of socialist cultural policy. The trend of negative presentation of popular music and its exclusion from music curricula still continues in Croatia today. Music educators in modern Croatia provide the following arguments for the position of popular music in the music curriculum:

a) Popular music is so widely present in lives of young people and there is no need to make it part of the school curricula.

b) There is no need to educate young people to accept popular music since it is widely consumed and understood outside of the music education interventions.

c) It is impossible to formulate the selection criteria in popular music.

d) As the history of music suggests, the popularity of popular music pieces usually lasts such a short time that such pieces do not deserve any special treatment.[117]

The consequence of such views on popular music is a narrow selection of popular music included in the music curriculum of Croatia today. The only example of non-classical music is jazz, while the Beatles' song "Yesterday" is the only example of pop music. This shows

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[115] Ibid., 22.
[116] Ibid., 24.
[117] Ibid., 28.

conservative views on popular music and proves that its exclusion from the music curriculum did not significantly change after the break of Yugoslavia.

Examination of the Croatian school curricula before and after its independence suggests that school curricula function as everyday transmitters of basic political and social realities. Political changes and ideological shifts reflected in the concepts of education and teaching principles, as well as the textbooks, reveal how and why certain musical values come to be accepted as common sense, how these values are reproduced through history and specifically, how they perpetuate social relations. The ideological shift in the educational policies and the changing roles of music in Croatia during the 1990s adequately document the role of schools as agents of political socialization.

CHAPTER FOUR
SOCIAL SENSE AND EFFECT OF MUSIC

Ideological Function of Socialist Mass Songs and Patriotic Songs

Given the nature of the basic question underlying this work, this chapter examines the role of music as a political discourse. The focus of the analysis is placed on song texts because they provide clear insight to the variety of social issues and cultural activities that constitute a particular culture and function as powerful carriers of ideological messages.[118] The discussion is organized around the ideological function of socialist mass songs and patriotic songs, the function of music during the war and national rhetoric and national forms of expression in modern Croatia. This chapter attempts to answer the questions how and why music curricula and music identity are responsive to the prevailing ideology. The examples provided confirm that music has a "specific social sense and effect,"[119] which is the center of this work.

Different forms of mass song were intensively promoted by the media and schools in socialism. Their ideological role was to express ideas of collectivity, unity and brotherhood, life, joy and optimism, as well as faith in a better future.[120] These ideas formed the base of socialist music for the masses; revolutionary songs, songs of rebellion and resistance, *borbene pjesme* [combat songs reflecting fights during World War II], *pjesme obnove i izgradnje* [songs about reconstruction and reparation after World War II], workers' songs, Soviet mass songs, etc. All these songs had current social and political texts with a function to arouse and disseminate political ideas among broad national masses.

Here is an example of a translated Soviet mass work song.

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[118] For a more detailed elaboration on the social meaning of song texts see Chapter Two.

[119] Theodor W. Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, trans. E. B. Ashton (New York: Seabury, 1976), 61.

[120] Introductory comments to school curricula plan from 1946 points out the socio-political role of songs in socialism in stating that the selection of songs has to be guided by their function in "promoting patriotism and making social and aesthetic feelings stronger." Quoted from the School Plan and Program for Elementary Schools number 5976/II on 19 January 1946, issued by the Ministry of Education of Peoples Republic of Croatia.
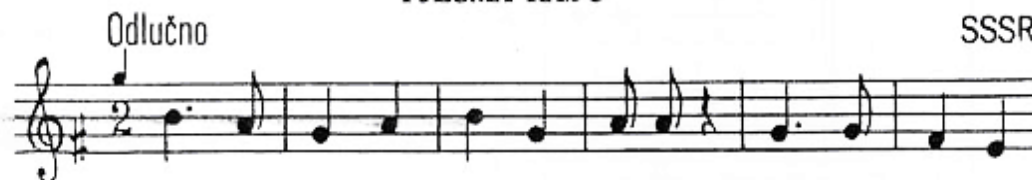
Figure 11: "Pjesma o radu [Work Song]," translated Soviet mass-song.[121]

Here is an excerpt of the lyrics in English translation:

"Song about Work"

Comrade song is heard everywhere,

the song that celebrates work.

Our hearts are beating strongly saying:

Long live the work!

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[121] Josip Završki and Lovro Županović, *Pjevajte i svirajte 2* [Sing and Play 2], the fifth-grade music textbook (Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1977), 42.

Regarding their musical qualities, mass songs had simple melodies, mostly in march rhythm, but sometimes in hymn-character. Here is an example of a mass song in a march rhythm:

Figure 12: Antifascist mass song "Budi se istok i zapad [The East and West are Rising]."[122]

The following is the English translation of the song. The song text reveals ideological messages and political function of mass songs in enforcing the fight against antifascism:

"The East and West are Rising"

The East and West are awakening,   Forward, it's getting closer and closer,

The North and South are rising, too,   The steps are heard strongly,

We march solemnly into the fight,   The voices of millions are rising,

Forward, comrade next to comrade.   Fight fascism and the war.

[122] Ibid., 28.

In order to manage to continue working under the political pressures of socialist ideology, many established Croatian composers in former Yugoslavia had to make compromises and wrote music with clear ideological implications. Those who were not willing to compromise were either punished or banned after World War II. One such example is the conductor Lovro Matačić, who was the principal of military music in the Independent State of Croatia during the war and was later sentenced to a prison term because of this function. Boris Papandopulo was a Croatian composer of aristocratic background and was forced to be a truck driver. The reason was the ideology of proletarian egalitarianism favored by the Communist Party. Their cultural concept was opposed to the pre-war bourgeois culture. Also, due to the atheist orientation of communist Yugoslavia, composers that were religious or whose music included religious themes were rarely publicly performed. Here are textbook examples of two mass songs written by Croatian composers Rudolf Bruči and Ivo Kirigin.

Figure 13: Mass songs "Pjesma radnih brigada [Song of Working Brigades]" by R. Bruči.[123]

[123] Josip Završki, Nikša Njirić and Loro Županović, *Iz svijeta glazbe* [From the World of Music], the seven and eight grade music textbook (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1977), 45.

PJESMA NOVE MLADOSTI

Koračnica

Glazba: IVO KIRIGIN (1914-1964)

SOLO

mp

1. Pje - sma se o - ri ve - dra i sna - žna,
2. Če - lik se ka - li, gvo - žđe se lije - va,
3. Sja - jan je po - let mla - dih bri - ga - da:

mf

no - va se mla - dust spre - ma na rad. Ru - ke su ja - ke,
rad - nik vi - so - ko di - že svoj stijeg. O - re se, si - je,
pru - gom već kre - će gvo - zde - ni vlak. Rad - nim e - la - nom,

ZBOR

f

vo - lja još ja - ča, slo - žno sad pje - va se - lo i grad:
ža - nje i ko - si, pje - sma se ši - ri s brije - ga na brijeg: U
hu - kom ma - ši - na, ra - do - snom pje - smom o - ri se zrak:

ra - du le - ži na - ša bu - duć - nost, na pod - vi - ge no - ve sad

mf   *f*

zo - ve nas plan. Ni - šta na pu - tu re - će nas sme - sti i

1. 2.   3.

su - tra sret - ni - ji sva - nut će dan. sva - nut će dan.

Figure 14: "Pjesma nove mladosti [Song of the New Youth]" by I. Kirigin.[124]

[124] Ibid., 46.

Partizanske pjesme [Partisan songs] are socialist mass songs about heroism and deeds of partisans, Yugoslav soldiers fighting against fascists during World War II. Being an important part of "overall political propaganda activity among all the partisans in the unit,"[125] their ideological role was to stimulate military spirit. They were either newly composed or were traditional tunes melded with new, ideologically appropriate texts. The technique of inserting new text under the existing melodies is an old composing practice known since early medieval times. There are numerous examples where traditional songs function as musical models open for textual adaptations.

In Croatia, this technique was first used by Franjo Kuhać, one of the founders of early ethnomusicological research in Croatia. After collecting four volumes of traditional songs of south-Slavic peoples, in 1885, Kuhać wrote "Pjevanka [Book for Singing]," a teacher's guide whose significance is that it included traditional melodies with the new text. Kuhać was a teacher himself and he concluded that children should learn from traditional songs because they are familiar to them and they are of great cultural significance and artistic value. Many newly selected texts had a moral value because Kuhać emphasized that music is much more powerful in teaching morals and ethics than any lectures and moral lessons.

A number of Partisan songs were created this way; a new song text with an appropriate ideological message was simply applied to an already existing melody. The following example shows the traditional melody from Slavonia, a continental region of Croatia, with a new text by the poet Jure Kaštelan. The lyrics of a traditional tune referred to a gathering of village girls during the cropping of the fields, while the new lyrics refer to a gathering of partisan fighters on the Mosor mountain.

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[125] According to Yugoslav leader Tito, see Đ. Radišić, "Neki aspekti kulturnih djelatnosti u jedinicama NOV Hrvatske [Some Aspects of Cultural Activities in the Units of the People's Liberation Army of Croatia]," in *Kultura i umjetnost u NOB-i i socijalističkoj revoluciji u Hrvatskoj* [Culture and Art in NOB and Socialist Revolution], ed. I. Jelić, D. Rihtman-Auguštin and V. Zaninović (Zagreb: Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta Hrvatske, August 1975), 268.

Figure 15: Traditional Croatian melody with the new, ideologically appropriate text.[126]

The ideological function of partisan music was to create a sense of unity between members of various social, ethnic and cultural environments who joined partisan forces. Reflecting the struggle and resistance, songs created a common ground for the unification of heterogeneous music cultures and the diverse ethnic backgrounds of the soldiers. For this reason, Partisan songs became symbols of a unified, Yugoslav culture.

Here is the example of "Hej brigade [Hey Brigades]," a song celebrating heroism of Partisan fighters from Slovenia, neighboring country and one of the six constituent socialist republics of former Yugoslavia. [127]

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[126] This example is taken from the seven and eight grade music textbook *Iz svijeta glazbe* [From the World of Music] by Završki, Njirić and Županović (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1977), 9.

[127] For the complete lyrics and mp3 recording of this song, go to www.titoville.com/songs-mp3.html; Internet, accessed April 2009.

Figure 16: "Hej brigade [Hey Brigades]," a song of Partisan fighters from Slovenia.

School curricula and the media in the independent Croatian state avoid Partisan songs due to their ideological inappropriateness.[128] Similar examples of the ideological inappropriateness are songs about Tito, the president of former Yugoslavia. Those songs praised the president, socialism and its benefits for all the peoples in ex-Yugoslavia and were very popular after World War II, but became unfavorable during the late 1980s. During and after the war conflict between Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s songs about Tito were completely taken out of the curriculum in Croatian schools. However, it is possible to hear Partisan melodies with changed texts. Perhaps the best-known example of the same melody with a different text is the Partisan lament "Na Krodunu grob do groba / Traži majka sina svoga [Grave by grave in Kordun /a mother searches for her son]" and the Ustasha battle song "Evo zore, evo dana / evo Jure i Bobana [Here comes

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[128] For more songs glorifying Tito, communism, Yugoslavia and socialism such as "Tito's Way," "Commrade Tito Our Oath to You" or "Song of Brotherhood" go to www.titoville.com/songs-mp3.html; Internet, accessed April 2009.

the dawn, here comes the day / Here come Jure and Boban]," which were sung on the same melody.[129] The Ustasha variant became widely known during the 1990s war.[130] Due to its allience with NDH, it became symbolic expression of Croatian nationalist tendencies and struggle for independence.

A similar example is the Croatian national anthem "Lijepa naša" (Our Beautiful Homeland).[131] It was recognized by both Ustashe and partisans during World War II, but it was officially proclaimed as the anthem much later, first in 1972, and then finally in the 1974 Constitution. Although it was officially recognized, it was still not supposed to be performed together with Croatian patriotic or nationalistic songs because political authorities forbade public performance of songs related to any of the particular national identities that constitute the six Republics of Yugoslavia. The only officially allowed context of performance was after the Yugoslav national anthem "Hej Slaveni [Hey, Slavs]," which pointed out that Croatia is one of the constituent republics of Yugoslavia. Any alternatives in the performance of this song in times of former Yugoslavia would be treated as a criminal offense.

Another indicative example was "Ustani, bane" [Stand up, Viceroy], a song about Josip Jelačić, a nineteenth-century politician who opposed Hungarians. Due to Ban Jelačić's mystified role as a national leader, there is a certain symbolic meaning attached to this song. Since Croats sang this song anytime they felt repressed, it was on the top of the list of songs outlawed in former Yugoslavia. Accordingly, the communist regime removed the statue of Ban Jelačić from the main square in Zagreb, capital of Croatia in 1947. The statue was not re-erected until political changes in the 1990s. The example of the song "Ustani, bane" shows that a song can be recognized as a national threat just because it is associated with or reflects particular historical circumstances that political authorities find inappropriate.

This brings us to an interesting point, and that is the role of historical heritage in the process of national homogenization and legitimization in a newly independent Croatia. The examples of ideological use of history as a marker of nation range from historical instructions in

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[129] Jure and Boban refers to Jure Francetić and Rafael Boban, commanders of the military effective Ustasha formation known as *Crna Legija* [*Black Legion*].

[130] It is quite possible that both variants functioned as a shouting-down song at the front lines in different historical contexts.

[131] The author of the lyrics is Anton Mihanović, poet and a diplomat. The lyrics were first printed in *Danica* magazine (*The Morning Star* magazine) in 1835, under the title "Hrvatska domovina [Croatian Homeland]." The song became the Croatian national anthem under the name *Lijepa Naša*. The score was composed in 1846 by Josip Runjanin, and the song was sung for the first time as the national anthem in 1891, at the exhibition held by the Croatian Economic Society in Zagreb, capital of Croatia.

song texts such as the song "Od stoljeća sedmog," addressing that the history of Croatia starts in the seventh century, to historical connotations associated in the revival of patriotic songs from the end of the nineteenth century. Embracement of patriotic songs from the time of the Croatian National Movement (1835-1850) was due to the association with Croatian nation-building during the Croatian National Movement. Patriotic songs composed during this movement were *budnice* (literally, rousing songs) or *davorije* (songs sung in the battlefield). These songs were simple, melodious songs in the native language.

One of the most famous *budnica* songs is "Prosto zrakom ptica leti." The melody was composed by Vatroslav Lisinski, one of the founders of Croatian Romanticism in music and the author of the first national opera, *Ljubav i zloba* [*Love and Menace*]. Lisinski composed the song on a different text, which was later replaced with the text by Dimitrije Demeter. Newer Croatian music textbooks present this song as one of the most popular patriotic songs from the Croatian National Movement.

It is interesting that the Ustasha movement during NDH in the 1940s used the same inventory of songs. The fact that modern Croatia reached for patriotic songs from the Croatian National Movement and these songs were also sung during NDH left the space for the Serbian side to interpret newly independent Croatia as a continuation of the Fascist Ustasha state and justification of their military intervention in Croatia as a struggle against neo-Fascism. The fact that Ustasha symbols, pro-Ustasha songs and sentiments were considered a legitimate expression of Croatian nationhood during the independence war, and were tolerated years after the war did not help political correctness. The following is an example of a popular patriotic song "Prosto zrakom ptica leti [The Bird is Flying Freely]."

The lyrics of the song translated in English clearly reflect its patriotic character:

"The Bird is Flying Freely"
The Bird is Flying Freely, the beast is freely walking through the woods,
Why should I let the stranger to chain me and walk over me?

I know that my ancestors were the rulers of the whole world,
Why should I hide their language frightened as a slave?
Refrain: The one who is not willing to die, is not the one that has our blood!

77

PROSTO ZRAKOM PTICA LETI

Vatroslav Lisinski

Andante con moto

1. Pro - sto zra - kom pti - ca le - ti, pro - sto go - rom zvijer pro - la - zi,
2. Znam da mo - ji pra - dje - do - vi cije - lim svije - tom go - spo - da - hu;

a ja da se lan - cim spe - ti dam tu - din - cu da me ga - zi?
a ja je - zik da nji - ho - vi u rop - sko - me ta - jim stra - hu?

Prhojev:

mf Tko ne vo - li u - mrijet pri - je, u tom na - ša krv ne vri - je!

f Tko ne vo - li u - mrijet pri - je, u tom na - ša krv ne vri - je!

Tko ne vo - li u - mrijet pri - je, u tom na - ša krv ne vri - je!

Figure 17: "Prosto zrakom ptica leti [The Bird is Flying Freely]." [132]

Reflecting the new Croatian identity exercised through the revival of patriotic songs from the mid-nineteenth century, this song symbolically expresses the love for the nation by thus confirming the ideological components of music and its role in the political discourse.

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[132] Krešimir Brlobuš, *Život glazbe* [The Life of Music], the seventh-grade music textbook (Zagreb: Alfa, 1999), 30.

The Role of Songs During the War: "Official" and "Unofficial" Repertoire

Carrying the important function to "awaken and strengthen patriotic feelings and to aid the cultural affirmation of Croats,"[133] patriotic songs became widely performed at various public events and promoted by the media during and after the separation from Yugoslavia. The fashion of patriotic songs was probably initiated in the summer of 1991, when the song "Stop the War in Croatia" was first broadcast. After that, it was hard to find a recording of any type of music style that did not exhibit war-related themes.

The functions of music during the war were to encourage, to call for help and to provoke. It is possible to make a distinction between "official" and "unofficial" repertoire. The "official" repertoire consists of new songs as well as those already created in times of major conflicts or when Croatia's autonomy increased within multinational states.[134] Partisan songs were completely taken out from the "official" repertoire because they carried associations with Communism and common past with Serbs in former Yugoslavia.

The "unofficial" repertoire included the old songs, especially those associated with Ustashe from the World War II period. This repertoire is unofficial, indeed, because songs of this kind were forbidden during former Yugoslavia. Unlike the songs from the "official" repertoire that called for peace, the "unofficial" patriotic songs mostly had provocative texts that encouraged resistance and portrayed fighting as unavoidable defense. The titles of some songs from the 1990s evidently show such intentions: "Hrvatska mora biti slobodna [Croatia Has to be Free]" or "Hrvatska mora pobijediti [Croatia Has to Win]." Here is the text of the song "Hrvatska mora pobijediti [Croatia Music Win]:"[135]

"Hrvatska mora pobijediti"	"Croatia Has to Win"
Srce nam je dijamant	Our heart is a diamond
Krv nam je dinamit	Our blood is a dynamite

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[133] Josip Andreis, *Povijest hrvatske glazbe [History of Croatian Music]* (Zagreb: Liber-Mladost, 1974), 178.

[134] Croatia was a constituent part of two multinational states: the Habsburg Empire and former Yugoslavia. The Croatian National Movement in mid-nineteenth century was the response of the need for increased autonomy within the Habsburg Empire, while in times of former Yugoslavia, the Croatian national question was especially significant during the so-called Croatian Spring in 1971. This political movement was lead by a significant number of Croatian intellectuals and student groups who expressed the need for greater civil rights for Croatian citizens as well as democratic and economic reforms.

[135] A quote taken from CD *The Best of Rock za Hrvatsku* [The Best of Rock for Croatia]. Croatian Records CD-D 503727 9, 1992.

Naš horizont je front	Our horizon is the front
Hrvatska, Hrvatska, Hrvatska, Hrvatska	Croatia, Croatia, Croatia, Croatia
Mora pobijediti!	Has to Win!
Za slobodu, mora pobijediti	For the freedom, has to win
Za slobodu, mora pobijediti	For the freedom, has to win
Za slobodu!	For the freedom!
For freedom	For the freedom

The statement by Davor Gobac, the frontman of Psihomodo Pop, the band that recorded this song, expresses the awareness of musicians about the roles and power of music in war time:

> We recorded a true punk piece with which I hope to stimulate the blood of the guardsmen on the front lines to circulate faster, to upgrade their morals…People are removed from normal life, buried in trenches, their houses are destroyed and I have no motive at the moment to write a gentle love song…The video clip was made for those who fight rather than for those who sit at home and watch TV. I just hope that they have the opportunity to see it in the intervals between battles. [136]

Due to the need for the affirmation of a Croatian nation and the uplifting of the national sentiment, references from Croatian history were used to a remarkable extent in music production during the war. Both "official" and "unofficial" repertoires used historical heritage. There is a wide range of historical topics, from the first Croatian King Tomislav (tenth century) to the most recent victims of war.[137] While "official" songs avoided indication of the enemy and particular names were rarely mentioned, the "unofficial" repertoire openly ridiculed persons (the most often addressed individual in these songs was Slobodan Milošević, then president of Serbia) or groups (Serbian soldiers were called Chetniks and the songs openly portrayed them as villains and perpetrators).

Another distinctive element between these two repertoires is the language. Songs from the "official" repertoire were recorded both in Croatian and English versions (e. g., the Croatian Band Aid song "Moja Domovina" or "My Homeland"), or entirely in English (the songs "Why" and "Can We Go Higher"). Also, some songs from the "official" repertoire combined English

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[136] From S. Muzaferija, "Pjesma ubojita poput metka" [A Song as Deadly as Bullet] *Globus* 46:21.
[137] The cameraman Gordan Lederer was one of the victims of the war whose name was addressed in some patriotic songs at the time.

and Croatian sections (e. g., "Sloboda i mir" or "Freedom and Peace") while the songs from the "unofficial" repertoire were exclusively in Croatian.

In providing representative examples of the two existing repertories of patriotic songs in Croatia, the song "Stop the War" in Croatia by Tomislav Ivičić will be compared with Marko Perković Thompson's "Bojna Čavoglave [Čavoglave Battalion]." The intention is to point out the differences in their approaches to the war as well as different responses on the part of the general public. On one hand, there is cosmopolitanism and urban refinement of Ivičić's song from the "official" repertoire, and on the other, rural connotation and nationalism of Thompson's song from the "unofficial" repertoire. The comparison of the cassette covers of the two songs from different repertoires vividly illustrates those two different reactions to war.

Figure 18: "Stop the War in Croatia" and "Bojna Čavoglave," cassette covers.

Tomislav Ivčić was a recording artist present in the Croatian popular music scene for a long time before the war. This popular tune was composed at the beginning of the war and soon

became a best-selling song. The idea of this song is clear: recorded in English, the song attempts to turn the world's attention to Croatia.[138]

Here is the excerpt from Tomislav Ivičić's song: [139]

   <u>"Stop the War in Croatia"</u>

Stop the war in the name of love / Stop the war in the name of God /

Stop the war in the name of children / Stop the war in Croatia.//

We want to share the European dream / We want democracy and peace /

Let Croatia be one of Europe's start / Europe, you can stop the war.//

The image the song projects is the diplomacy of a cultivated European. This contrasts with the "unofficial" repertoire of songs with messages and content that use hate speech and present the fight as the only solution to the conflict. The representative of such songs is Marko Perković Thomson.

Prior to the war, Thompson was a bar tender. His nick name is related to one of the weapons he and his friends used in defending their village Čavoglave. "Bojna Čavoglave [Čavoglave Battalion]" is a rock tune in seven-beat meter, which is quite common in Balkan music. Also, the singer uses a guttural singing manner that is typical to the mountainous Dinaric region of Croatia.[140] Despite its Eastern features, the tune was quite popular at the time because it encouraged resistance in a politically sensitive moment of a war situation and boosted the motivation of fighters on the front lines. Thompson's public image of a young man in his late twenties with long curly hair, carrying a gun and wearing a military dress added to the meaning of his militant song texts. The response of the public was predictable: many young people in Croatia identified with him and were ready to give their life for Croatia during the war.[141]

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[138] The song was broadcast in thirtyone country worldwide. It became an anthem of the mothers of soldiers in the *Chain of Love* and *Mothers for Peace* movements. Data available from www.hr/darko/etf/ivcic.html; Internet, accessed April 2009.

[139] The video clip for this song was recorded by national television (HTV) in Zagreb and it combined documentary scenes of Croatia's natural beauty with scenes of destruction and suffering caused by the war.

[140] The Dinaric region is one of the three ethnographic zones in Croatia that reflect three distinctive regional cultures. Due to its associations with Balkan cultural identity, Dinaric music style is less favored.

[141] The video clip created by a local television in Dalmatia, a region in south coastal Croatia, shows Croatian soldiers singing and simulating military action. The song, as well as the clip, was regularly performed by the state media after increasing demands of soldiers on the front lines.

The key to Thompson's popularity in the war was the role of his songs within the context of Croatia's defense. Aggressive lyrics (expressions such as "the bandits, the Chetniks all, even down in Serbia, our hand will fall") and the connection of the author and performer with the radical right-wing party all brought a certain sense of "situational authenticity"[142] which was quite appropriate in the context of military commitment during the war in Croatia. In other words, Thompson's songs prove that music can be under certain circumstances, considered "a weapon."[143]

Here is an excerpt from Thompson's song:[144]

Bojna Čavoglave
U Zagori na izvoru rijeke Čikole / stala braća da obrane svoje domove //

Stoji Hrvat do Hrvata, mi smo braća svi / nećete u Čavoglave dok smo živi mi //

Tuče thompson, kalašnjikov, a i zbrojovka / baci bombu, goni bandu preko izvora //

Korak naprijed, puška gotovs i uz pjesmu svi / za dom, braćo, za slobodzu, borimo se mi /

Čujte srpski dobrovoljci, bando četnici / stiči će vas naša ruka i u Srbiji //

Stići će vas Božja Pravda, to već svako zna / sudit će vam bojovnici iz Čavoglava //

Slušajte sad poruku od svetog Ilije / nećete u Čavoglave, niste ni prije //

Oj, Hrvati, braćo mila iz Čavoglava / Hrvatska vam zaboravit neće nikada, neće nikada //

Čavoglave Battalion
 In Zagora on the spring of the Čikola river / Brothers are standing, our homes defending //

There stand, brothers all, Croat beside Croat / Čavoglave we won't give as long as we live //

Shelling Thompson, Kalashnjikov and Zbrojovka / Bombs we'll throw and chase the gang across the spring //

Step forward, guns ready, let us sing together / We, brothers, are fighting for our homes and freedom //

Listen, Serbian volunteers, bandits, Chetniks all / Even down to Serbia our hand will fall //

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[142] Svanibor Pettan, "Music, Politics, and War in Croatia in the 1990s: An Introduction," in *Music, Politics and War: Views from Croatia*, ed. Svanibor Pettan (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1998), 23.

[143] Words of a singer Đuka Čaić, known for the song *Hrvatine* [*Brave Croats*], confirm that music may be a weapon: "Isn't what we do politics?…My bullet is my song. It hurts Chetniks…" From Boris Homovec,. "Pjesma jača od minobacača [Songs Stronger than Rocket Launchers]" *Globus* 43:16-17.

[144] Perković-Perković-Lasan-Tešija. *Bojna Čavoglave* [Čavoglave Battalion] in *The Best of Rock za Hrvatsku* [The Best of Rock for Croatia]. Croatian Records CD-D 503727 9, 1992.
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God will judge you, everybody knows that / And fighters from Čavoglave will judge you too//

Now the message from St. Elias all of you can hear / To Čavoglave you'll never, never come near//

Croats from Čavoglave, now you all can hear / Croatia will never forget this, you don't have to fear.//[145]

The meaning of patriotism during the war for independence between 1990 and 1995 was quite blurred and it was difficult to distinguish between different forms of patriotism. For years during and after the war, slogans, songs and emblems glorifying Ustasha regime during WW II were not condemned nor considered politically inappropriate.[146] The following two pictures show the sale of souvenirs with Pavelić and Ustasha emblems. The fact that police turn a blind eye to the merchandising of Ustasha symbols at controversial music concerts, sports stadiums, as well as the sale of such souvenirs on tourist routes in the Adriatic was the consequence of partial rehabilitation of Ustasha cult which begun in Tudjman era.

Figure 19: The sale of souvenirs from Croatia with Ante Pavelić's picture.[147]

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[145] The translation is mostly taken from Lada Čale Feldman, "Poetics of Resistance: The Theatralization of Reality-Political Rituals," in *Fear, Death and Resistance: An Ethnography of War: Croatia 1991-1992*, ed. Lada Čale Feldman et al. (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1993), 1-5.

[146] A well-known Croatian intellectual Slavko Goldstein commented on the situation at the time: "Quite incredibly, no one can be convicted for glorifying Ustasha crimes in Croatia…You can be punished for telling a Serb he is stupid, but if you glorify the killing of Serbs, you are not breaking the law." A quote taken from a distinguished Croatian journalist Drago Hedl's article *Ustasha Repels Right-Wing Croats* from February 2004, available from http://www.iwpr.net/?p=bcr&s=f&o=158102&apc_state=henibcr2004, Internet, accessed April 2009.

[147] Souvenirs displayed at a gas station near the Croatian border with Serbia reflect the neo-Ustasha trend. The pictures are taken by the author in early August of 2004.

During the 1990s there was a tremendous quantity of nationalistic music inspired by the regeneration of a sense of national self-worth among the population. Neo-Fascist imagery and controversial songs expressing Ustasha sympathies were often passed off as a legitimate expression of Croat patriotism. In his controversial songs such as "Jasenovac and Gradiška stara" which brings references to Ustasha-run concentration camp from 1940s, right-wing singer Thompson combines Ustasha sympathies with patriotic act of dying for the benefit of the country and its freedom. Fight and aggression is depicted as natural collective response and legitimate expression of Croatian patriotism. A long period of tolerance for neo-Fascist imagery was due to its strong associations with Croatian fight for freedom and independence. It was not until recent years, when Croatia is closer to enter the European Union, when public displays of such sympathies are legally penalized.

The Process of "Croatization": National Ideology and National Forms of Expression

> For the nations and countries of this part of Europe, nationalism represents modernity. Nationalists are content with this conclusion because nationalism becomes historically justified.[148]

Interest in and awareness of Croatian national forms of expression was growing during and after the war in Croatia. National themes soon emerged as the most effective symbolic representation of the newly formed independent state. Radio and record distribution contributed fundamentally to the national rhetoric and national music production during that period. Popular song lyrics provided a forum for political propaganda. The process of "Croatization" describes the revival of Croatian "national ideology" which Josip Županov describes as a "process of re-traditionalization and de-secularization of Croatian society."[149] A massive shift from non-religious to religious orientation as well as the emphasis on the national cultural production in independent Croatia are consequences of this process.

Political changes and the war brought back to the public the previously forbidden Croatian symbols and themes. Croatian themes such as the Croatian flag, the Croatian mother,

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[148] See Ivo Banac, *Raspad Jugoslavije: Eseji o nacionalizmu i nacionalnim sukobima* [The Fall of Yugoslavia: Esays on Nationalism and National Confrontations] (Zagreb: Durieux, 2001).
[149] Živanov, Josip. „Theses on Social Crisis-the Case of Croatia" in
SEER SouthEast Europe Review for Labour and Social Affairs, vol. 1 (2001): 39-49. Also available at www.ceeol;
Internet, accessed April 2009.

Croatian soldiers and fields or Croatian words were common themes of songs. Civilian societies added the adjective "Croatian" to their names, streets switched names from Yugoslavian to Croatian historical and political figures and events, and the Croatian coat of arms became a symbol of Croatian independence and freedom and, as such, appeared on various objects of everyday use.

Music was an important part of the process of "Croatization" because of its potential to symbolize. For instance, reflecting the change of the cultural policies and concepts of tradition during the process of "Croatization" in the 1990s, the tamburitza gained new meanings and was elevated to a symbol of Croatian culture. As such, it held a special place in the musical as well as the cultural and political life of the country. Its significance and the meaning for the newly formed state stemmed from its connections with the Croatian National Movement in the mid-nineteenth century. Since folklore was interpreted as representative of national culture, and associations with the Movement were politically desirable after Croatian independence, the revival of the tamburitza in modern Croatia produced numerous neotraditional tamburitza ensembles.[150]

These ensembles reused the tamburitza instrument in the new context, where it functioned as a carrier of national integration ideology. The ideological role of the neotraditional tamburica ensemble is threefold: turning regional musical identity into national musical identity, promoting the tamburitza instrument into a Croatian national instrument and reviving the old Croatian patriotic songs. The repertorie of tamburitza ensembles in independent Croatia included folk music, music composed in folk manner, orchestral tamburitza music and popular tamburitza music.

With the fall of the communist government in Croatia after the victory of the opposition in the free elections held in May 1990, religion regained its social position and meaning in Croatia. Religious songs were freely performed in public and functioned as a sort of call for a divine help during the times of war for independence. For this reason, the song texts in independent Croatia frequently featured saints, the Virgin Mother and God. In times of former

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[150] According to a public opinion poll in the Zagreb weekly *Globus, Zlatni Dukati* were voted the most popular Croatian tamburitza band, together with pop and rock groups. Data from Ruža Bonifačić, "Regional and National Aspects of Tamburica Tradition: The Case of the Zlatni Dukati Neotraditional Ensemble," in *Music, Politics and War: Views from Croatia*, ed. Svanibor Pettan, (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1998) 113-150.

Yugoslavia when Church and State were separated and the life of all forms of religious songs was difficult, this was unthinkable.

After World War II, the communist authorities of Federal National Republic of Yugoslavia gradually eliminated religious observance from public life. Religion was strictly reserved for the private sphere. The banning of public, socially-recognized celebrations of Church or religious holidays, together with public processions outside the churches, discouraged public singing of religious songs.

If God was mentioned in song, there were warnings such as "to be very careful about using it or do not use it in regular programs at all." According to this status of religious songs, people who worked in radio and television had no interest in recording religious songs, since they would be automatically removed from being broadcast. Also, if they did so, they would be responsible for (dis)obeying the limits. The idea of posing a personal responsibility on everyone involved in transmitting a program proved to be a very successful method of (auto)censorship in the days of former Yugoslavia.

As a consequence of such climate, references to God, the Virgin Mary or individual saints were removed from songs, even those of a non-religious character. Those were songs performed publicly such as wedding songs. According to Jerko Bezić, a distinguished Croatian ethnomusicologist, this kind of "editing" was suggested by individual officials at the local level.[151] An illustrative example of a communist religious censorship is a well-known Dalmatian folk song, "Falile se Kaštelanke." As late as 1980, in order to be broadcast on the national radio stations, the name of the patron saint of Split, Sveti Duje [Saint Dominus] was removed from the text and replaced by barba Duje [Uncle Duje]:

Falile se Kaštelanke,	The women of Kaštela boasted
Da su lipše neg' Splićanke	That they were more beautiful than the women of Split
/:A moj barba Duje	/:But my Uncle Duje
Neće ni da čuje,	Won't hear of it,
Ajme, ča ću mu ja…:/	O, what can I do:/

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[151] These examples and translations are taken from Jerko Bezić "Croatian Traditional Ecclesiastical and non-Ecclesiastical Religious Songs Sung During Onerous Times," in *Music, Politics and War: Views from Croatia*, ed. Svanibor Pettan (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1998), 96.

A similar example of the changes of a text is a wedding song from Donja Stubica in Croatian Zagorje that was recorded and published in 1969 by Bezić.[152] This is the text of the song during communism:

<u>Tenka deklica</u> zorju snovala,	<u>A slender girl</u> had in view the dawn,
Zorja je zorja, beli je dan,	It is dawn, the day is white
Beli je dan.	The day is white.

The following is the same wedding song as sung by a group of women from Bistra in Croatian Zagorje at the International Folklore Festival in Zagreb in 1992. Due to the process of "Croatization" and the accent on religion as one of the markers of national identity in the 1990s, the slender girl is replaced by Mother Mary:

<u>Majka Marija</u> zorju snovala,	<u>Mother Mary</u> had in view the dawn,
Zorja je zorja, b'jeli je dan,	It's dawn, it's dawn, the day is white,
B'jeli je dan.	The day is white.[153]

There are examples of old traditional religious songs adapted to the state of war in Croatia. Due to the state of war during the 1990s, song texts in which the Mother of God was asked for help and protection become very suitable in reflecting upon the horrors of war and calling for protection. One such example is Majko mila, Majko draga [Sweet Mother, Dear Mother]:

Majko mila, Majko draga	Sweet Mother, Dear Mother
Dom nam čuvaj, Božja mati,	Guard our home, Mother of God,
I sinova naših cvijet	And the bloom of our sons
Tvojom molbom nek se vrati	Through your prayer may peace
Božji mir na cijeli svijet.	Return to the whole world.

In this text, war is mentioned in a general sense, as something that has not directly affected local people. There is no mention of help to domestic soldiers fighting against the

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[152] The transciption can be found in Jerko Bezić, "Raznolik glazbeni svijet šire okolice Donje Stubice [The Diverse Music World in the Broad Surroundings of Donja Stubica]," *Narodna umjetnost* [Folk Art], vol. 10 (1973): 323.

[153] Jerko Bezić, "Croatian Traditional Ecclesiastical and non-Ecclesiastical Religious Songs Sung During Onerous Times," in *Music, Politics and War: Views from Croatia*, ed. Svanibor Pettan (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1998), 105.

enemy. This will change by 1991, when the Yugoslav People's Army military intervention turned into a war. New songs were born in such circumstances. The following is an example of an adapted version of the same song.[154] Its verses clearly reflect the state of war in Croatia:

Majko mila, Majko draga	Sweet Mother, Dear Mother,
Slušaj svoje djece glas!	Hear the voice of your children!
Bojni vihor, mržnja kleta	The winds of war, damned hatred,
Uništiti hoće nas.	They will soon destroy us.
Dragi naši redom ginu	Dear ones falling in succession
Na bojnim poljanama.	On the killing fields of war.
Majka, daj po svome Sinu	Mother, give us through your Son
Lijeka našim ranama.	Cure for our aching wounds.
Grad za gradom ljuto strada,	Devastation in the cities,
Mirna sela mori strah,	Peaceful hamlets gripped in fear,
Smrt i pustoš svuda vlada,	Death and wasteland on all sides now,
Plačuć padamo u strah.	Weeping we collapse in fear.

The tradition of invocations to God that carry blessings for secular authorities is an ongoing tradition that existed even in communism. According to Bezić, this practice in Croatia dates from the fifteenth century.[155] Paraliturgical traditional religious songs contained invocations for blessings on the Venetian Doge until 1797, then for the Austrian king and emperor during the nineteenth century, and, most recently, invocations for Tito, the president of former Yugoslavia. Dating between 1945 and 1950, the invocation "Comrade and Marshal Tito, ruler of our country" was sung by the church singers in Sutomišćica on the island of Ugljan, near Zadar. Below is the text of this invocation in its original form and translated into English taken from Bezić's study on Croatian traditional ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical religious songs.[156] In this study Bezić

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[154] Ibid., 99-100.
[155] Ibid., 94.
[156] The text was noted down in 1949 by Prof. Rozario Šutrin from Zadar.

compares the text of this invocation with a hundred-years-older version of the text that also has octosyllabic verses.[157]

O kršćani poljubljeni,	O dear Christians,
Što ste ovdje sakupljeni	Gathered together here.
Višnjega Boga zazovite	Invoke almighty God
I od njega sad prosite.	And beg now of him.
...	...
Pruži svetu tvoju desnicu	Hold out your right hand to the world
I na Crkvu zaručnicu	And to your fiancee the Church
I na papu poglavara,	And to the Papal Head,
Svete vire tog čuvara.	Defender of the holy faith.
Blagoslov im svoj udili,	Give them your blessing,
Bože sveti, Bože mili.	Holy Lord, dear Lord.
<u>Druga Tita i Maršala,</u>	<u>Comrade and Marshal Tito,</u>
<u>Naše zemlje gospodara</u>	<u>Ruler of our land</u>
<u>I na njega desnu pruži,</u>	<u>To him, too, hold out your right hand,</u>
<u>Blagoslovom tvojim združi.</u>	<u>Place him under your blessing.</u>
Sve biskupe, svećenike,	All the bishops, the priests,
Svake vrste redovnike.	All members of the orders.

Inclusion of secular and political figures in religious songs is another confirmation of the political role of music. Paralleling ideological change and the emphasis on national idiom, the invocations for "Comrade and Marshal Tito, ruler of our country" changed in newly independent Croatia. Carrying politically unwanted connotations of a common past with Serbs within former Yugoslavia, verses referring to Tito and communism are taken out so the song is now sung in the original version.

Contrasting the position of religion in times of former Yugoslavia, religiosity became important marker of national identity in independent Croatia. For this reason, religious tradition entered public life, media and school curriculum without any restrictions. In her study titled "Some Aspects of Religiousness of Croatian Youth in 1986 an in 1999" Jadranka Goja analyzes

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[157] Ibid., 94-95.

the nature of change in the religiosity of Croatian youth and concludes that religiosity registered a significant increase due to the socio-economic changes such as "the fall of communism, the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, the creation of the independent Croatian state, and the Serbian aggression against Croatia."[158]

Since the beginning of the war, religious references became common even in non-religious songs. An example of such a song is "Bože čuvaj Hrvatsku [God Protect Croatia]." This song was first sung by pop singer Đani Maršan and, due to its popularity and political meaning in enforcing patriotism and giving one's life for the country, it was later included in the music textbooks. In the early 1990's, this hymnic song became an anthem of the HDZ or Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica [Croatian Democratic Union] ruling party.

Figure 20: "Bože čuvaj Hrvatsku [God Protect Croatia]."[159]

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[158] Goja, Jadranka "Some Aspects of Religiousness of Croatian Youth in 1986 an in 1999" (Zagreb: *Political Thought: Croatian Political Science Review*, vol. 1, 2000), 148-160.
[159] Branko Rakijaš and Smiljka Ećimović-Žganjer, *Muzicirajmo zajedno* [Let's play music together], the seventh-grade music textbook (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1993), 32.

The music curriculum in independent Croatia displays emphasis on religious affiliation in independent Croatia. Religion is no longer reserved for places of worship, but functions as a sort of symbolic expression of freedom and independence from the socialist regime. Whereas Yugoslav music textbooks did not include any religious songs, the music textbooks in modern Croatia offer many examples of religious songs.

The inclusion of the canon "Slavite Gospoda [Praise the Lord]" instead of a canon "Bratec Martin [Brother Martin]," a translated version of a French canon "Frére Jacques" claims ideological implications. The French canon was very popular and was repeatedly included in music textbooks in former Yugoslavia, but as a consequence of the change of ideology and the new meaning of religion for Croatian culture and identity, educators in modern Croatia decided to replace it with a religious canon. Here are the examples of both canons.

Figure 21: Canon "Bratec Martin" translated from French into Croatian by Z. Grgošević.[160]

The following example is a canon with religious character that replaced the former secular one.

Figure 22: Canon "Slavite Gospoda [Praise the Lord]" by the unknown author.[161]

The next two examples are religious songs sung for Easter and Christmas. The inclusion of songs from the church calendar is a testimony to the important position of religion within the music curriculum in independent Croatia.

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[161] Krešimir Brlobuš, *Život glazbe* [The Life of Music], the seventh-grade music textbook (Zagreb: Alfa, 1999), 42.

Figure 23: Christmas songs "Svim na zemlji mir, veselje [Peace and Happiness to All on Earth][162] and Easter song "Kraljice neba [Queen of Heaven]."[163]

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[162] Ibid., 6.

[163] Branko Rakijaš and Smiljka Ećimović-Žganjer, *Muzicirajmo zajedno* [Let's play music together], the seventh-grade music textbook (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1993), 13.

The increasing presence of religious references in modern Croatia reflects the national ideology and "the process of re-traditionalization and de-secularization of Croatian society."[164] This entire concept of music as an ideological construct can also be extended beyond schools and observed in the formation of musical values outside educational domain. However, it constitutes a new topic beyond the scope of the present work.

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[164] Živanov, Josip. „Theses on Social Crisis-the Case of Croatia" in
SEER SouthEast Europe Review for Labour and Social Affairs, vol. 1 (2001): 39-49. Also available at www.ceeol; Internet, accessed April 2009.

CONCLUSIONS

Variety of documentation analyzed for the purpose of this study such as the analysis of music textbooks, interviews with teachers, school and other educational institutions visitations, all reveal continuous presence of prevailing ideology in music curricula and music promoted by the media in the periods prior to and after Croatian independence. Shifting ideological priorities and the change of socio-political values are reflected in music values of socialist and democratic Croatia. Combined with the specific symbols, rituals and procedures present in the schools as powerful agents of political socialization, music in both systems reflects the social reality and represents the practical manifestation of big political issues. This confirms Marxian statement that those who are the owners of economic forces have the power to shape the ideas that determine the nature of a society. It also supports Althusser's views on ideology, where ideology is not just a set of illusionary ideas, but rather a material practice carried by groups and individuals. Because it treats people as subjects, ideology has the power to impose a certain imaginary relation that people will have with their reality. School curriculum is a powerful vehicle for imposing the imaginary relationship of individuals and their reality.

This is particularly evident through the changes in both, the educational concepts and the content of the music curricula. In socialist Yugoslavia the role of music was to defuse and eliminate ethnic conflicts, while the specific social conditions in Croatia after the war for independence required music to play a new role. The emphasis was on "Croatization" of the curriculum which meant the enforcement of national music tradition and the revival of patriotic songs, tamburitza music and Croatian religious music. Since the examples of folk or traditional music taught in schools and supported by the media in modern Croatia were carefully selected from chosen regions that show musical elements closer to those of the West, while music idioms from regions displaying Eastern influences are ignored and neglected, music needs to be viewed as a reflection of social reality and political aspirations of both community and individuals. Due to its power to transmit messages and promote political ideas, music is prone to become an ideological term.

Changes in the content of the music curricula in Croatia in the 1990s clearly reveal shift in the socio-political role of music. Emphasis on the socialist collective musicianship rooted in the socialist idea of "art for all" and the intention to bridge the gap between art and common people

is replaced with interest in the artistic values and national music forms in independent Croatia. An examination of textbooks reveals exclusion of music referring to Yugoslavia, Yugoslavianess, communism or socialism, and inclusion of religious music as a symbolic expression of freedom and independence from socialist regime, suggesting that valuable music is that which serves the interests of the prevailing ideology. Social sense and effect of music is thus confirmed.

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