Routledge Global Popular Music Series

Made in Yugoslavia

Studies in Popular Music

Edited by **Danijela Š. Beard**
and **Ljerka V. Rasmussen**

Made in Yugoslavia

Made in Yugoslavia: Studies in Popular Music serves as a comprehensive and thorough introduction to the history, sociology, and musicology of popular music in Yugoslavia and the post-Yugoslav region across the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The book consists of chapters by leading scholars and covers the major figures, styles, and social contexts of music in the region that for most of the past century was known as Yugoslavia. Exploring the role played by music in Yugoslav art, culture, social movements, and discourses of statehood, this book offers a gateway into scholarly explanation of a key region in Eastern Europe. An introduction provides an overview and background on popular music in Yugoslavia, followed by chapters in four thematic sections: *Zabavna*-Pop; Rock, Punk, and New Wave; *Narodna* (Folk) and Neofolk Music; and the Politics of Popular Music Under Socialism.

Danijela Š. Beard is Associate Lecturer in Music at Cardiff University, UK. She was previously a lecturer in Music at Nottingham University and Early Career Fellow at the Institute of Musical Research (Royal Holloway, University of London).

Ljerka V. Rasmussen holds a PhD in ethnomusicology from Wesleyan University and is on the faculty of music at Tennessee State University, USA. She is the author of *Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia*.

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For Oskar, David, and my parents.
Danijela

To Anton and Beki, and to their grandparents and the musicians they loved.
Ljerka

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Series Foreword

Popular music studies have progressed from the initial focus on methodologies to exploring a variety of genres, scenes, works, and performers. British and North American music have been privileged and studied first, not only for their geographic and generational proximity to scholars, but also for their tremendous impact. Everything else has been often relegated to the dubious "world music" category, with a "folk" (or "roots," or "authentic") label attached.

However, world popular music is no less popular than rock 'n' roll, r&b, disco, rap, singer-songwriters, punk, grunge, brit-pop, or nu-gaze. It is no less full of history and passion, no less danceable, socially relevant, and commercialized. Argentinian tango, Brazilian *bossa nova*, Mexican *reggaeton*, Cuban *son* and *timba*, Spanish and Latin American *cantautores*, French *auteurs-compositeurs-interprètes*, Italian *cantautori* and electronic dance music, *J-pop*, German cosmic music and *Schlager*, Neapolitan Song, Greek *entechno*, Algerian *raï*, Ghanaian highlife, Portuguese *fado*, Nigerian *jùjú*, Egyptian and Lebanese Arabic pop, Israeli *mizrahit*, Indian *filmi* are just a few examples of locally and transnationally successful genres that, with millions of records sold, are an immensely precious key to understand different cultures, societies and economies.

More than in the past there is now a widespread awareness of the "other" popular music: however, we still lack access to the original sources, or to texts to rely on. The *Routledge Global Popular Music Series* has been devised to offer to scholars, teachers, students, and general readers worldwide a direct access to scenes, works, and performers that have been mostly not much or at all considered in the current literature, and at the same time to provide a better understanding of the different approaches in the field of non-Anglophone scholarship. Uncovering the wealth of studies flourishing in so many countries, inaccessible to those who do not speak the local language, is by now no less urgent than considering the music itself.

The series website (www.globalpopularmusic.net) includes hundreds of audio-visual examples which complement the volumes. The interaction with the website is intended to give a well-informed introduction to the world's popular music from entirely new perspectives, and at the same time to provide updated resources for the academic teaching.

The *Routledge Global Popular Music Series* aims ultimately to establish a truly international arena for a democratic musicology through authoritative and accessible books. We hope that our work will help the creation of a different polyphony of critical approaches, and that you will enjoy listening to and being part of it.

Franco Fabbri, *Conservatorio di Musica Arrigo Boito di Parma, Italy*
Goffredo Plastino, *Newcastle University, UK*
Series Editors

Preface

Why *Made in Yugoslavia*?

Nearly thirty years after its disintegration, Yugoslavia still evokes entrenched images of the Balkans as a hostile, conflict-prone region. This perception set Yugoslavia apart from the otherwise peaceful East European anti-communist revolutions of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Among the many perspectives on what caused Yugoslavia's disintegration – political, economic, social, cultural, religious – there was some consensus that it was a double failure, both as a multinational state and as a unique experiment in self-managed socialism. But beyond these popular narratives of violent dissolution and socialist utopia, there is a considerable cultural legacy that needs careful documentation and critical assessment. This is especially true for popular music produced in Yugoslavia, which is increasingly recognized as one of the most dynamic and diverse pop cultures in Central and Eastern Europe. Moreover, given that Yugoslav popular music has received only partial, often non-specialist treatment within an otherwise considerable academic scholarship on Yugoslavia's society and political system, the topic becomes even more important and timely. Notwithstanding the unease that surrounds the name Yugoslavia, evident in the array of alternative nomenclature seeking to replace or supplant it – Southeastern Europe, the Western Balkans, "the region" (*region*) – we believe that "*Yugoslav* popular music" is the most appropriate terminology for a volume that deals with music that arose and flourished during Yugoslavia's "second" existence, as the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ, 1945–91), and which continues to exert an influence within the region to this day.

The present volume constitutes an important collection of chapters by writers ranging from established academics and music journalists to music practitioners and younger emerging scholars from different regions of former Yugoslavia – today six independent countries and the Republic of Kosovo/Kosova.[1] Together they provide a broadly chronological overview of the main genres and local scenes across four decades of development, from the 1950s through to the late 1980s. Contributors discuss the many influences of European and American styles, ideas of modernity, and the critical roles these played in the creation of a domestic popular music. In particular, this is the first volume to address Yugoslavia's domestic pop, rock and unique neofolk genres on equal terms, and across the republican borders. Most of the authors also consider the continuing discourse on Yugoslav popular music within its post-socialist context, and examine its broader legacy beyond the individual ethnonational perspectives of the successor states. The evidence of this legacy abounds in numerous social media outlets, reissues of CD box sets, monographs, biographies, collaborations, and talent competitions that promote cross-regional connections. It is therefore within the context of a broad scholarly and popular consensus regarding the existence

of Yugoslavia as a generative cultural field that our volume has been prepared. This is not to advocate for a position that is not critically reflective, and many authors deal precisely with intricate questions of artistic freedom, government control, and nationalism. However, we believe that such concerns are equally relevant for popular music studies in any multinational society, and that the complex questions of ethnonational and supranational identities are not only pertinent to *Made in Yugoslavia*, but are at the heart of the globalist thrust of the entire *Made in* series.

Note

1. At the time of writing, Kosovo/Kosova has still not received full international recognition, and remains under the authority of the UN Interim Administration Mission.

Introduction

Reclaiming the Legacy of Yugoslav Popular Music

Danijela Š. Beard with Ljerka V. Rasmussen

Yugoslavia (lit. the land of Southern Slavs) was a country in Southeast Europe/the Western Balkans that existed for most of the twentieth century, first as a monarchy (1918–39) and then as a socialist state (1945–91), which is the focus of this volume. With an estimated population of approximately 22.4 million (according to the 1981 census), Yugoslavia was a multinational state with ethnically and culturally diverse communities comprising six socialist republics of the Yugoslav Federation: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia (with two autonomous provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina), and Slovenia. Its dissolution, accompanied by the violent wars of secession in the 1990s,[1] was played out on the international media stage and reinforced the perception of Yugoslavia as an artificial state plagued by ancient Balkan hatreds, with different ethnoreligious groups who were forced to coexist under the communist dictatorship of Josip Broz Tito. Although a convenient news hook that easily explained political grievances driven by nationalism at the time, the "ancient hatreds" thesis hardly accounts for the complexity of the Yugoslav political system, its lengthy period of stable and unified coexistence, and the multitude of reasons for its collapse, both internal and external (Ramet 2005, 1–34; see also Todorova 1997). The corresponding stereotype of a Balkan people full of love-hate passions, as captured in Emir Kusturica's films and Goran Bregović's music, became a readily marketed metaphor for the shared cultural heritage within former Yugoslavia. In addition, Cold-War misconceptions aligned Yugoslavia culturally with Communist Europe, even though it was part of the Soviet Bloc for only three years: following the split between Tito and Stalin in 1948, Yugoslavia was expelled from the Communist bloc, and soon after started developing its own form of self-managed socialism (*samoupravljanje*), unlike the rest of the satellite states whose governance was imposed by the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Yugoslavia developed a distinct economic model of market socialism based on a combination of workers' self-management, decentralization, social ownership, and increasing market mechanisms (see Lydall 1984); it fostered important economic and cultural ties with the United States and the West from the 1950s; it forged links with many countries of the developing world through the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961; and after Stalin's death, it re-established a profitable relationship with the Eastern Bloc.

Mapping Yugoslav Popular Music

In terms of popular culture, Western cultural influences were embraced as early as the 1950s, with jazz and rock 'n' roll becoming the main popular music imports in the 1950s and 1960s (Vučetić 2012a, 2012b; Vuletic 2012, 2015). In the 1960s, an entire popular music infrastructure was established (recording facilities, music festivals, broadcast media and press), which yielded remarkably rich and diverse music scenes in the late 1970s and 1980s. These developments facilitated the rise of *diskografija* (recording industry) and *estrada* in the 1970s – a term for the distinctly local entertainment and music show business industry – which, by the turn of the 1980s, generated one of the strongest music markets in Southeast Europe.[2] Within the unique geopolitical and cultural set up of Yugoslavia, a Western-style economy and socialist politics were played out through *estrada*, where megastars like pop-music heartthrob Zdravko Čolić, rock band Bijelo dugme, and neofolk icon Lepa Brena set the parameters for a lucrative industry and defined new meanings in socialist popular culture.

This volume explores three major genres of popular music: *zabavna*-pop, rock, and *narodna*-folk.[3] The term *popularna muzika/glazba* generally denotes Anglo-American or Western-style popular music, while the domestic label *zabavna muzika/glazba*[4] (lit. "entertainment music") refers to the Yugoslav equivalent. Initially *zabavna* music stood for the "light music" styles associated with *zabavna* music festivals (see Chapters 1 and 2), which over time became a catch-all industry label for a variety of popular music genres, from chansons to mainstream pop-rock styles. *Zabavna*-pop, as we refer to it in this volume, was often pitted against *novokomponovana narodna muzika* (newly composed folk music; NCFM), or more broadly "neofolk," both as a genre category used by the music industry and as a self-defining marker of urban rather than rural culture and musical tastes that neofolk signified.

Zabavna, rock, and *novokomponovana* music developed side by side throughout the 1970s. They were distinct genres, each promoted through more or less specialized broadcasts, and each supported by a different taste community. By the turn of the 1980s, "punks" (*pankeri*) and "new wavers" (*novovalci*) had successfully achieved artistic autonomy within the rock mainstream, and a few years later, the "folkies" (*narodnjaci*) were equally effective in bringing pop elements into the folk fold. For their part, *zabavnjaci* (*zabavna* musicians) also eagerly tapped into the riches of rock music and neofolk. However, due to the contentious cultural impact of *novokomponovana*, which triggered fears about the "folklorization" of Yugoslav popular music, *novokomponovana* was excluded from historiographic accounts of popular music, even though it played a critical role in the growth of *diskografija*, the music market, and mass media.

Croatian journalist Darko Hudelist (1984, 54) offered a rare and invaluable study in which he statistically documented the power of the Yugoslav music market during 1983, one of its peak years. He observed that folk music accounted for 58% of overall production shares, pop for 29%, and rock for 13%, thus providing a compelling counternarrative to the widespread pop-rock centered accounts of popular music in the former Yugoslavia. Regarding individual album sales in the same year, the top three artists selling between 800,000 to over 900,000 copies came from the *novokomponova* market (Miroslav Ilić and Lepa Brena) and *zabavna*-pop (Novi fosili), while the bestselling rock bands sold between 500,000 and nearly 800,000 copies (Azra and Riblja čorba).[5] *Estrada* observers attributed the unprecedented sales in the *novokomponovana* market to *hiperprodukcija* (lit. "overproduction"; market surplus), prompting concern about the "folkorization" of Yugoslavia's popular music as a whole. In short, the cross-pollination between genres had galvanized audiences and boosted the market, but for the pop culture intelligentsia

this was a worrisome development: populist folk gestures in rock music were particularly poorly received among rock music circles committed to the Western rock rubric of authenticity and the rebellious spirit.

By the late 1980s, neofolk became largely associated with the rising tide of nationalism. With the onset of military conflicts in the 1990s, production of *novokomponovana* was concentrated in Belgrade, beginning the genre's transformation into what is now known as *turbo-folk* – the most controversial style to emerge during the wars of secession. Beginning in the 2000s, *turbo-folk*'s "guilt-by-association" with the Serbian regime has been critically scrutinized (Rasmussen 2007, 89–90; Grujić 2009; Archer 2009), followed by nuanced interpretations of its broader cultural impact (Archer 2012) and studies on its impact within the post-Yugoslav diaspora (Thaden and Praetz 2014). Some authors even argue for the potentially transformative and emancipatory capacity of *turbo-folk* (Delić 2013; Čvoro 2014). Similarly, as *turbo-folk* became a music of choice for many groups of post-Yugoslav youth, along with contemporary Western pop, it has had a leveling effect, especially on the old folk/pop cultural divides that underscored social origin, class, and taste in socialist Yugoslavia. The semantics of *narodna*-folk has clearly shifted over time, from "newly composed" (*novokomponovana*) to *turbo-folk*, and onto contemporary "pop-folk." This new label, advanced by scholars and media industries more recently, reflects a cultural move away from the pejorative and political associations of the 1990s toward a greater alignment of regional folk production with global pop.

"*Ovo je zemlja za nas*" (This Is a Land for Us)

During the wars in the 1990s, many musicians from all genre camps – neofolk, *zabavna*, rock, and even traditional folk (*izvorna*) music – expressed explicit or tacit support for their new nationalist regimes. Popular music became an effective medium for political communication and contested identification, supported by the powerful state media (see Baker 2010). Famously, the folk-rock musician and soldier Marko Perković "Thompson" became synonymous with patriotic militarism and national chauvinism in Croatia (Ibid.; see also Pettan 1998, 22; Muršić 2011), while in Serbia *turbo-folk* was inextricably linked to the glorification of crime and nationalist xenophobia under Milošević's regime (Kronja 2001; Kupres 2004; see also Gordy 1999). These wartime efforts were underpinned by a clear ideological stance, one that linked Croatia to Western-style pop music, and Serbia and the eastern provinces to Balkan neofolk styles. The division, however, proved short-lived, and soon after the war neofolk and *zabavna* musicians saw renewed popularity in Croatia and Serbia, respectively (Baker 2007; Gotthardi Pavlovsky 2014; Petrov 2016).

While the nationalist music-making during the war has been widely addressed in the post-Yugoslav academic literature, narratives on popular music that promoted peace have received comparably little attention. Two projects from 1991 and 1992 are instructive in this regard. The first of these events was the Yugoslav anti-war rock concert titled "Yutel za Mir" (Yutel for Peace), which remains largely overlooked in academic and popular literature.[6] Held in Sarajevo's Zetra arena on July 28, 1991, at the time when the war had already begun in Slovenia and Croatia, the concert was organized and broadcast live by the short-lived TV station Yutel – the only pan-Yugoslav channel committed to the preservation of Yugoslavia, tolerance, and liberalism. Yutel's activities (1990–92) were seriously hampered by the rival mainstream republican and regional media, and the concert was consequently broadcast only in Bosnia and Macedonia; the other four services of the Yugoslav Broadcasting Agency (JRT), in Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro,

and Slovenia, refused to show it.[7] Despite the media blockade, the event remains the single most spontaneous celebration of Yugoslavia and peace, which garnered considerable attention, with some 30,000 people inside the venue and an estimated overflow of 100,000 outside.[8] It included live performances by the leading pop and rock bands from Serbia and Bosnia,[9] short messages read by prominent artists, writers, actors, comedians, politicians, sportsmen, miners, and representatives from various peace groups from across Yugoslavia, ending with a group performance of Yutel's band-aid song for peace "Ljubav je ([Samo u ljubav vjerujem])" (Love Is . . . ([I Only Believe in Love])), recorded by various Sarajevo pop-rock musicians for the occasion (see full recording details in the filmography). It was a rare event where the audio and visual markers still included prominently displayed Yugoslav flags – the tricolor with a red star – and an audience that spontaneously burst into chants of "Yugoslavia!" The participants directly attacked the politicians who were instigating the war (continued references to "them" underscored the anger of the pro-Yugoslav supporters in the arena), countered by a resolute commitment to peace and love. The entire repertoire reinforced these messages, and EKV's opening set was especially poignant in this regard: their vehement and charged delivery of "Zabranjujem" (I Forbid; from their 1991 album *Dum, dum*) underscored the anger directed at politicians ("I forbid all those traps of your vileness, I forbid that a touch of envy and illness becomes the end, this mustn't be the end"), was offset with the gentler "Zemlja" (Land; from their 1987 album *Ljubav* [Love]), which had a clear anti-nationalist message: "This is a land for us, this is a land for all our people . . ., this is a house for all our children."

The second project was the anti-war action Rimtutituki in Belgrade (Serbia), in Spring 1992, which culminated with anti-war demonstrations and a concert titled "SOS Peace, or Don't Count on Us" ("S.O.S. Mir, ili ne računajte na nas"). Rimtutituki was a composite supergroup made up of the members of three leading new wave bands: EKV, Električni orgazam, and Partibrejkers.[10] The group formed during the anti-mobilization movement in Belgrade, reflected in their name – an anagram for "Up Yours" (lit. "Turim ti kitu") in the local slang. They recorded the single "Slušaj 'vamo" (Listen Here), co-released by the PGP RTB label and Radio B92, the latter a rare outlet for Western and Yugoslav news during Milošević's regime, and a catalyst for the many demonstrations that took place in Belgrade during the 1990s (see Collin 2001). The single was promoted on March 9, 1992, from an improvised stage made on a truck-trailer, which toured the city with Rimtutituki performing and giving out free CDs. The second performance was a larger live concert at the Republic Square on April 14, put on after the war had begun in Bosnia. Yet even though it was attended by some 30,000 people, the event had no coverage on Belgrade TV (pers. comm. with one of the organizers, Petar Popović, 8 February 2018).

These two concerts in Sarajevo and Belgrade attest to high-profile efforts to disseminate anti-war messages by like-minded rock musicians and media organizers,[11] who worked against the nationalist blockade on the entire media space in the early 1990s.[12] As the war took hold, rock musicians, many of whom spent the 1980s openly questioning and mocking the socialist system, now realigned themselves in defense of Yugoslavia and against nationalist separatist forces that were tearing the country apart. This investment in Yugoslavia marked an entire generation who used popular music to fight for a common cultural legacy, which the journalist Ante Perković dubbed a "Seventh Republic" (Perković 2018) – a spiritual and cultural space characterized by shared experiences and products rather than a territory bounded by borders. Those experiences and products, argues Perković, cannot be ascribed to a single ethnic group after the dissolution of Yugoslavia because they are "a hybrid fruit of one large state with five-to-six big cities" (Ibid., 179).[13] Perković's Seventh Republic ultimately connects the six "real" (geopolitical) republics into

Figure 0.1 Rimtutituki concert, Republic Square, Belgrade (April 14, 1992). Image from Petar Popović's private collection.

an imaginary supranational, predominantly Serbo-Croatian sphere of popular culture, characterized by the dynamic networks of activities across major urban centers that forged a common cultural capital. (He identifies the Belgrade-Zagreb-Sarajevo axis, but Ljubljana, Skopje, Novi Sad, Rijeka, and many other towns also played important roles in these networks.) He writes:

> Between Zagreb and Belgrade, a different worldview was created since the 1960s, with a special momentum in the last decade of the shared country's existence [the 1980s] – a utopian land in which different nations and traditions don't have to be a problem but a comparative advantage. . . . Until the end of the 1980s there really was an invisible seventh republic in the SFRJ: supranational, trans-territorial and unlimited.
>
> (Perković 2018, 22)

More importantly perhaps, Perković's Seventh Republic reveals the shifting identification with the very idea of Yugoslavia. Until the late 1980s, pop and rock musicians (especially punk and new wave) had increasingly avoided or criticized organized politics – initially communism and later nationalism. They defined their Yugoslav belonging through a common sense of cultural, spiritual, and social affinity entrenched in music and popular culture, and not in political ideology. But as these values became attacked by the nationalists, somewhat ironically, Yugoslavia gained new symbolic power for popular musicians, urban audiences, and the like-minded middle classes: the very music that in some cases had been created in opposition to the socialist ideological worldview was now used to defend those ideals. Moreover, since the millennium, Yugoslavia's

pop culture capital has gained a new lease on life, aided by the new climate that ensued following the death of the Croatian president Franjo Tuđman in 1999 and the collapse of Milošević's regime in Serbia in 2000. As Perković notes:

> The Seventh Republic still exists and has started to work on some new basis, whereby the mutual advantages and disadvantages from the former Yugoslavia are starting to complement each other; Zagreb audiences are once again finding Belgrade bands interesting and vice versa. Sarajevo and Bosnia serves as a certain intersection of those forces, hence over the past twenty years the most interesting performers have come from there [Edo Majka, Dubioza kolektiv]. As soon as the politics are removed, and slowly they are evading that cultural sphere . . . the collaboration becomes stronger, which is maybe even simpler now that everybody has their own state.
>
> (Ibid., 179)

"Yu Pop" as Cultural Capital: Nostalgia and Reconciliation

Two concepts have become especially commonplace in the post-Yugoslav discourse on Yugoslav popular music: nostalgia – and more specifically Yugonostalgia – and reconciliation. Yugonostalgia, which is part of a broader phenomenon of nostalgia for the socialist past in Eastern Europe (Boym 2001; Todorova and Gille 2012), denotes a bittersweet yearning for the Yugoslav socialist past, and its utopian projection onto the unsatisfying present, following the conflicts of the 1990s and the unsteady transition from the socialist to a capitalist world. These nostalgic memories range from President Tito's charismatic leadership and political accomplishments (also known as Titostalgia; see Velikonja 2008) to economic welfare and prosperity, social security, cultural cooperation and solidarity, free travel afforded by the respected "red passport," and specific consumer products. Even though the region's nationalist ideologues dismiss Yugonostalgia as an anachronistic, disillusioned, and biased defense of the "fifty years of communist darkness," for many it is bounded with a discourse on normalcy (*normalan život* [the normal life]) that recalls economic security and social coexistence. Most scholars also recognize the commodification of Yugonostalgia produced through the manipulation of memory and consumerism, especially with regards to Yugoslav cultural products and the figure of Tito. Correspondingly, Velikonja makes a distinction between a "culture of nostalgia" created for commercial profit and a "nostalgic culture" that has a potentially emancipatory capacity (Ibid.; Petrović 2013). Still, for most scholars Yugonostalgia is recognized as a powerful ideological tool, an engaged emancipatory discourse that allows people to retain or re-establish shared values, to promote cooperation and ultimately reconciliation (see Lindstrom 2005; Pauker 2006; Volčić 2007; Luthar and Pušnik 2010, 16–21; Maksimović 2017).

Popular culture is arguably the strongest arena through which reconciliation is taking place across the former Yugoslavia, and it serves not only as an important tool for reconciliation but also as a barometer of its progress (Pauker 2006, 79). In terms of popular music, some of these projects include the publication and commercial success of various encyclopedias and lexicons that deal with popular culture and music in the former Yugoslavia;[14] numerous internet domains and outlets for "ex-Yu music"; renewed touring and concerts across successor states (Petrov 2016; see also Baker 2006), including reunion concerts by the most popular rock band in the former Yugoslavia, Bijelo dugme (see Pauker 2006, and Petrov in this volume); reissues of music albums and numerous box sets on Yugoslav pop and rock music, especially by Croatia Records (formerly Jugoton); new DIY record labels that are harnessing Yugoslavia's underground rock legacy, such

as Ljubljana's Moonlee Records (Nash 2016); various cross-regional singing contests, including Zvezde Granda, X Factor Adria, and Idol; renewed cross-regional collaboration between artists and media outlets (for instance, the Serbian rock band Garibor, who launched their career in Croatia in 2006 following success at the Art&Music festival in Pula, which led to a recording contract with the label Dancing Bear (Perković 2018, 99–100). In short, the legacy of Yugoslav popular music continues to be promoted over individual ethnonational perspectives across print and digital media, and various social media platforms, all highlighting this shared heritage as "Yugoslav," often also referred to as "Balkan" or "from the *region*."

Popular Music Studies in Yugoslavia

Popular music studies in Yugoslavia is a post-Yugoslav development. During Yugoslavia's existence musicologists generally ignored the subject,[15] shielding themselves behind the Adornian rubric of the illegitimacy of popular culture, although some sociologists, ethnologists, and other scholars interested in cultural studies ventured into areas of popular culture, including music. An early monograph by Ivan Čolović, *Wild Literature: An Ethnolinguistic Study of Paraliterature* (*Divlja književnost: Etnolingvističko proučavanje paraliterature*, 1984), addressed neofolk culture, but there were no comparable scholarly works for *zabavna*-pop and rock music. Two publications, spearheaded by governmental organizations, fruitfully merged scholarly and journalistic approaches with discussion of cultural policy: the booklet-size study *Pop Music and Youth Culture: A Survey of Rock Concert Audiences* (*Pop glazba i kultura mladih: Sondažno istraživanje publike rock-koncerata*, 1978), was the first to address the sociocultural significance of popular music, based on field research of audiences at two Zagreb concerts, one in 1976 by the Rolling Stones and another in 1978 by Bijelo dugme; and *The Music Industry of SR Croatia* (*Diskografija u SR Hrvatskoj*, 1984), offered a comprehensive coverage of Croatian mass media, music production and cultural policy across a variety of popular music genres.

Despite the paucity of academic studies, Yugoslavs produced exceptionally robust journalism on popular music and culture, which effectively laid the foundation for a historiography of popular music (see Chapter 5). Besides the main magazine dedicated to rock music, *Džuboks*, leading music journalists and cultural commentators compiled several invaluable books: an illustrated anthology of the new wave surge at the turn of the 1980s titled *On the Other Side: An Almanac of New Wave in the SFRJ* (*Drugom stranom: Almanah novog talasa u SFRJ*, 1981), the first Yugoslav rock biography *Nothing Wise: Bijelo Dugme* (*Ništa mudro: Bijelo dugme*, 1981) by Darko Glavan and Dražen Vrdoljak, and Petar Luković's interview-based monograph on pop, rock, and neofolk music titled *The Better Past: Scenes from Musical Life in Yugoslavia, 1940–1989* (*Bolja prošlost*: *Prizori iz muzičkog života Jugoslavije, 1940–1989*, 1989). A timely translation of Dick Hebdige's *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (1979) into Serbo-Croatian (*Potkultura: Značenje stila* 1980), Darko Glavan's book on punk, *Punk: Totally Offensive Negation of the Classic* (*Punk: Potpuno uvredljivo negiranje klasike*, 1980), and a collection of essays on East European subcultures in *Subcultures* (*Potkulture*, 1989) also illustrated the interest in subcultural studies. More broadly, an array of print outlets, from daily newspapers, political magazines, and the youth press through mass media and popular-culture weeklies, provided dedicated coverage of popular music events, including critical album reviews.

In the post-Yugoslavia period, academic studies have generally focused on specific successor states and/or genres: *zabavna* (Baker 2010; Vuletic 2008, 2012), rock (Mišina 2013; Žikić 1999) and neofolk (Rasmussen 2002; Hofman 2011). These studies coincided with a considerable

resurgence of scholarship on Yugoslav culture over the past two decades, with monographs published by leading academic publishers on more balanced perspective on Yugoslavia's unique form of socialism, as seen in chapters on popular culture and music (Luthar and Pušnik 2010; Duraković and Matošević 2013; Jakiša and Gilić 2015; Archer, Duda, and Stubbs 2016; Spasovska 2017; Baker 2018). It is within this dynamic scholarly context that we have prepared our volume, which is the first scholarly study of Yugoslav popular music that brings together a cross-generational and multidisciplinary team of authors who deal with different genres and regions. Our volume offers a comprehensive study of the three main music scenes – *zabavna*, rock, and neofolk (*novokomponovana*) – which are for the first time considered to equally constitute the broad field of popular music in Yugoslavia.

Our primary consideration has been the pan-national impact of the regional and local scenes and artists, forged through the most representative voices. Although we have made every effort to achieve comprehensive coverage, certain regions, artists, and genres have necessarily received more treatment; complete coverage of localized scenes would have required much more space. Furthermore, as editors we have had to make certain creative compromises influenced by the availability of authors and their scholarly interests. Ultimately, the present volume speaks clearly of the representational power of popular music: it provides the first full-length academic study rooted in ethnography and music analysis, critically assesses the sociocultural impact of popular music in socialist Yugoslavia, and is the first scholarly volume to explore the cross-regional connections of popular music *made in* and *during* socialist Yugoslavia.

Notes

1. The breakup of Yugoslavia included a series of wars that led to the independence of individual Republics: The Ten Day War in Slovenia (1991) and the longer wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991–95) against the Serbian-led army, although in Bosnia and Herzegovina the infighting was also between Croats and Bosniaks; and the Kosovo conflict that involved Serbian military assault against Albanian armed resurgence in the Kosovo province, which precipitated the NATO bombing of Serbia (1999). Macedonia peacefully declared its independence in 1991 and was initially renamed the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRM), and since 2019 the Republic of North Macedonia. Montenegro and Serbia continued a coalition as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until Montenegro declared its independence in 2006.
2. For a comparative assessment of Yugoslavia's music market and infrastructure, and European and American industries, see Dubravko Majnarić, in *Diskografija u SR Hrvatskoj* (1984, 66–69).
3. Jazz (*džez*) was an important source for the early development of *zabavna* music in the 1950s (see Arnautović 2012, 103–21; Vučetić 2012b). Although this early jazz scene does not receive full-length coverage in this volume, a number of authors touch upon the incorporation of jazz within *zabavna* and rock genres.
4. *Muzika* is used in Bosnian and Herzegovinian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Serbian; *glazba/glasba* in Croatian and Slovenian, respectively; *muzikë* in Albanian.
5. Writers often cite sales figures from accounts by popular music journalists. The industry data were not publically available, and there was also the issue of accuracy and reliability of data. The Hudelist study is exceptional in that it draws on the data from the record labels reported to SOKOJ (The Union of Composers' Associations of Yugoslavia), and is probably the most reliable account of record sales in Yugoslav *estrada* in the 1980s.
6. The exception is the project "Zetra: Days of Hope," a crowdsourcing campaign carried out by a group of German journalists (some from former Yugoslavia) in 2016, with a view to shedding more light on the concert itself and the largely overlooked peace movement in Yugoslavia. The website contains 38 recollections by members of the audience who attended the concert (see www.zetraproject.com/bhs).
7. Yugoslav Radio-Television (JRT), founded in 1958, was the national public broadcasting network. It comprised six republican and two provincial broadcast houses, each headquartered in and named after its capital (e.g., Radio Television Ljubljana, Radio Television Novi Sad). Broadcasting was conducted in Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Slovenian. Republican broadcast services, which functioned relatively autonomously, were organized around the main channels, Programs 1, 2, and 3, and Urban Radio's Program 202. Urban Radio expanded significantly over time to include commercially oriented radio outlets and numerous local radio stations that developed throughout the country. Television broadcasting was carried out via all three channels.
8. According to estimates by the TV commentators during the broadcast.

9. These included the bands Ekatarina Velika (EKV), Crvena jabuka, Istok iza, Plavi orkestar, Hari Mata Hari, Dino Merlin, Indexi, Bajaga, Regina, Goran Bregović of Bijelo dugme, Nele Karajlić of Zabranjeno pušenje, and the neofolk singer Haris Džinović. Singers from Croatia did not participate as most professed their loyalty to Croatia and its War of Independence, turning to patriotic songs that were commissioned, financed, and aired by Croatian national television. See Pettan 1998; Sikavica 2017.
10. Rambo Amadeus was also meant to be part of the project but did not make the rehearsals and recording sessions.
11. While nationalism is usually linked to neo-folk scenes, many *zabavna* and some rock musicians were also active supporters of nationalist causes, notably Bora Đorđević in Serbia and Prljavo kazalište in Croatia.
12. Two other efforts from 1993 that took place abroad also stand out. The little known Radio Brod (Radio Ship) project, funded by the European Union, was a radio station set up on a ship that sailed the Adriatic waters, broadcasting programs near the Croatian coast (Dalmatia), Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina – areas that were closed off from any cross-regional communication. The project brought together the best journalists from across former Yugoslavia, and the Croatian new wave musician Darko Rundek as its music director (formerly of Haustor, today of Cargo Orchestra), who provided news and music to audiences who were otherwise cut off from each other. The other project was a series of anti-war concerts organized in Prague and Berlin titled "Ko to tamo pjeva?" (Who's That Singing Over There?), where the Belgrade bands EKV, Električni orgazam and Partibrejkers performed with Vještice from Zagreb, and whose shared motto was "to exchange songs, not bullets." See also Mijatovic 2008, who analyzes several rock songs and artists who provided a powerful political critique of Serbia in the 1990s.
13. From Perković's interview with Aleksandar Dragaš for *Jutaranji list* (July 2011), which is reprinted in the book.
14. *Leksikon Yu Mitologije* (Lexicon of Yu Mythology, 2004) and *Ex YU Rock Enciklopedija, 1960–2006* (Ex Yu Rock Encyclopaedia 1960–2006, 2007). *Lexicon*, in particular, has become an unambiguously political statement by (ex-) Yugoslavs who seek to preserve their social history through public memory (Pauker 2006, 74). In 1989, the writer Dubravka Ugrešić and the editors of *Start* magazine, Dejan Kršić and Ivan Molek, initiated *Lexicon* as a collaborative venture. They called for ordinary readers (rather than a panel of experts) to write about everyday life in Yugoslavia since 1945, to be published as a collection of key concepts about homegrown (*domaća*) popular culture. The project was brought to a halt during the 1990s only to be revived in 2001, initially as an internet portal and then as a book co-published in 2004 by Rende in Belgrade and Postscriptum in Zagreb. The publishers noted their surprise at the sheer volume of responses, with entries submitted by people of different ages and professions from across the world (see *Lexicon*'s website). *Lexicon*'s mix of high and low culture marked its considerable reception, ranging from harmless sentimental remembrance and therapeutic tool for "decontaminating memories about Yugoslavia" to the cult status that made it a subject of considerable academic research (see Ibid.; Bošković 2013).
15. For a rare musicological account see Andrej Rijavec (1981), "Towards Understanding the Traits of American Popular Music in South Eastern Europe."

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Discography

Rimtutituki. "Slušaj 'vamo." PGP RTB 110047, 1992, 45 rpm.

Filmography

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PART I
Zabavna-pop

Beyond the Balkans, Yugoslavia's popular music invariably raises a question: how could Yugoslavia, a communist state, create a thriving commercial music industry and embrace Western market principles when such an approach was theoretically at odds with the communist ideology and state socialism? The answer is by producing a form of homegrown popular music – termed *zabavna muzika* or *glazba* (lit. "entertainment" music) – which embodied the idealized concept of popular culture at home, but that also bolstered Yugoslavia's international image as the most liberal communist state in Europe. *Zabavna*-pop, to use the term we propose in this volume, stands for the "mainstream" popular music of Yugoslavia. Because it had neither the subversive connotations of jazz and rock nor the "kitsch" (*šund*) qualities ascribed to commercial *narodna*-folk, it was hailed as the most politically and stylistically suitable form of entertainment, one that best corresponded with the aspirational middle-class concept of socialist culture. With strong state support and rapid development of institutional infrastructure, namely through the founding of *zabavna* music festivals in the 1950s, backed by the national radio and television networks, *zabavna*-pop evolved into a fully-fledged entertainment industry (*estrada*) by the 1970s, with megastars who sold millions of records – a capitalist/consumerist mode of operation that distinguished Yugoslavia from much of the Eastern Bloc.

Stylistically, *zabavna*-pop initially developed through emulation and creative responses to dominant European genres such as Italian *canzone*, French *chanson*, and German *schlager*, as well as Russian *romansa* and American crooners. Dalmatian *klapa* group singing and the *starogradska* (old-urban) variety of music, rooted in local traditions beyond the Serbo-Croatian nexus (namely in Macedonia, Slovenia, and Vojvodina), contributed to the regional diversity of *zabavna* style. As it grew into an exportable domestic product, especially into the Eastern Bloc, *zabavna* served as a model for the commercial rise of newly composed folk music (*novokomponovana narodna muzika*), a process that reversed during the 1980s when neofolk producers and singers forayed into both *zabavna*-pop and rock cultures.

The first two chapters in this section interrogate the institutional and aesthetic foundations of Yugoslavia's *zabavna* music. Jelena Arnautović analyzes the evolution of the *zabavna* scene through a comparative study of two megastars from the 1950s and 1970s (Đorđe Marjanović and Zdravko Čolić), illustrating how the mechanics of the pop music industry shifted from the emulation of European and American models to a homegrown *estrada* music business. Anita Buhin continues this theme but looks more specifically at the lucrative links between *zabavna* and Yugoslav tourism, one of the main drivers of the country's economy. Buhin explores how Adriatic coastal culture was fashioned as a symbol of "European" and "civilizing" effects on Yugoslavia's culture during the 1950s and 1960s, and argues that the creation of *zabavn*a was part of Yugoslavia's policy of "exporting" coastal culture designed to showcase the diversity and optimistic visions of its socialist program of development.

The other two chapters in this section deal with ways in which *zabavna* intersected with other genres. Vesna Andree Zaimović looks at how Sarajevo's specific cultural milieu, with its brisk social commentary and humor shaped the lasting legacy of the Sarajevo pop-rock scene. In this competing, pluralist environment, *zabavna* is an adaptive, responsive form, and artists associated with it consciously blurred the lines between pop and rock. By contrast, Irena Paulus explores *zabavna*-pop as a more inward facing, soul-searching form of personal and social critique. Focusing on the chanson-inspired aesthetic of the celebrated singer-songwriter Arsen Dedić, Paulus considers how his work as a film composer attests not only to his musical versatility but also that of *zabavna* music more broadly, with songs that combine a timeless mix of satire, critical commentary, and intellectual acuity. Together these four authors analyze how *zabavna*-pop not only reflected regional and stylistic diversity but also laid the very foundations for a music industry in the former Yugoslavia.