

MUSIC & NETWORKING

Editors

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Editors' Preface

The essays collected in *Music & Networking* were presented at the Seventh Biennial International Conference held by the Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology, Faculty of Music / University of Arts in Belgrade, April 2004. The essays reflect upon a common topic of complex processes of networking, and represent the diversity of approaches, methodologies, that is, of the contemporary musicology itself.

The process of networking is represented through several ways of intertextual relations between networks, such as music and society (processes of migration, acculturation, pop culture), music and theatre (opera as a *polytextural* network), music and technology, writings about music (music critique as a network of ideological and artistic attitudes), music and pedagogy, religion, folk rite (network of ethnological, ethnomusicological, ethnochoreological relations), in the papers by scholars from Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Austria, Germany, Netherlands, and Great Britain.

These thematic areas define framework of seven groups of essays, outlined by three papers from the first chapter (1 Theory Networks). The first paper is dedicated to the status of a work of music as a symptom of culture, in the framework of Alain Boudaïou's, Michael Hardt's and Toni Negri's philosophical ideas (Miško Šuvaković); the second essay deals with the identity of the piece of music through the inter-musicality (Marcel Cobussen); the third paper considers the term 'postmodernity' in the networks of its epistemological, cultural, political, philosophical meanings (Leon Stefanija).

From the first mentioned intertextual, intermusical/intermedia network, a group of papers develops understanding music in multimedia context (Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, Vesna Mikić, Jelena Novak, Jelena Janković), and considers contextualizing of composers' (Danijela Špirić, Dragana Stojanović-Novičić) and music writers' poetics (Roksanda Pejović), or the historical perspectives (Sonja Marinković, Franz Kriznar), ideologies, media and music industries issues (Bojana Cvejić, Cornelia Szabó-Knotik). Cultural studies are understood as a result of a complex – ideological, or political, social, rhetorical – networking Yugoslav/Serbian and Viennese cultures (Tajana Marković, – networking Vladimir Fischer). Cultural networking is also explored through the issues of popular music (Ivana Vukanović), migration (Franz Metz, Darja Koter), traditional music (Rodna Veličkowska, Olivera Vasić, Selena Rakočević, Danka

Dr. Wladimir Fischer

Wien

A Polyphony of Belongings: (Turbo) Folk, Power, and Migrants¹

In recent years, the music formation known in Yugoslavia and its successor states under the label of 'turbo folk' has been described as a low quality music business, which not only has dubious connections to the underworld, but also represents militarist, chauvinist and antifeminist values. Although there is some truth in these accusations, this paper tries to approach the topic in the framework of popular culture in general from a perspective, which is more context-sensitive than some former descriptions (these will be specified later on). This paper formulates some questions and metaphors in order to locate the phenomenon of popular music and especially 'turbo folk' in Serbian intellectual, social and political history. Furthermore, it introduces a lesser-discussed aspect, which is the role this phenomenon plays for transnational migrants. At the center of this paper are the potentials of music to create spaces of agency for underrepresented groups in society, as showcased by the situation in Vienna. The main points of this paper are therefore:

- (1) Musical ways for migrants of gaining access, which might be inspired by historical examples, such as the achievements of black musical styles and their influences on other musics in North America and Europe...²

¹ This paper has profited from the discussion after its presentation at the Music Information Center in Belgrade. Hints by colleagues are detailed in the following footnotes. The research on which this paper is based was made possible by the Vienna Cultural Department *Wien Kultur* and by the *Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut (KWI)* in Essen, Germany, where I stayed for a short time fellowship in 2003 with Luisa Passerini's research group *Europa: Emotionen, Identitäten, Politik. Vergleichende Forschungen zu Kultur und Gesellschaft*. Currently, I am indebted to the research project *Zentren/Periferien, Kulturen und Herrschaftsverhältnisse Österreich-Ungarns 1867–1918*, in the framework of which I am developing a historical link to the topic of this paper. This project is being funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) and located at the University of Vienna.

² The Rom ('Gypsy') musician Šaban Bajramović, who will be mentioned again in this paper, explicitly states that black American musicians were his role models and also influenced him stylistically (Šaban Bajramović, "Goran Bregović je pokrao celu Evropu", *Balkan Media*, September (2001), <<http://www.balkanmedia.com/magazin/kolumne/32/32.html>>), 57

Dr. Wladimir Fischer, *A Polyphony of Belongings: (Turbo) Folk, Power, and Migrants*

- (2) and hurdles for access strategies in Serbian musical discourses, to be located in Serbian intellectual history.
- (3) Further complications which lie mainly in Western excluding stereotypes that are at work in discourses around 'Balkan' music.

In looking for answers to these questions, this paper tries to deal with Serbian pop music in its full context – that means to discuss, first of all, the motives behind cultural practices and arrangements of belongings of people concerning the constructions and arrangements of belongings of people connected to musical practices and its evaluation, such as social belongings, ideological-political belongings, gender belongings, religious belongings, interpersonal and family belongings and ethnic and regional ones etc. I am using the term 'belongings' here, in order to avoid 'identity', which seems to be suggesting that individual persons belong to fixed and mutually exclusive identities, while the term belonging suggests that these are modes and arrangements which are more or less temporal, fluid and dependent of the situation.³ In a broader perspective, this approach means to refuse to make sweeping general statements, and instead to look at cultural phenomena in detail and in the context of a specific time and space.

As far as stereotypes are concerned, those held in the so-called 'West' about 'the Balkans' have been sufficiently well described.⁴ Nevertheless, these will be reviewed here very briefly, especially in order to set this paper in its specific context as it was presented after all by a so-called 'Westerner'

³ In doing this, I am following the introduction by Hakan Siccakan and Yngve Lithman to their volume on this topic: "Theorizing Identity Politics, Belonging Modes, and Citizenship", *Envisioning Togetherness: Politics of Identity and Forms of Belonging*, ed. by Hakan G. Siccakan and Yngve Lithman, New York, London, Edwin Mellen Press, 2004, which discusses issues of citizenship in connection to belongings or even belonging modes. Stuart has suggested replacing 'identities' with 'identifications' for a similar reason, in: Hall, "Who Needs 'Identity'?", *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul DuGay, London, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, 1996, 1–17.

⁴ Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination*, New Haven, London, Yale University Press, 1998; Milica Bakic-Hayden and Robert Hayden, "Orientalist Variations on the Theme 'Balkans': Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics", *Slavic Review*, 1992/51.1, 1–15; Milica Bakic-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia", *Slavic Review*, 1995/54.4, 917–931; Dina Jordanova, "Are the Balkans Admissible? The Discourse on Europe", *Balkanistica*, 2000/13, 1–34; Maria Todorova, "The Construction of a Western Discourse of the Balkans", *Emološka tržina* 1996/19, 7–24; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997; Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1994; Horst Fassel, "Südosteuropa und der Orient-Topos in der deutschen Literatur im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", *Revue d'études sud-est-européennes*, 1979/17, 349; Zoran Konstantinović, *Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Serbien und Montenegro*, Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 56, München, 1960.

in Belgrade, a city imagined to be a 'bridge between East and West', but also because these stereotypes are a major obstacle to cultural access strategies. This is especially important then for migrants in such 'western' cities as Vienna, where the term 'West' is a highly contested one as well – in other words, Vienna is also being constructed as an east-western bridge in several discourses on Vienna.⁵ There is a short list of stereotypes which characterize the way the Balkans are usually represented in so-called Western European discourses, including most prominently primitiveness, brutality and simplicity. These stereotypes became virulent after a period of relative inactivity, in the early 1990s with the wars against the civilian population in (parts of) Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the same decade however, also positively connotated images and sounds of the Balkans became popular internationally, most notably in the films of Emir Kusturica, with the famous soundtracks by Goran Bregović. In these films, Yugoslav Rom (Gypsies) play a central role. In 'Western' contexts, these images go nicely together with old stereotypes about 'jolly gypsy life' (as a traditional German and Austrian song has it). These stereotypes include spontaneity, vitality, joy of life, simplicity and emotional explicitness (including passionate love) and are subsumable under the metaphor of hot blood.⁶ The basic features of all these images are of course intricately intertwined with the idea that this kind of music was more 'authentic' than elaborate elite culture, expressing a kind of longing for just of life symbolized by 'vital Balkan gypsies', who do not care about 'our' conventions. Among critics of these images is by the way also prominent Austrian Rom author Cejla Stojka.⁷

As if stereotypes weren't enough, Balkan culture is usually discussed very selectively. Usually only folk culture, in our case folk music receives attention, while modern urban popular music (such as 'Slageri' and Rock) is not being deemed worth academic discussion.⁸ While these stereotypes

⁵ These seemingly geographical terms are of course relative and contested not only in the regions susceptible to the 'east'-label, but also in the 'West'. Cf. Stuart Hall, "The West and the Rest", *Formations of Modernity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and B. Gieben, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992.

⁶ Marko Živković (*Representing the Balkans: Symbolic Geography of the South-eastern Margin of Europe*, The University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology, 1998, manuscript), and Dina Jordanova, "Are the Balkans Admissible?", have expanded on the problem of Westernness in the Balkan context and the role 'Gypsy' stereotypes play in this often outrightly racist struggle for discursive supremacy, also in Serbia.

⁷ Cejla Stojka, *Reisende auf dieser Welt*, Wien, Picus, 1992, 131–134.

⁸ Of course there are exceptions to that rule, like e.g. Aleksandar Žikić, *Fatahi ringišpil: Hronika beogradskog rokenrola*, edicija ProRok, Beograd, Geopoetika, 1999; *Music, Politics, and War: Views From Croatia*, ed. by Svanbor Pettan, Zagreb, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1998; Miloš Krstić, *Vek džezza: Od Senti Luisa do Beograda*,

actually tell more about the so-called Westerners than about the Balkans, they also play an important role in discourses in and from Serbia. I would even say that Serbs themselves helped producing these discourses and they are also part of several self-images in the so-called Balkans, as for instance a quarrel between the Yugoslav Rom musicians Šaban Bajramović and Esma Redžepova with Goran Bregović about plagiarism may illustrate, which Danijela Špirić mentioned at the Networks Conference.⁹ The picture is complicated even more by the fact that the elements described above as Balkan stereotypes are basically the same as in the common definition of popular culture as opposed to high culture.¹⁰ This is the reason why I think that popular culture plays a special role in Serbian discourses about self and other. The following sketch of the historical background of discourses about popular culture in Serbia may illustrate the role the Popular plays in discourses in Serbia and of Serbs.

Popular culture in 19th century Serbian discourses

As already mentioned in the introduction, many hurdles for musical access strategies in Serbian discourses lay in its intellectual history. A divide is typical for this history, which is often imagined as identical with the allotment of the Serbian population to two empires (Habsburg and Ottoman) dur-

Beograd, Teos, 2002; Milena Dragičević-Šešić, *Neofolk kultura: Publika i njene zvezde*, Novi Sad, 1994; Ivana Kronja, *Smtonosni sjeaj*, CD-ROM, Beograd, 2001. The entire January 2001 issue of *Muzika. časopis za muzičku kulturu* and issue 102 of 2002 of *Kultura, časopis za teoriju i sociologiju kulture i kulturnu politiku* may serve as further positive examples (thanks to Tatjana Marković for directing my attention to the latter two journals: thanks to Natasa Vittorelli for Dragičević-Šešić and Kronja). Some contributions on non-folk culture from Southeastern Europe however have the disadvantage that they concentrate on elite culture and are thus part of a strategy to argue for these cultures' equality to Western European models by slavishly complying to these even in times when the canon has been put into question in 'the West' itself. Cf. the Danijela Špirić's paper in this volume. Georg Stadtmüller ("Osmanische Reichsgeschichte und Balkanische Volksgeschichte", *Leipziger Vierteljahresschrift für Südostruropa*, 1929/3.1, 1–24) pointed to this phenomenon as early as 1939 (interestingly in Nazi Germany), arguing that it had already been unjustified to separate Ottoman imperial history (Reichsgeschichte) from Slavic folk history (Volksgeschichte) in accounts about Balkan cultures.

⁹ I have elaborated this argument in my dissertation (*Dostije Obradović im Kontext der 18. Jahrhunderts und seine Rezeption bei den serbischen Eliten im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, Ph. D. thesis, Universität Wien, 2002, manuscript), taking the reception and medialization of the Serbian illuminée Dostije Obradović as an example. In "Serbian Culture at a Twofold Periphery in the 18th Century", *Études Balkaniques*, 2000/36.2, 21–30, I am making a similar argument about Serbian historiography.

¹⁰ Cf. Andreas Huyssen (*After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*, Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1986), who also argues that the concept of popular culture intersects with constructions of femininity.

ing the 17th through 18th centuries. During the 19th century a whole machinery of discourse production developed, which on the one hand stands for enlightenment and bourgeois values, mainly produced by Habsburg Serbs, while Serbs from Serbia proper and from Bosnia and Herzegovina and later also Habsburg Serbs promoted romantic ideas about the vitality of folk culture. The point is that *both* tendencies were constitutive for the Serbian national discourses, reminding of what Homi Bhabha calls the “‘double and split’ time of national representation.”¹¹ Thus, for instance, Serbian Vojvodinian writer Laza Kostić (1841–1910), also a translator of John Bulwer’s and Shakespeare’s, introduced folk epics into literature and at the same time worked subsequently as a high-school teacher, city administrator and as an editor of *Zastava*, the newspaper of the Habsburg-Serbian liberals who in the 1870s worked together with the Hungarian liberals, the party of the high bourgeoisie. In mass publications from the period, it becomes obvious, how these discourses about high and low culture, men and women, East and West intermingle in novels, in newspapers’ lead articles, in the feuilleton, and on the advertising pages as well.¹²

Seven decades earlier, the middle class from Vojvodina around 1800 had rallied a program of education for the Serbian masses whom their symbolic figure Dositej Obradović (1740–1811) had called backward and primitive, close to the abyss of idiocy, where, as he put it, “the Asian and African peoples linger”.¹³ In the Vojvodinian enlightener’s vision, it was the task of the elites to save their uneducated compatriots from such a terrible destiny. In stark contrast to that, philologist and anthropologist Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) was an advocate of the common people (*narod*) who were in his perspective, mainly peasants in Serbia and Bosnia. The image and memory of Vuk, as he was called by his followers, was regularly invoked during the 19th century by members of the new democratically oriented elites, who were of course also nationalist.¹⁴ These new nationalist elites developed both on the former Ottoman side of the border, which was then already Serbia, and in the Habsburg territories. Interestingly, both Vuk

¹¹ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London, 1994, 144.

¹² Cf. Wladimir Fischer, “Zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand. Stationen der Entstehung einer Gegen-Hegemonie im Diskurs der serbisch-vojudinischen Eliten (1848–1905)”, *Kakanien Revisited*, 2002, 1–35. <<http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitrfael-studie/WFischer1.pdf>>. For a closer analysis of late 19th century Serbian Vojvodinian mass media.

¹³ Dositej Obradović, *Život i priključenija Dimitria Obradovića, narčenoga u kaludersku Dosithea: nim’ istin’ spisar’ i izdat’*, vol. I, Laipnik, Brajkopf, 1783.

¹⁴ Cf. Holm Sundhaussen, *Der Einfluß der Herderschen Ideen auf die Nationsbildung bei den Völkern der Habsburger Monarchie*, Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission, ed. by Adam Wandruszka, vol. 27, München, Oldenbourg, 1973.

and Dositej lead transnational existences (they lived in Vienna, Leipzig and other cities), although the memory of them was used to define very national aims. This is one of the reasons why discourses in the 19th and 20th century tried to identify these personalities with Serbian territories, even to a point where Vuk’s corpse was exhumated in Vienna and reburied besides Dositej’s in Belgrade in 1897.¹⁵

The point I want to make here, is that two tendencies were simultaneously present with the Serbian middle classes. These social strata tried to assimilate to perceived Western models and to represent their upward mobility with elite culture paradigms, but at the same time it was important to show one’s distinctness in national terms – for this, folklor came in handy.¹⁶ But while the *practices* were mixed and hybrid, their *description* was always offered in dichotomies.

Popular (Folk) Music

The development of urban popular music formations had been quite similar to the developments in Central Europe at large, manifesting itself in dramatic plays with music similar to the German Singspiel, which later, that is in the early twentieth century, developed into a corpus of songs known as Old Town Songs (‘starogradske pesme’), but also in formations similar to the Popular Song (‘slageri’) and, last but not least, small town brass music. Much musical knowledge was transmitted in Serbian middle class culture by singing societies. This changed after World War Two, when a phenomenon began to develop, which has become emblematic for Yugoslav, especially Serbian popular music: ‘novokomponovana narodna muzika’, or the newly-composed folk music, ‘narodna muzika’ meaning both folk and national music. This musical style combines rural instruments with modern ones, increasingly amplified ones and features many allusions to rural melodic and textual practices, again combined with urban styles. This musical style’s development was promoted by the communist Yugoslav state, and has been cultivated partly under the control of state sponsored ethnomusicologists.

Its communist state sponsored roots notwithstanding, ‘narodna muzika’, as it is simply called by its followers, is commercially oriented, has a

¹⁵ *Spomennica o prenosu praha Vuka Stef. Karadžića iz Beča u Beograd 1897*, ed. by Andra Gavrilović, Beograd, Štampanija Kraljevine Srbije, 1898.

¹⁶ Natascha Vittorelli (“An ‘Other’ of One’s Own. Pre-WW I South Slavic Academic Discourses on the *zadruga*”, *SpaceofIdentity*, (2002)2.3, 2.4, 27–43; http://www.univie.ac.at/Vol_2_3/PDF/Vittorelli.pdf) has made a similar argument before in an article about constructions of Balkan family patterns in South Slavic academic discourses.

wide mass distribution as electronic media and its audiences are mostly working-class, including labor migrants in Austria, Germany, Scandinavia, France, North America and Australia.¹⁷ This music has always been connected with migration in Yugoslavia, both with the big external migration waves of the 1960s, and with internal migration inside Yugoslavia into the big metropolises and urban sub-centres, most importantly into Belgrade.¹⁸

Pop, power and politics in contemporary Yugoslavia (SCG)

In the meantime musical practices have further developed. Rock music, big in Yugoslavia in the 1980s, was forced to retreat to peripheral and closed spaces in the 1990s, which is probably the reason why Rockstar Dejan Cukić sang in 1998 that he was roaming through Belgrade like a stranger.¹⁹ What happened on the plane of style was a strange marriage between electronic dance floor rhythms and 'narodna muzika', best known under the label 'turbofolk'. Singer and songwriter Rambo Amadeus (alias Antonije Pušić), who had brought up the term, describes 'turbofolk' as a "musical Frankenstein [monster]" which was a cultural phenomenon of a first, pseudo-democratic phase of Balkan democratization, with the post-communist *nouveau riches* as a social basis.²⁰ On the cultural-political plane, what shocked critical Yugoslav intellectuals was that a formerly "trashy" subculture had achieved the status of legitimate culture. The close relations of some protagonists of this music business with crime, with war-lords and with the Milošević regime lent much credibility to the argument

¹⁷ So far, I have found only scarce texts on the music of work migration in Europe (Ursula Hemetek, *Mosaik der Klänge – Musik der ethnischen und religiösen Minderheiten in Österreich*, Schriften zur Volksmusik 20, Böhlau, 2001; Gross and Swedenburg McMurray, "Arab Noise and Ramadan Nights: Rai, Rap and Franco-Maghrebi Identities", *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies of Identity*, ed. by Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg, Durham, Duke University Press, 1996; Owe Ronström, "Folklor: Staged Folk Music and Folk Dance Performances of Yugoslavs in Stockholm", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 1991/23, 69–77; Robert Anhegger, "Lieder über 'Gastarbeiter', Lieder von 'Gastarbeitern'", *Ästhetik und Kommunikation: Beiträge zur politischen Erziehung*, 1981/11.44, 83–89; Ursula Reinhard, "Türkische Musik: ihre Interpreten in West-Berlin und in der Heimat: Ein Vergleich", *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 1987/32, 81–92. The topic is more popular though in North America.

¹⁸ Mark Forry, "Serbia", *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music: Musical Cultures of Europe*, ed. by Bruno Nettl, et al., vol. 8, London, Routledge, 1999, 946–950.

¹⁹ Dejan Cukić, *Stranac u Beogradu*, from the 1998 album by Dejan Cukić i Sportriam bend *Igrano na ulici*, Beograd, PGP-RTS.

²⁰ Rambo Amadeus, "Prolog", *Antologija turbofolka*, ed. by Goran Tarlać and Vladimir Đurić-Đura, Beograd, SKC, 2001. Miško Šuvaković voiced a similar, but more elaborate opinion during the discussion, adding that the social basis of 'turbo folk' are in Belgrade young working class people, especially in the new suburbs.

that 'turbofolk' was the musical expression of the crisis of the country and also an instrument of the ruling regime. Before this background, it is not surprising that Adorno's critique of popular culture was thrown into the arena by intellectuals.

"The given political function [to soothe the hardships the population has to endure in times of crisis and to 'amortize the political earthquakes'] of culture was first and foremost fulfilled by kitsch-patriotism, or the newly composed culture of war, and then by turbo-folk style and music, being kitsch-aesthetics of the first order. The value system which the pink [name of the major turbo-folk TV-station] turbo-folk culture placed among its 'carefree' contents, together with the grey economy and criminalization, added to the breakdown of moral norms in our society."²¹ It should however be contended that the cultural-political situation is more complicated than this. To begin with, the definition of the musical formation 'turbo folk' is highly complex, because many styles are connected with it through its habit of mixing. Not only Techno sounds are being combined with Neofolk melodies, but also Latin, Rai and Belly Dance elements are ubiquitous in this musical formation, for instance with interpreters like Jelena Karleuša, Dragana Mirković and Dara Bubamara. Karleuša released a cover version of Turk Pop star Tarkan's 1998 hit *S'ik'idim* and others, Dragana worked together with Greek musicians for *Sama*, and in Bubamara's *Izdali smo našu ljubav* (1999) the melody is more reminding of

²¹ Ivana Kronja, *op.cit.*, 6. Kronja gives a detailed description of the rise of 'turbo folk' to mainstream culture or superculture, quoting Mladjan Dinkić (*Ekonomija destrukcije*, Beograd, Stubovi kulture, 1996) for the background of economic 'decline' connected to it (24–32) and other factors. She also argues implicitly with Adorno that these cultural practices were basically mass deception and both expression and part of antifeminism and militarism spawning in the 1990ies in Serbia (warrior chique and cult of violence, 83 and 95f.). More on turbo-folk is to be found in Ivana Kronja, "Naknada razmatranja o turbo-folku", *Kultura*, 2002/102, 8–18; Miša Djuković, "Ideologizacija turbo-folka", *Kultura*, 2002/102, 19–33; Nenad Dimitrijević, "Idoli '90-ih", *Kultura*, 2002/102, 34–37; Zdravko Blažeković, "Music of the 1990s in the Context of Social and Political Change in the Countries of the Former Yugoslavia", *Muzika*, 2001/17, 7–12; Tajana Marković, "Music and Society in Serbia and Montenegro in the 1990s", *ibidem*, 49–60; Ljerka Rasmussen, "Cultures in Conflict, Cultures in Exchange: Popular Music at the Post-Yugoslav Crossroads", *ibidem*, 67–74; Timothy J. Cooley, "Musically Negotiating History, Nostalgia, and Nationalism in the Former Yugoslavia", *ibidem*, 75–87; Eric Gordy, *The Culture of Power in Serbia: Nationalism and the Destruction of Alternative*, University Park, Penn State University Press, 1999; *Žene, silke, izmišljaj*, ed. by Branka Arsić, Beograd, Women Studies Center, 2000; Ivan Čolović, "Nove narodne pesme", *Divlja književnost: Etnolingvističko proučavanje parali literature*, Beograd, Biblioteka XX vek, 2000, 153–230. Thanks to Tajana Marković and Vesna Mikić for pointing out some of these to me. Ljerka Rasmussen ("Orientalism, Rom Gypsy, and the Culture at Intersection", *Echo der Vielfalt*, ed. by Ursula Hemetek, Wien, Böhlau, 1996, 247–254) discusses the role of Rom in the neofolk business and questions of orientalism connected to it.

cellphone ringtones than of any Balkan or Turkish instruments. But also Rock and singer-songwriters ('kantautori') have many connecting points with the 'neofolk' music production and consumption, even if most rockers would deny that. Kronja also describes this hybridity, but she rather bemoans it and describes it as corruption of 'real' folk music instead of analyzing the very meaning of this "mixture of genres".²²

This is the connecting point to the above account on Serbian discourses about popular culture. I am criticizing that some of the very negative judgements of the neofolk and turbofolk formations reproduce the traditional popular-elite culture dichotomy, that means a hierarchical model with mutually exclusive cultural realms such as 'the Popular' and 'the Legitimate'. Instead I would like to imagine what I am describing as a network with a constant flow of symbols and practices in several directions and intensities. There are many entrances through which one can enter this phenomenon. More attention should be paid to the fact that neofolk and turbofolk are extremely hybrid styles, capable of incorporating the most unprobable combinations, as exemplified above. This quality can both be used for hegemonic purposes but also for the contrary. Miško Šuvaković has pointed out that the image and music of Jelena Karleuša are being used by two contrary groups in Belgrade: right wing streetgangs and young gay men (whereby the former regularly physically attack the latter).²³ Critics argue that neo and especially turbofolk are chauvinist nationalist music formations. However, due to its hybridized force of incorporation, these styles are very popular across the borders of national states and the more popular protagonists play not only in all former Yugoslav countries but also in migrant metropolises like Vienna and Frankfurt (a fact which the rock band *Riblja čorba* is mocking at in two songs called *Gastarbjerska*)²⁴ and in other countries in Southeastern Europe. Especially in migration contexts, the consumption practices of musical products from Yugoslavia do not exclude certain products because of their style or ethnic background, but rather Folk, Rock, Dancefloor ('dens') and 'kantautori' are transmitted through the same channels. This adds to their interconnectedness and to transnationalism and contradicts the generalized accusation that turbofolk music was from the beginning an exclusivist and nationalist project.²⁵

²² Ivana Kronja, *op. cit.*, 66ff.

²³ Thanks to Miško Šuvaković for sharing this insight during the *Music&Networking* conference. He argued that both groups have a desire for the body of Karleuša, the ones wanting to possess it, the others to become it.

²⁴ Riblja čorba, *Gastarbjerska pesma* from the 1996 album *Ostalo je ćutanje* (One Music): *Gastarbjerska 2* from the 2000 album *Nojeva Barka* (East Records).

²⁵ For a summary of related discussions cf. Simon Frith, "Defending Popular Culture from the Populists", *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, ed. by John Storey, Hemel Hempstead, Prentice Hall, 1998, 570–586.

The polyphony: migrant uses of pop music

Migrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia are the largest migrant group in Vienna. They amount to more than ten percent of the general population. Although many of them have been living in Vienna since the 1960s and 1970s, only few have improved their social situation in comparison to the mainstream population. Most ex-Yugoslavs in Vienna are working class and their share in higher education is significantly low. However, in comparison to other European cities, they are less threatened by unemployment, and their geographical segregation is less acute than with migrant populations elsewhere. Nevertheless, their housing conditions are much less favorable than those of the majority population. Accordingly, they are less content with their living situation than other Viennese. All these factors notwithstanding, ex-Yugoslavs have not yet managed to make a collective effort to use their cultural 'baggages' to represent themselves in the public in order to improve their living condition, their self-esteem, and their image – much in contrast to Turkish immigrants who are in a similar position in Vienna. This is also reflected in the very low representation of Yugoslavs in the few areas of administration where they have access to. Turks, who are already poorly represented, have 13 district counselors in Vienna, contrasting with only one Yugoslav. Therefore the question in this paper is with which strategies this prominent absence of a whole ten percent of the population both from political structures and from discourses (if not in a negative discursive way) can be battled by means of music. But first some more words about the specific cultural situation of this migrant segment.²⁶

²⁶ For the situation of Yugoslavs in Vienna cf.: Saša Božić, *Kroaten in Wien: Ethnizität einer Immigrantengemeinschaft*, Ph. D. thesis, Universität Wien, 1998, manuscript; Rainer Bauböck, "Demographische und soziale Struktur der jugoslawischen und türkischen Wohnbevölkerung in Österreich", *Ausländische Arbeitskräfte in Österreich*, ed. by Hannes Wimmer, Frankfurt/M., New York, 1986, 181–240; Hannes Wimmer, "Wohnverhältnisse der ausländischen Arbeiter in Österreich", *ibidem*, 281–306; Gero Fischer, "Aspekte der Beschulungspolitik der Gastarbeiterkinder in Österreich", *ibidem*, 307–330; Gerda Neyer, "Jugoslawische und Türkische Frauen in Österreich", *ibidem*, 433–458; Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Gastarbeiter: Leben in zwei Gesellschaften*, Wien, Böhlau, 1984; Josef Kohlbacher and Ursula Reeger, "Substandard, Mietwucher und Segregation. Die Wohnsituation von AusländerInnen in Wien", *Dérive – Zeitschrift für Stadtforschung*, 2000/2, 5–7; Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger, *Die 'zweite Generation' an zweiter Stelle? Soziale Mobilität und ethnische Segmentation in Österreich: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, 2003, Wien Kultur, Magistratsabteilung 7. Available: http://www.wif.wien.at/wif_site/downloads/StudGen.pdf. For the political representation problem see: Alexandra Grasl, "Sichtbar werden", *Wiener Heft zu Migration und Integration in Theorie und Praxis* (Schwerpunktthema Defizitäre Demokratie – MigrantInnen in der Politik), 2003/1, 141–152. For the cultural representation problem see Vladimir Fischer, 'Prominently Absent: Problems of Ex-Yugoslav' Migrants' Representation

The crucial point for this chapter about the migrants' cultural situation is that all the complicated issues around popular music in Yugoslavia described above, all these intersections of power issues, sexual politics, internal migration and the rural/urban dichotomy, the images which are known to be on the mind of the West about the Balkans and the self-images of people in the Balkans and how unpredictably they are interacting – all this becomes again more complicated with more connections and reterritorializations when we look at diasporic situations. These intersecting vectors of identifications, discourse and power create a strong tension, which however bears some chances for the future of challenging the hegemonic dichotomy of legitimate and popular music as well as the ethnonational restrictions, which are (the stylistic hybridity notwithstanding) present in Serbian popular music. Some theories say that the presence of migrants and the challenges of their otherness subvert the principle of the national state²⁷ – but in our case we have migrants with a body of culture which is believed to be reinforcing the national state – how does that work?

As the complexity of the migrant cultural situation is concerned, the first dilemma is that migrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia live in Vienna surrounded by discourses in which they are not represented as members of this group, except in a negative or exclusionary way.²⁸ When dealing with cultural products from their 'own' culture in this environment they are necessarily confronted with all the stereotypes about Balkan culture described at the beginning of this paper. The reactions are, as far as music is concerned, that many listen to it in their private places, in closed spaces. They buy CDs and rent videos in special shops or on the Internet, where too the spaces are separate: it is impossible to find ex-Yugoslav music at *amazon.com*, with the exception of Goran Bregović and of CDs which made it into the ethno-section, as 'western' editions of Šaban in Vienna', paper given at the 8th International Metropolis conference in Vienna, 16. September 2003. <http://www.wu-wien.ac.at/ust/wigesch/wfischer/personal/Metropolis/Texts/Prominently_Absent_Fischer.pdf>. In the discussion, Bojana Cvejić contended that many ex-Yugoslav migrants deliberately distanced themselves from the majority society and at the same time are forced to live at its peripheries. The aim of this paper, however, is a strategic intervention in order to deal with this situation, which Bojana Cvejić described of course correctly.

²⁷ Cf., for instance, Khachig Tololian, "The Nation State and its Others, In Lieu of a Preface", *Diaspora*, 1991/1.1.

²⁸ Cf.: Richard Mitten and Ruth Wodak, *On the Discourse of Prejudice and Racism: Two Examples From Austria*, Minneapolis, Center for Austrian Studies University of Minnesota, 1993, 93–94; Peter Zuser, *Die Konstruktion der Ausländerfrage in Österreich: eine Analyse des öffentlichen Diskurses 1990*, Reihe Politikwissenschaften = Political science series no. 35, Wien, Institut für Höhere Studien, 1996; Slivana Schiller-Linden, et al., *Abgestempelt: Fremdschein in Österreich*, Grünbach, F. Steinmassl, 1997.

Bajramović's music did recently, while there is a plethora of websites specializing in distributing ex-Yugoslav music globally.²⁹ Other migrants patronize special bars with juke boxes or background music and with regular live performances. The most important singers visit Vienna at least once a year. In these cases they would perform in discotheques or in special cases in large concert halls. Lepa Brena performed in a small football stadium once in the 1990s. Some of these concerts are ethnically specialized. There are also musicians who live and play mainly in Vienna.³⁰

With the wars in the 1990s new migrants appeared on the scene who do not identify with folk music or who prefer other styles than 'narodna muzika', for example Rock and 'kantautor'. These are slowly developing infrastructures. In Carinthia there is a related radio program called Yugo-rock, which is very successful. Furthermore, there are collective and individual listening practices, that do not differ from the Austrian mainstream, for example when ex-Yugoslav and Turkish youth listen and dance to Anglo-American pop music. This is something that is usually not remembered in the discussion about migrants and about their countries of origin as well.

These are just the practical reactions to the excluding atmosphere. In belongings and self-perceptions much more is going on. Since Dositelj Obradović, people from Southeastern Europe have increasingly looked upon themselves either as stigmatized because of their lagging behind 'Europe' – or as being the heralds of Europeanness in the lagging-behind Balkans. Migrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia are right in the middle of a discourse that reinforces these ideas. Socially, their majority is 'trapped' together with migrants from Turkey in the confinements of the Austrian working class, with little chances to upward mobility, together with their cultural practices which the majority society does not deem desirable. However, migrants are making their individual and also some collective identity arrangements to deal with their situation. There are individual blends of belonging modes and hybrid uses of cultural representations in abundance. These stretch from Yugoslav girls slipping into the imagery of the US singer Christina Aguilera, profiting from their skin color, which is

²⁹ The titles of the CDs reveal the stereotypical images used for marketing strategies: Šaban Bajramović, *Gypsy King & Drunkard*, Balkanika (EFA) 2003; Šaban Bajramović, *A Gypsy Legend*, World Conn (Edel), 2003; Šaban Bajramović, *Gypsy King of Serbia*, Arc Music (Deutsche Austrophon), 2002.

³⁰ Christiane Femesz-Juhász, "Me ka-džav ko gurbeti... Klage- und Abschiedslieder mazedonischer Roma-Migranten", *Echo der Vielfalt*, ed. by Ursula Hemeček, Wien, Böhlau, 1996, 255–270; Emil Lubej, "Musik der Bosnier im Raum Wien. Eine soziokulturelle Studie", *ibidem*, 101–108; *Bosnische Musik in Österreich. Klänge einer bedrohten Harmonie*, ed. by Ursula Hemeček and Sofija Bajraktarević, Wien, Institut für Volksmusikforschung, 2000.

similar to that of the protagonists in video clips set in Cuban American neighborhoods to the self-orientalizing strategy:³¹ if anybody else thinks that belly dance is part of your culture – will you explain it to them or will you throw the stereotype back and do the belly dance?

While these practices are rather concealed and use niches and silently profit from ambiguities in cultural representation, often in closed and separate spaces, there are practices developing, which have a new quality. Migrant musical practices are percolating into local spaces such as film festivals (organized e.g. in the framework of the Austrian Film Archive) and slowly spreading from such spaces. In gay and lesbian club events in Vienna, like most prominently Homo Oriental, 'turbo folk' music is beginning to be used for camp ways of decoding, re-coding and representation. It will be interesting to watch where to and how these practices will spawn in the near future.

The strategy of re-coding 'folk pop' and 'turbo folk' has advantages over already existing other strategies of hybridization, because these are still stuck in the dichotomies of high-and-low culture or in other confinements. These strategies have been to combine internationally acclaimed folk sounds with high culture Serbian Orthodox elements in a commercial rock-framework (Goran Bregović).³² The problem with this strategy is that it rather caters for the Serbian middle class self-esteem and Western middle class longings for exoticism than for migrants. However, it is very successful and could play a pioneering role. Another strategy was to combine Western European club sounds and also Reggae elements with Balkan brass band music (Shantel, Bukovina Club). This strategy however is not only full of exotic stereotypes and directed towards Western tastes, but also very selective in the cultural strands it adopts from the Roma in Yugoslavia. Turkish and Albanian elements are being left out.

Therefore, I think that the ironic way of DJs to combine Turkish and Serbian and other Yugoslav 'folk pop' (including 'turbo folk') in night clubs have the advantage of being able to open up links to several migrant subcultures. This might pave the way to new alliances. Cultural practices can help gaining access, can help claim spaces, to represent and to identify oneself, to build up self-esteem and gain respect, by celebrating the cultural prod-

³¹ This term is partly inspired by Katja Diefenbach, "Wie orientalisierere ich mich selbst? Die Ethnisierung des Sozialen, der Nationalismus der Opposition und die Konflikte zwischen jugoslawischen NGOs und kosovo-albanischen Organisationen. Gespräch mit Obrad Savić", *Belgrad Interviews: Jugoslawien nach NATO-Angriff und 15 Jahren nationalistischem Populismus*, ed. by Katja Diefenbach, Berlin, B-books, 2000, 60–75.

³² Thanks to Danijela Špirić for a discussion of the character of *Bijelo dugme*.

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ucts that are available. This is especially true for music, because music transcresses spaces quickly – it is perhaps the cultural form best able to cross borders and to define places at the same time, as Simon Frith put it.³³ But maybe the most effective mixtures and strategies have yet to be developed. It remains to be seen where migrants can go to with 'folk pop'.

³³ Simon Frith, "Music and Identity", *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ... 108–127.