



Music with a Message

Words, Music and Propaganda 2

Editors
Tomaž Onič
Urša Šivic
Teja Turk

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Editors Tomaž Onič

Uredniki (University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts)

Urša Šivic

(ZRC SAZU, Institute of Ethnomusicology)

Teja Turk

(ZRC SAZU, Institute of Ethnomusicology)

Review Janko Trupej

Recenzija (Booking.com Ljubljana, d. o. o.)

Katja Plemenitaš

(University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts)

Language editing Michelle Gadpaille

Jezikovni pregled (University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts)

Tjaša Mohar

(University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts)

Tehnical editors Jan Perša

Technična urednika (University of Maribor, University of Maribor Press)

Marina Bajić

(University of Maribor, University of Maribor Press)

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Table of Contents

	Voices that Persuade Tomaž Onič, Victor Kennedy	1
1	Fighting Words: an Overview of the History of Politicization of American Folk Music David Livingstone	7
2	The Myth of the Outlaw in Mexican and North American Border Music Victor Kennedy	23
3	Sodba, kategorija jezika vrednotenja, v slovenski narodnozabavni glasbi The Appraisal Category of Judgement in Slovene Folk-Pop Music Agata Križan	45
4	Counterpropaganda in Selected Alternative Rock and Metal Music Tadej Todorović	69
5	Kritična analiza diskurza v korpusu rap pesmi v povezavi z družbenimi razmerji v ideologiji petodstotnih A Critical Textual Analysis of a Rap Song Corpus in Relation to Social Relations in the Ideology of the Five Percenters Jožef Kolarič	85
6	Sounds of Resistance: A Socio-Political Critique of Post-war Croatia Through the Lenses of Music Ana Marković	103
7	Opposing Roles of Female Archetypes in Anti-Church Propaganda in Hozier's "Take me to Church" and Phillip Pullman's "His Dark Materials" Katja Težak	129
8	Unveiling Propaganda in National Anthems as a Teaching Tool in the EFL Classroom Bernarda Leva	147

9	The Power of Words in Disney's Songs Tjaša Mohar, Martina Gramc	173
10	Primerjalna analiza vplivov festivala Sanremo in Evrovizije na zabavno glasbo A Comparative Analysis of Impact of the Sanremo Festival and the Eurosong Contest on Popular Music Kristian Kolar	195
11	"Whoopee! We're All Gonna Die!": The Inimitability of Woodstock Marina Bajić	215
12	Stay Sane Inside Insanity: The Occult Classical and The Propagation of Hedonistic Insanity in <i>The Rocky Horror Picture Show</i> Noemi Čop	231
13	Advocating for the New Woman: the Linguistic Aspect of Eliza's Speech in the Maribor Production of My Fair Lady Nastja Prajnč Kacijan, Tomaž Onič	249



Voices that Persuade

TOMAŽ ONIČ, VICTOR KENNEDY

Apart from its role in relaxation and entertainment, music holds other influential, yet not always obvious roles in society: it conveys messages, promotes ideas, and provides critical reflections on the world. While often celebrated for its aesthetic or emotional value, music also exerts considerable rhetorical power, expressed through the lyrics as well as through the melody. Music operates on both emotional and cognitive levels, making it a powerful cultural tool. In *Music with a Message: Words, Music, and Propaganda 2*, the authors explore the intersection between music and its message, and examine how music across genres, periods, and cultures has served as a means of influence.

While most people think of songs and music as entertainment, music has long been used as a powerful tool for propaganda. It can evoke emotions, foster a sense of unity, express satirical opinions, and help disseminate ideas to a wide audience. It thus overlaps with the domain of propaganda, which is a complex and contested term—not limited to authoritarian manipulation. Propaganda can be overt or covert, state or grassroots, coercive or inspiring. Music fills many of these roles when used for persuasive purposes: it can unite or divide, uplift or manipulate, empower or indoctrinate. It plays a role in both nation-building and resistance movements. During wartime, governments often use music to instill a sense of national pride and

identity with anthems, patriotic songs, and military marches, to boost morale, recruit soldiers, persuade people to support the war effort, celebrate victories, and vilify opponents. In peacetime, music is used to promote specific political parties, extolling the virtues of a particular ideology, or condemning opposing viewpoints. Propaganda music is often used to marginalize racial or religious minorities, to create a sense of "us versus them," and promote discrimination. Music is often used to glorify and idolize political leaders, enhance their cult of personality, and to heighten emotions at rallies and campaign events. Governments can control music to suppress dissenting voices or censor ideas deemed undesirable, ensuring that only approved messages are disseminated. On the other hand, protest music is the inverse of state-sponsored propaganda, a form of grassroots propaganda used to challenge the status quo.

Even in non-political contexts, the entertainment industry can subtly promote certain ideologies, values, or norms through the music used in films, TV shows, and advertisements. Even seemingly apolitical music can reflect or perpetuate ideologies such as capitalism, nationalism, and more.

It is important to recognize the power of music as a medium for persuasion and be critical of the messages it conveys. Music amplifies propaganda through repetition, emotion, performance, and symbolic language. It has thus been a powerful force in swaying emotions and shaping opinions, so understanding its role in propaganda can help individuals make more informed judgments about the messages they encounter.

In the age of media saturation, the ideological function of music is more diffuse and pervasive than ever. Streaming platforms, global fandoms, and viral trends have changed how music circulates ideologies. Modern examples, such as protest songs and Eurovision show how music operates in public discourse.

Music has long stood at the crossroads of art and ideology. While often celebrated for its aesthetic value or emotional resonance, it also holds potent rhetorical power—its rhythms and refrains can act as vehicles for persuasion, unity, dissent, and control. In *Music with a Message: Words, Music, and Propaganda 2*, we explore the intersection of sound and message, examining how music across genres, periods, and cultures has served as a tool of influence and ideological negotiation.

The key thematic threads underlying the efficacy of music as propaganda discussed by the authors in this volume are Myth & Identity: music and songs can construct, disseminate, and maintain cultural myths of nation, heroism, and resistance; Language & Discourse: lyrics embed ideologies through rhetorical and poetic choices; Context & Reception: musical meaning shifts with time, place, and audience, and can be adapted, appropriated, and misappropriated; and Hegemony & Resistance: music can support or challenge dominant ideologies.

This volume comprises thirteen chapters that approach music and propaganda through a wide variety of lenses—linguistic, cultural, historical, pedagogical, and political—spanning genres from folk to metal, platforms from national anthems to pop festivals, and contexts from 18th-century America to post-war Croatia. The volume does not reduce propaganda to a single definition, but explores its various manifestations, whether explicit or embedded, hegemonic or resistant, state-sponsored or grassroots.

The opening two chapters consider the historical construction of political identity and resistance through folk and popular music. David Livingstone's overview of the politicization of American folk music traces a trajectory from anonymous historical ballads to the clear-eyed activism of 20th-century figures like Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger. Victor Kennedy's exploration of the "Myth of the Outlaw" in North American and Mexican border music reveals how mythmaking in music shapes, confirms, and challenges national and cultural identities, particularly in light of border politics and immigration discourses.

Three chapters offer linguistic and discourse-based readings of propaganda in lyrics, illuminating how language constructs ideology. Tadej Todorović uses speech act analysis to distinguish propaganda from counterpropaganda in rock and metal, while Jožef Kolarič and Agata Križan explore ideological encoding in rap lyrics and Slovenian *narodnozabavna glasba* (folk-pop music), respectively, focusing on evaluative language and intertextuality.

Two authors explore regional and post-conflict contexts, where music becomes a mirror to national trauma, social criticism, and collective identity. Ana Marković's study of socially engaged music in post-war Croatia demonstrates how local songwriters address corruption, societal decay, and Balkan identity through their work. Marina Bajić reflects on the transformation of Woodstock, the defining

musical event of the sixties—from a utopian peace festival to a site of generational epiphany and disillusionment—highlighting the mutable symbolism of music festivals.

The tension between tradition and transformation also recurs, particularly in chapters dealing with performance and adaptation. Katja Težak and Nastja Prajnč Kacijan with Tomaž Onič explore how musical theatre and popular songs encode ideological critique or advocacy. Težak investigates anti-Church propaganda through female archetypes in Hozier's song "Take Me to Church" and Philip Pullman's fantasy trilogy *His Dark Materials*, while Prajnč and Onič analyse the linguistic construction of the "New Woman" in the Maribor, Slovenia production of *My Fair Lady*, revealing both the production's feminist potential and its limitations.

Two authors address the global and pedagogical potential of music as a site of ideological transmission. Bernarda Leva proposes national anthems as a compelling entry point for teaching EFL students about propaganda and ideology, while Kristian Kolar examines the influence of the Sanremo and Eurovision festivals on Yugoslav pop music, showing how cultural diplomacy and entertainment intersected in socialist and post-socialist Europe.

The volume also looks at countercultural expressions of identity and dissent. Noemi Čop's analysis of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* reads its queer-coded imagery, Bacchanalian symbolism, and rebellious rock n' roll musical language as a celebration of hedonism and resistance against normative values, spotlighting the subversive power of "camp" and cult cinema.

Together, these thirteen chapters demonstrate that music is never just music. It is always entangled in one way or another in the sociopolitical frameworks of its production and reception. Whether used to promote national unity, resist authority, reimagine gender roles, or critique injustice, songs and music function as a site of contestation where values are performed, confirmed, challenged, and reconfigured.

The authors of this volume invite the reader to listen closely—not only to melodies, rhythms, and lyrics, but also to the embedded meanings, silences, and ideological undercurrents that music carries. It is a call to tune into the messages behind the

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¹ Adapted into a BBC television series 2019-2022.

music—and to better understand the cultural, political, and emotional forces that shape the soundtrack of our lives.

FIGHTING WORDS: AN OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF POLITICIZATION OF AMERICAN FOLK MUSIC

DAVID LIVINGSTONE

Palacký University Olomouc, Faculty of Arts, Olomuc, Czechia david.livingstone@upol.cz

American folk music is currently associated with the singer-songwriter, on stage with a guitar, articulating his or her views on topical issues of the day. This has not always been so. Throughout the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, folk songs were largely apolitical and anonymous, although often referring to topical developments such as disasters, battles, and murders. The approach changed, however, with the arrival of seminal folk musicians like Pete Seeger and Woody Guthrie in the 1930s and 1940s. This chapter will explore the evolution of political folk music from the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) up to the early 1960s. The focus will be on songs that refer to key political events and take a clear stand on the issue at hand, including the American Civil War, Slavery, the Great Depression, and the Civil Rights Movement.

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This chapter explores how folk/popular music has turned political at times in an attempt to address key historical and societal developments in American history. The analysis will examine songs from the late eighteenth century to the early 1960s.² The songs analysed responded to events such as military conflict, slavery, social injustice, unemployment, exploitation, and natural disasters. Folk songs dealing with at least some of these topics have been around for centuries all over the world, but have mostly been apolitical in nature, often fatalistic in response to injustice or evil. The songs discussed here have attempted, to greater and lesser degrees, to fight, to take a stance and to take sides in a historical conflict or development.

The origins of one the most well-known and beloved American folk songs, "Yankee Doodle," are, like many old folk songs, difficult to determine. The melody has been traced to precursors from various regions of Europe. The song, however, became emblematic of the American War of Independence (1775–1783) and the immediately preceding events. Several variants of this song exist, but I focus here on the most well-known. The first verse is unremarkable, describing soldiers preparing for battle under the leadership of a Captain Gooding. Later, however, General Washington is referred to:

Father and I went down to camp, Along with Captain Gooding; And there we saw the men and boys, As thick as hasty pudding.

The second verse, which appears to be a later addition, has now become the most famous part of the song.

Yankee Doodle went to town, A-riding on a pony, Stuck a feather in his cap And called it macaroni.³

² One could easily continue with a breadth of relevant material for analysis, in particular anti-war songs in the second half of the 1960s and punk rock, rap and hip-hop in the 1970s. Given length limitations, however, the first half of the 1960s was chosen as the cut-off point. This music has also been analyzed in depth elsewhere.

³ The texts of traditional folk songs are taken from the classic collections compiled by John and Alan Lomax.

The lyrics are said to have been created by British soldiers to mock the rustic nature of their colonial counterparts. The word "Yankee," arguably of Dutch origin, had become derogatory when used in reference to Americans by the late eighteenth century. The words describe a country bumpkin who tries to affect the airs of a gentleman, but who can afford only a feather for his cap instead of the stylish "macaroni," a term for the elaborate wigs worn by sophisticated Europeans. The word "doodle" insults his lack of taste and intelligence . Similarly, riding a pony, implies that he cannot afford, or doesn't have the ability, to ride a real horse. The song is also understood to be a condescending comment on the Americans' lack of stylish uniforms, unlike the well-dressed British "redcoats":

Yankee doodle, keep it up, Yankee doodle dandy; Mind the music and the step, And with the girls be handy.

This chorus is said to have been added by the Americans in response to the belittling tone of the earlier verse, inverting the negative labelling and turning the insult into a compliment. The new lyrics celebrate the Americans' democracy and egalitarianism, as opposed to pompous British elitism. No longer an uncultured rube, Yankee Doodle is now a charmer, popular with girls, living his best life. In *The Penguin Book of Folk Songs*, Alan Lomax quotes a British soldier who wrote that, "After the affair at Bunker's Hill, the Americans glory in it. "Yankee Doodle" is now their paean, played in their army... After our rapid successes it was not a little mortifying to hear them play this tune when their army marched down to our surrender" (Lomax 1964, 23).

"Yankee Doodle" became an unofficial anthem for the American soldiers during the Revolutionary War and remains among the most iconic songs in the national consciousness. It is the official anthem of the state of Connecticut, and has become a stalwart classic on the soundtrack for many historical American films and documentaries. It provides a vivid portrait of the social dynamics of late eighteenth-century America, while also providing a basis for discussing the evolution of the term "Yankee," which underwent a shift in meaning later in the nineteenth century, becoming a reference to someone from the northern states, and a further shift in the second half of the twentieth century to a derogatory term for Americans abroad.

John Shaw, in *This Land That I Love* argues that this Yankee Doodle approach has since become a defining feature of country music, and American culture in general, celebrating our rural, diverse identity: "The fight sparked the American Revolution, and the singing of 'Yankee Doodle' commenced an American tradition. The colonists reclaimed the insult and threw it back in the would-be oppressor's face. The move became a classic gesture of the confident underdog, seemingly self-deprecating but slyly a boastful taunt" (Shaw 2013, pp. 41, 42).

The beginnings of the African American spiritual, another genre of political music that tells stories from the perspective of the oppressed, can be traced to the early days of slavery, with rhythms originating in West Africa. Slaves in the Deep South and elsewhere were rapidly converted to Christianity and exposed to biblical stories and European hymns. The words of this tradition were consequently "translated" into the idiom of the slaves and often made into song. Christianity was seen by many white Americans as a way of controlling slaves and reconciling them to their lot, similar to Marx's view of religion as "the opium of the people." However, biblical narratives, especially those in the Old Testament dealing with the captivity and liberation of the Israelites, resonated with the slaves' own struggle for freedom. Many spirituals tell the story of Moses, a symbolic leader ushering his people toward freedom, as opposed to "Old Pharaoh," who represented slave-owners and the political leaders of the South. Prophets such as Elijah in the spiritual "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot' symbolize righteous voices of dissent to the institution of slavery. The river Jordan, referred to in the spiritual "Roll Jordan, Roll," among others, symbolises cleansing and the ultimate attainment of the Promised Land. The source of spirituals is almost exclusively stories from the Old Testament.

The development of the genre is similar to that of nineteenth-century Blackface Minstrelsy, in which white performers and musicians adapted, appropriated, and mocked African American culture and traditions. The texts and themes of spirituals were taken from the religion of the oppressor but modified to protest against them and to bolster hope and community. Many spirituals contained veiled messages about escaping slavery or predicting divine punishment for slave owners.

One of the most celebrated spirituals, "Go Down Moses," was described by Alan Lomax, musicologist and collector of field recordings, as "the finest of American folk songs" (Lomax 1964, 82). The story, imagery, and language are taken from the

book of Exodus, which tells of the struggles of Moses who, with God's help, gained freedom for the Israelites enslaved by the Pharaoh in Egypt. A version sung by the Fisk Jubilee Singers in 1872, was one of the first spirituals to be preserved in sheet music:

When Israel was in Egypt's land Let my people go Oppress'd so hard they could not stand Let my people go

Go down Moses Way down in Egypt land Tell Old Pharaoh Let my people go

Unlike some other spirituals, the message of this one sounds out loud and clear and would undoubtedly have made white slave owners fairly apprehensive:

Thus said the Lord, bold Moses said, Let my people go If not I'll smite your firstborn dead Let my people go

No more in bondage shall they toil Let my people go Let them come out with Egypt's spoil Let my people go

Various theories exist regarding the authorship of this spiritual, including potential contributions from abolitionist Harriet Tubman. Even if she did not write it herself, she made use of it as one of the coded songs that were used to help slaves escape using the Underground Railroad. The song has been performed by many artists, including Paul Robeson, whose deep bass voice gave the spiritual an aura of poignancy and grandeur.

Many well-known political songs emerged from the Civil War, two of which are the focus of this section. In 1859, Daniel Emmett, a composer in the Blackface Minstrel tradition, wrote "Dixie" or "I Wish I Was in Dixie," which later became the unofficial anthem of the Confederacy during the Civil War:

I wish I was in the land of cotton,
Old times there are not forgotten;
Look away! look away! look away! Dixie Land.
In Dixie's land, where I was born,
Early on one frosty morn,
Look away! look away! look away! Dixie Land.

Emmett was from Ohio, one of the Northern states, and he wrote the song in the minstrel tradition that idealized pre-war plantation life in the South. Lines like "I'll take my stand" soon made a powerful impression. According to John Shaw, "Published in 1860, it was an immediate hit. When eleven Southern states seceded the next year, the strutting march rhythm, indelibly catchy melody, and proudly sectional lyrics of 'Dixie' made it a natural for a Confederate anthem" (Shaw 2013, 34):

I wish I was in Dixie, Hooray! Hooray! In Dixie's Land I'll take my stand To live and die in Dixie. Away, away, away down south in Dixie.

"Dixie" eventually became identified with Southern racism and was received as a glorification of slavery; it remains controversial today, not being out of place, for instance, at a Ku Klux Klan meeting. The question arises whether it should be played at all, considering these associations. Some commentators argue that it should, if situated in the context of the time.

Similarly, Union troops embraced the folk song "John Brown's Body" as a de facto anthem; the song tells the story of Brown, an abolitionist who led several destructive raids across the Mason-Dixon line that resulted in several deaths. On each side of the border, opinions regarding Brown were very different: in the eyes of many Northerners and African Americans, he was a martyr for a righteous cause, but many Southerners regarded him as a murderer and terrorist. The song depicts Brown's actions in laudatory Biblical language:

John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave But his soul goes marching on Glory, Glory, Hallelujah Glory, Glory, Hallelujah Glory, Glory, Hallelujah His soul goes marching on

He captured Harper's Ferry with his nineteen men so true He frightened old Virginia till she trembled through and through They hung him for a traitor, they themselves the traitor crew But his soul goes marching on

This song became popular among Union soldiers and is said to have been deliberately sung within earshot of Confederate troops to provoke them. Several different versions exist; the most well-known is "Battle Hymn of the Republic" (1861), written by author and activist Julia Ward Howe:

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord; He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored; He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword; His truth is marching on.

Glory! Glory! Hallelujah! Glory! Glory! Hallelujah! Glory! Glory! Hallelujah! His truth is marching on.

Apocalyptic language is used to depict the struggle against slavery, with words and melody designed to arouse the emotions. Over the years, many other groups, including several British football clubs, have adopted the song, demonstrating its power to create unity and enthusiasm. John Steinbeck quoted a phrase from the second line as the title of his best-known novel, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939).

Moving into the twentieth century, Joe Hill, born Joel Emmanuel Hägglund, was a larger-than-life figure, achieving immortality through his political songs. Born in Sweden in 1879, he immigrated to the United States and became a prominent labour activist as a member of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), also known as the Wobblies. Hill wrote several classic labour songs, usually giving new politicized lyrics to the melodies of familiar Christian hymns, as was the established practice throughout the organisation, with the songs even published and widely circulated in their *Little Red Songbook* (1909). Hill was arrested and executed in Utah in 1915 for a

murder which was generally interpreted as a political assassination; as a result, he became a martyr not only for the American labour movement, but also for is international counterpart.

His classic song "The Preacher and the Slave" (1911) parodies the Christian hymn "In the Sweet By-and-By," written by Sanford F. Bennett in 1868, with its promise of eternal reward and solace in the afterlife:

In the sweet by and by
We shall meet on that beautiful shore.
In the sweet by and by
We shall meet on that beautiful shore.

Hill's song, conversely, viciously attacks the naiveté and dishonesty of the sentiments of the hymn, particularly when addressed to working class labourers living a hand-to-mouth existence. This song gifted the English language the phrase "pie in the sky," which labour scholar Archie Green refers to as "the most significant Wobbly contribution to the American vocabulary" (Green 1960, 210). The song's force is enhanced by its use of call and response, inspired by African American musical traditions, and by the surprise, alternative version of the concluding chorus, which takes an opposite approach in response to the so-called grafters (opportunists, corrupt officials):

Long-haired preachers come out every night Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right But when asked about something to eat They will answer with voices so sweet:

You will eat (You will eat) bye and bye (Bye and bye) In that glorious land above the sky (Way up high) Work and pray (Work and pray), live on hay (Live on hay) You'll get pie in the sky when you die (That's a lie!)

And the starvation army they play
And they sing and they clap and they pray
Till they get all your coin on the drum
Then they tell you when you are on the bum⁴

⁴ All the lyrics by Joe Hill are taken from the website "Songs of Joe Hill," https://joehill100.com/songs-of-joehill/.

This song makes explicit reference to the Salvation Army, wittily phrased as "Starvation Army," and sharply critiques its musical tradition and money-raising approach:

Holy Rollers and jumpers come out They holler, they jump and they shout Give your money to Jesus they say He will cure all diseases away.

If you fight hard for children and wife Try to get something good in this life You're a sinner and bad man, they tell When you die you will sure go to hell

In line with the socialist doctrine of the Wobblies, the song calls for a common, international front on the part of the working class against the capitalist establishment:

Working folk of all countries unite Side by side we for freedom will fight When the world and its wealth we have gained To the grafters we'll sing this refrain:

You will eat (You will eat) bye and bye (Bye and bye)
When you've learned how to cook and how to fry (and bake a pie!)
Chop some wood, 'twill do you good
And you'll eat in the sweet bye and bye (That's no lie!)

The call and response of the final altered version of the chorus turns the tables and holds out hope that the exploitative types will, either by force or by choice, abandon their dishonest practices and finally put their shoulders to the wheel.

Hill and his fellow Wobbly songwriters revolutionised folk music, using words and song to further their political agenda. Hill himself describes this new-found approach in one of his letters: "A pamphlet, no matter how good, is never read more than once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated over and over" (Kelly 2018). Franklin Rosemont aptly summarises the impact and artistry of Hill's songs, arguing that they were aimed, "not so much at the literary-minded individual as the hard-pressed crowd, his bold and vigorous verses tend to avoid the contemplative, private,

and subjective, and instead tell stories, poke fun, provoke laughter or (less often) tears, and all along the way convey fundamental Wobbly aims and principles" (Rosemont 2015, 21). Hill's songs, memory and legacy are still very much alive, not only in our minds and hearts, but also in at least (temporarily) some people's stomachs.⁵

Other Wobbly/hobo songs appear to celebrate the shirking of work, but actually refuse the then current mainstream capitalist "wage slave" (a term they often used) situation. Among the best examples is "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum," attributed to Harry McClintock (1882-1957), among others. As with many Wobbly songs, it is set to the melody of a familiar hymn, "Revive Us Again" (1867). The original version is notable for its piety and orthodox theology:

We praise Thee, O God! For the Son of Thy love, For Jesus Who died, and is now gone above. Hallelujah! Thine the glory. Hallelujah! Amen. Hallelujah! Thine the glory. Revive us again.

In comparison, "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum" irreverently embraces the hobo lifestyle. The song does not promote the avoidance of work, but instead reveals the harsh reality encountered by itinerant workers seeking paid employment:

Rejoice and be glad for the Springtime has come We can throw down our shovels and go on the bum

Hallelujah, I'm a bum, Hallelujah, bum again Hallelujah, give us a handout to revive us again

The Springtime has come and I'm just out of jail Without any money, without any bail

Why don't you work like other men do Now, how can I work when there's no work to do

The song depicts the everyday realities of unemployed vagrants who faced imprisonment, starvation and social condemnation.

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⁵ Joe Hill's ashes were consumed, in a manner mirroring the Last Supper, by some of his successors, most famously by the British punk folk singer Billy Bragg.

Woody Guthrie was influenced not only by the hobo movement, embracing the lifestyle himself for periods of his life, but also by the political leanings of the Wobblies. In line with their songwriting philosophy, he often took the melodies of his songs from hymns that speak of eternal reward and consolation in the afterlife, and transformed them into songs with hard-hitting lyrics about social injustice and the power of the working man to improve his lot through union activity and empowerment. He was arguably one of the first protest singer/singer-songwriters in the United States, if not the world, and he practically single-handedly defined the genre for future generations. This, of course, depends on how you define the genre, but I am thinking along the lines of a lone performer with a guitar writing his or her own lyrics with an emphasis primarily on the message of the song, not necessarily on the virtuosity of the performance.

Traditional songs from the Interwar period usually contain little or no personal or political commentary, but Woody Guthrie, a proud Okie⁶ who experienced the Depression-era tragedy of the Dust Bowl, with its cyclones, windstorms, and ensuing poverty first-hand, used folk music to generate compassion and sympathy, and to criticize the government, the capitalist system, and the lack of opportunities for working-class people who were most severely affected by these disasters.

An example of this new approach to songwriting and performing appears in Guthrie's "So Long, It's Been Good to Know Yuh/Dusty Old Dust," from what is perhaps the first concept album, *Dust Bowl Ballads* (1940):

I've sung this song, but I'll sing it again,
Of the place that I lived on the wild windy plains,
In the month called April, county called Gray,
And here's what all of the people there say:

In contrast to earlier disaster songs, which almost invariably described historic and current events objectively, this first-person account is related by someone who lived through the disaster, which is described in vivid detail. The chorus captures the atmosphere as the storm hits, with the victims wondering if the end of the world has

⁶ A native of the state of Oklahoma; Oklahomans were hard hit by drought in the 1930s, and their story is famously told in Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939).

arrived, and the aftermath, as survivors frequently had no choice but to pack up and go west in search of a new life:

So long, it's been good to know yuh; So long, it's been good to know yuh; So long, it's been good to know yuh. This dusty old dust is a-gettin' my home, And I got to be driftin' along.

The song describes what Guthrie's family and friends thought of the disaster: "We talked of the end of the world," or "Instead of marriage, they talked like this," and goes on to criticize the preacher of the local church, who takes collection in the midst of the dust storm: "He said, 'Kind friend, this may the end;/An' you got your last chance of salvation of sin!" Guthrie's account of the disaster also criticizes the government, and how it failed the working people, and of institutionalized religion, which provided nothing but the weak solace of "pie in the sky".

Guthrie's music is at the core of American folk music and national identity; his most famous song, "This Land Is Your Land," has rightfully become an alternative national anthem and expression of genuine patriotism. His music definitely has a didactic slant, something of which he would be proud, not ashamed. Conservatives have argued that he, along with Pete Seeger and other protest singers, used music as propaganda. Guthrie responded to such critics as follows: "Left wing, right wing, chicken wing – it's the same thing to me. I sing my songs wherever I can sing 'em' (Cray 2004, 139).

Together with Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger defined the concept of folk singer or singer-songwriter as we understand these concepts today. Before these two, country music tended to be apolitical in its philosophy and approach. Seeger's politics have often overshadowed the other qualities of his work: like many of his fellow musicians in the 1940s and 50s, Seeger had leftist sympathies. He joined the American Communist Party in 1941, but left it in 1949. Throughout his career, Seeger untiringly supported a wide range of left-wing causes, including union labour movements. In 1955, during McCarthyism and the Red Scare, he was called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee, where he famously defended his actions with the words: "I am not going to answer any questions as to my association, my philosophical or religious beliefs or my political beliefs, or how I

voted in any election, or any of these private affairs. I think these are very improper questions for any American to be asked, especially under such compulsion as this" (Dunaway 2011, xiii). He asked the committee if they would allow him to play and sing one of his songs for them and was, not surprisingly, denied. Although the committee found him guilty, he was never sent to prison. Nevertheless, he was blacklisted for several years and had difficulty finding work either recording or performing.

In 1964, Seeger made a tour of the Soviet Union and several other Communist countries, and later admitted to naiveté in his view of them. He spent the blacklist years taking whatever work he could find. He performed at many union events and at a number of schools from primary to university level. His union involvement had even earlier roots, and continued until the end of his life. The union songs from his time with the Almanac Singers were mostly written by Woody Guthrie, including the classic "Union Maid," and became a fixture of his repertoire. His affinity for working-class movements was not limited to his native country, as shown by his cover version of "The Bells of Rhymney" by the Welsh poet Idris Davies, a lyric which chronicles the struggle of Welsh coal miners:

Oh, what will you give me? Say the sad bells of Rhymney. Is there hope for the future? Cry the brown bells of Merthyr. Who made the mine owner? Say the black bells of Rhondda. And who robbed the miner? Cry the grim bells of Blaina.

The song is an adaptation of the classic nursery rhyme "Oranges and Lemons," which lists the various church bells of London and which was famously made use of by George Orwell in 1984.

In the early 1960s, Seeger returned to the public eye, becoming involved in and supportive of the Civil Rights movement. Songs such as "We Shall Overcome" became major anthems of the time, often sung by African Americans and their supporters during sit-ins, protests, and marches. Martin Luther King Jr took an immediate liking to the song and quoted it many times during his sermons; the song

was sung at his funeral by thousands of grief-stricken but undaunted mourners. Incidentally, the Almanac Singers back in the 1940s were ground-breaking in being racially mixed at times, with their inclusion of Leadbelly, Josh White, and others. Seeger's remarkable television program, *Rainbow Quest*, which aired from 1965 to 1966, also had a multi-cultural, interracial cast of musicians including African Americans, Native Americans, Cajuns, Latinos, British, Irish, and others.

Pete Seeger was active during the 2011 Occupy Wall Street movement, singing songs and encouraging people of all ages to action. After being vilified in the 1950s, Seeger came full circle in 1994, when he was awarded the Presidential Medal of the Arts.

Just as Woody Guthrie had personalized and politicized the disaster song, Bob Dylan had a similar effect on the genre of the murder ballad, which dates back to the Middle Ages, with its plot line having emerged even earlier (in the Biblical story of Cain and Abel). One of the most widely covered and best-known songs of this kind is "Tom Dooley," which tells the story of a North Carolina man who murdered his sweetheart in 1866. The song is told in a dispassionate, unemotional voice, and gives no real explanation for the evil deed. Dooley seems to have killed on impulse, only to realise too late the consequences of his actions:

I met her on the mountain There I took her life Met her on the mountain Stabbed her with my knife

Many other murder ballads popular in the folk music genre, such as "Stagger Lee," "Pretty Polly, "Banks of the Ohio," and "Long Black Veil," follow similar lines.

Dylan, a self-avowed disciple of Guthrie early in his career, performed an act much like that of his mentor, not with disaster songs, but with murder ballads. An excerpt from "The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll," which tells of the 1963 murder of a 51-year-old African American barmaid by a wealthy 24-year old white man named William Devereaux Zantzinger in Maryland, epitomizes Dylan's accomplishment:

William Zanzinger killed poor Hattie Carroll, With a cane that he twirled around his diamond ring finger

. . .

But you who philosophize, disgrace and criticize all fears, Take the rag away from your face, now ain't the time for Your tears.

Zantzinger was convicted of assault and sentenced to six months in jail. Dylan's topical song politicizes the popular folk form of the murder ballad and established a blueprint for many who followed.

A decade later, Dylan's "Hurricane," like "The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll," tells the story of wrongly accused African American boxer Ruben "Hurricane" Carter, using the tradition to hold society accountable for racism and injustice.

The songs discussed in this chapter span almost two hundred years and encompass a range of musical genres including war songs, spirituals, union songs, murder ballads, and disaster songs. The examples selected demonstrate how political developments led composers and singer-songwriters (first anonymous writers, later popular artists) to use their art to combat perceived enemies (either military foes or oppressive regimes), social injustice, and societal oppression. The arguably most political phase of American popular music soon followed the last-chosen text for analysis (Dylan's "The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll"), this being the protest music inspired by the Vietnam War and the Counter-Culture movement of the late 1960s. Political popular music continues to thrive up to the present time, flourishing in a range of musical genres: rap, hip-hop, rock, folk, and even alt-country. Thanks to the legacy of the songs and artists mentioned above, folk/popular music remains relevant and in tune with the spirit of the times.

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THE MYTH OF THE OUTLAW IN MEXICAN AND NORTH AMERICAN BORDER MUSIC

VICTOR KENNEDY

Maribor, Slovenia victor.kennedy@guest.um.si

Many songs embody myths that create social and cultural identity. One example is the Myth of the Outlaw, which was instrumental in the construction of American society in frontier days; its misappropriation and misuse, however, threaten to deconstruct and divide that society in our time. A current issue in political discourse is the question of immigration and identity, and the Myth of the Outlaw is at the heart of it. This chapter will show how this myth is used in folk and popular music, and how this music is used in turn for political propaganda.

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Introduction

In the age of World Music, you can turn on the radio or television anywhere and hear music of many styles, including Latin-American.¹ Commercial stations play music that has been carefully crafted, promoted, and selected for its market appeal. The global popularity of Latin American and Latin-American influenced music is a reliable indicator of current taste in popular music.² Another persuasive indicator of its popularity is the influence it has had on other genres of North American music in both musical styles and themes.

Latin American music, once a niche on the American music scene, is now part of the mainstream, as Pollyanna Schroeder (1978, 124) and Guadalupe San Miguel Jr. observe (2002, 113), and its influence can be heard in many genres such as country, pop, rock, and jazz. Chris Kjorness points out in "Latin Music Is American Music" (2013) that "for more than a century, immigrants—particularly those from Latin America—have helped forge the cultural identity of the United States. And nowhere is this more apparent than in popular music, where from ragtime to hip-hop, artists have frequently looked beyond the North American continent to find American music." Similarly, Martin Gannon and Rajnandini Pillai point out how music expresses national culture: "musical genres (samba and tango) have achieved international prominence and recognition, in large part because of the manner in which they express the cultural values of Brazil and Argentina" (2013, 17). Daniel Chamberlain explains how music both represents and constructs Mexican identity (2003, 80). When such musical styles become popular, not only the tastes, but also the world view, of the audience are transformed.

Easy accessibility to internet streaming services has made it easy for listeners to discover new music from all around the world, but ironically, this resulted in a backlash by the music industry, which has focused on marketing music stars, streamlining radio playlists, and ignoring new music and musicians in favour of established names.³

¹ As on the BBC World Service's broadcast of *The Impact of Latin American Music* (Hogan, Long-Middleton and Llewellyn 2013).

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² Mervi Vuorela notes that "In 2022, Latin music record sales topped \$1 billion for the first time in the US, accounting for around 8% of music streaming" (2024).

³ The success of this tactic can be seen when comparing ticket prices for concerts featuring established stars to those featuring local musicians.

In addition to questions of economic motives and cultural identity, much of the controversy around, and opposition to, culturally significant music and musicians has been based on mythology and symbolism. Ethnomusicology has historically been seen and practiced as the study of "world music[s]" other than Western European and North American popular and classical music (Rice 2014), and current theories of ethnomusicology help in understanding the appeal of different forms of music to a wider audience, and how the interplay between themes and styles in music has affected and influenced cultural, social, and political life in North and Central America and throughout the world.

Music as a Means to Intercultural Understanding

Music is used as a means of both communication and persuasion; Crooke et al. (2023) explain how this can result in both cohesion and separation of different cultural groups: "Highlighting the role of empathy, Clarke et al. (2015) report that listening to music from another culture can increase positive attitudes to people of that culture, but only fractionally and only for people with already-established high levels of trait empathy" (2015, 28). While music is built upon universal structures of melody, harmony, and rhythm, different styles and themes reflect and embody different cultural norms, so that while listeners can recognize, understand, and enjoy music from another culture, this can lead to both unification and division: "Applying Berry's conceptual model to music, we can begin by considering the structural universalities of music, such as rhythm, pitch, and dynamics. These universalities, in turn, have different expressions as determined by varying contexts, leading to musical diversity" (2015, 30). In addition to these musical universalities, there are commonalities in song lyrics: "certain functions of music may be universal, such as the communication of emotion, storytelling, and an accompaniment to community and/or cultural events. Although such functions may be universal, the sociocultural expression of such functions may be unrecognizable to other groups" (30). Thus, while sharing music from other cultures can promote understanding, Clarke et al. emphasize that "music also demonstrates and embodies our cultural differences" (30). Rolf Lidskog argues that not only does music function to express and maintain pre-existing identities, but it also provides resources for contesting and negotiating identities and constructing new ones (2016, 25). One way that it does so is by means of what he calls "hybridizations" (2016, 25) when songwriters and musicians combine themes and styles, as in the music of diasporas, which are often communities that have come from other countries to new ones, such as the United

States. Thus, collective memories are formed, preserved, and defended through music (2016, 32). In this way, music can serve a political purpose; it can be part of discrimination against and stigmatisation of an ethnic group, as well as facilitating mobilisation and empowerment of a group and raising issues of social injustice and inequality (2016, 33).

Music as a Vehicle for Mythmaking

Music and songs from all eras and cultures share in the creation, propagation, dissemination, preservation, and modification of myths. In Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860 (1973), Richard Slotkin outlines the mechanism of mythmaking: "A mythology is a complex of narratives that dramatizes the world vision and historical sense of a people or culture, reducing centuries of experience into a constellation of compelling metaphors" (1973, 6). Slotkin focuses on the creation and propagation of The Myth of the American Frontier in books, magazines, and comic books, drawing from historical accounts and literary adaptations. One distinction he makes is the difference between myths in preliterate cultures, which he calls "artless," and the relationship between myth and literature in our modern world: "American myths-tales of heroes in particular—frequently turn out to be the works of literary hacks or of promoters seeking to sell American real estate by mythologizing the landscape" (1973, 6).4 The myth Slotkin focuses on, "The Myth of the Frontier," is "the conception of America as a wide-open land of unlimited opportunity for the strong, ambitious, self-reliant individual to thrust his way to the top" (1973, 5). Since white European settlers found the American "wilderness" already inhabited by Native Americans and Mexicans, part of that "unlimited opportunity" consisted of subjugating or eliminating the existing occupants. The earliest component of the myth, therefore, or in Lakoffian terms, the "root" myth, is as follows:

1. The Myth of Good vs. Evil. Characters like Daniel Boone, Buffalo Bill Cody, Kit Carson, and others epitomized the brave settlers (wearing the white hats in old movies), combating evil "Indians," Mexicans, and bandits (in black hats).

⁴ An excellent example can be seen in Mullin and Welch's "Billy the Kid: The Making of a Hero" (1973), where the mythical character of stories in magazines and films bears scant resemblance to the real-life model.

This basic myth is the foundation of several related myths:

- 2. The Myth of Racial Superiority. In American (U.S.) popular literature and song, the white cowboy, farmer, or law officer is the good guy, while the "Indian" or Mexican is the baddie; in Mexican and Native American equivalents, the roles are reversed;
- 3. Soon after the initial westward expansion, as sheriffs, marshals, courts and judges, representing the rule of law, followed, the next stage of myth developed; The Myth of The Righteous Outlaw, wronged by corrupt authorities, seeking to protect himself, loved ones, and way of life. This led to the next development;
- 4. The Myth of The Divided Society: this trope is based in historical fact; Abraham Lincoln's "House Divided" speech of June 16, 1858, defined the difference between the North, based on free labour, and the South, based on slave labour. The importance of the concept was emphasized by Lincoln's words, "A house divided against itself cannot stand," but that statement has become a catchphrase used to mean diverse things.
- 5. More recent (early to mid-20th century) developments in the Myth of the Frontier saw the expansion of The Wild West Myth to Mexico as an analogue to the American Wild West, and opposing but related myths of Mexico as a Land of Lawlessness and;
- 6. Mexico as a Land of Freedom.
- 7. The 21st century has seen a new variant of The Cowboy Myth: The Myth of The Politician Cowboy: in this inversion of myth 3, the corrupt official whom the old mythical cowboy hero opposed has appropriated the icons and symbols (formerly six-shooters, now assault rifles) of the outlaw to claim the status of Hero of the People.
- 8. Finally, The Myth of the Sellout. This is a meta-myth, an example of when the organic becomes the superorganic. The rebels rebel, and the audience reacts negatively when their previous heroes, who stood up for the marginalized minority, are perceived to have gone commercial, thus betraying their roots.

The Myth of The Righteous Outlaw and its derivatives depends on a fundamental shift in perspective; in order to be able to see a criminal as a hero, one must be able to sympathise with lawbreaking, share in the lawbreaker's grievances, and isolate oneself from the suffering of his (rarely her) victims. Marc Sageman describes the

psychological factors involved in Turning to Political Violence; The Emergence of Terrorism (2017): "all attempts to understand the social world start with an automatic and natural cognitive process of self-categorization" (2017, 4); "Self-categorization is the core concept of a social science project analysing the behaviour of groups, known as the social identity perspective (SIP)" (2017, 4). Sageman's analysis focuses on terrorists who resort to political violence, but I would argue that the same factors apply to outlaws. The terrorists whose accounts form the basis of his analysis justified their actions on the basis of grievances (2017, 5), similar to the justifications that outlaw songs describe as the motivation for their protagonists' actions. Sageman distinguishes between "political violence" which is performed on behalf of a group and the actions of lone assassins whose violence is a result of mental disorders (2017, 15). Sageman lists activities that promote adhesion to the group, including meetings and newsletters (2017, 19); I would add songs and the social occasions where they are performed. The mechanism behind such shifts in worldview are based on a common sharing of grievances: "Often such communities evolve into a rejection of mainstream culture and norms, which members view as hypocritical and decadent" (2017, 19). Such groups require a leader/role model, someone whom the group can admire and emulate: "To understand the meaning and norms of their group, people turn to its most representative members, who serve as models for them to emulate and thereby exert a strong social influence on the rest of the group" (2017, 20). Thus, the mythologizing of martyrs, such as suicide bombers, and the outlaw hero, who is often caught and punished to the full extent of the law.

Latin American Identity in Popular Music

Norteña is a genre of music written and performed on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. Its distinguishing sonic feature is that it is performed in ensembles featuring the accordion and the bajo sexto, a 12-stringed acoustic guitar. Its classic form is the corrida, a ballad that often tells either a love story or the story of a wronged man and his reaction to injustice. Daniel Chamberlain notes that corridos are a traditional form, brought from Spain in the 16th century (2003, 77). These songs are the Mexican equivalent of American western ballads, and they create a mirror image of the mythological cowboy. Guadalupe San Miguel Jr. notes the similarities between Tejano corridos and North American country music:

Corridos, for instance, played a key role in expressing and reflecting the historical conflict between Anglos and Mexican in South Texas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries... They emerged and developed during a time of profound and violent change along the Rio Grande and in South Texas that embraced the years from 1836 to the 1930s. In many ways corridos were the product of a subordinate society whose only means of fighting the dominant Anglo powers was symbolic. Representative of this type of corrido and its hero was "The Corrido of Grigorio Cortez," an individual who single-handedly fought the Anglo law and won. (2002, 7)⁵

Timothy Rice notes that "The ethnomusicological literature is filled with arguments that echo the ancient Greeks about whether music helps to construct behavioural, cultural, and psychological patterns or whether preexisting social structures and cultural systems are determinants of musical style and practice" (2014, 11–12). Similarly, Thomas Turino claims that "Music and dance are key to identity formation because they are often public presentations of the deepest feelings and qualities that make a group unique" (2008, 2). Like American cowboy ballads such as "I'm a Lonesome Fugitive," "El Paso," rock and roll equivalents like "I Fought the Law (and the Law Won)," and reggae songs like "I Shot the Sheriff," many corridos tell stories of individuals wronged by corrupt officials who fight injustice by taking the law into their own hands; in Mexican corridos, the antagonist is often not the Sheriff but the Texas Rangers, perpetuating the Myth of the Righteous Outlaw in various cultural milieus.

Corridos about outlaws and narcocorridos present one facet of Mexican and Latino resistance to political, cultural, and economic marginalization and racism. Carlos Veléz-Ibáñez argues that "Many Mexicans, however, did not and do not accept the 'border syndrome' or their expulsion. Resistance, rebellion, mobilization, creation, and invention continue to be the cultural responses of much of the population" (1996, 268–9).

Adrian Peel's *Tequila, Señoritas and Teardrops: Musicians Discuss the Influence of Mexico on Country Music* (2015) is a series of interviews with musicians. One of these, Ray Wylie Hubbard, describes the similarity between American outlaw music and Mexican narcocorridos:

⁵ Texan Bobby Fuller had a hit in 1964 with "I Fought the Law (and the Law Won)," written by fellow Texan Sonny Curtis, a member of The Crickets.

Why does Mexico still hold such fascination for country singers? 'It's romantic and adventurous,' Hubbard enthuses. 'I love the mythology of Mexican folk songs about outlaws. I read a book about the *narcocorridos* [Mexican folk songs glamorizing the illegal narcotics trade that have led to some well-known Mexican singers being killed—*corridos* deal with Mexican life in general]. They show that music is still very powerful, that people can be murdered just because of a song.... I love the whole myth of the American outlaw. They were probably horrible people, but I love the mythology. (2015, 35)

Hubbard's statement is an excellent example of Sageman's theory of how otherwise law-abiding people come to accept, and sometimes embrace, the outlaw/terrorist mentality; his conclusion, that "The outlaw here in the States has gone by the wayside, but it still seems to exist in Mexico" (2015, 35) may be a misconception, as many country singers, as well as rap singers, still lionize outlaws.⁶

It has often been said that Mexican music reflects the divided nature of the nation and its culture, perpetuating The Myth of The Divided Society. Mexico is a "torn national culture" that has "experienced dramatic changes in values at one or a few periods in history" (Gannon and Pillai 2013, 16). Mark Edberg notes from a social anthropology perspective that narcocorridos are a response to social stratification in which the exploited class attempts to assert its value with "mythic texts' and 'grand stories' that affect how individuals feel about who they are in the world" (2004, 22):

early corridos developed as the obverse of an emerging, and racist, body of Texas folklore portraying Mexicans as cruel, thieving, cowardly, 'racially degenerate' half-breeds with Indian blood, and generally no match for the superior Texan, as exemplified by the Texas Ranger archetype.... These corridos told of exploits against the 'rinches' (Rangers), mocked them, and generally treated them as an Anglo stereotype exemplifying the general nature of the cultural and political opposition. (2004, 31)

This genre of storytelling thus perpetuates The Myth of Racial Superiority, from both sides.

⁶ Jason Aldean's "Try That in a Small Town" (2023), for example, encourages listeners to take the law into their own hands. The song is an example of The Divided Society Myth that had often been used to describe Mexican Americans; ironically, Aldean uses it to threaten American city dwellers (it is implied that they are Black) to stay away from small towns or risk the vigilante justice of the small town "good ol' boys" with their guns. Another

example is Clifton Hicks's "The Ballad of Kyle Rittenhouse" (2021), about the young vigilante who shot three unarmed men, killing two of them, at a demonstration against police violence.

Martha I. Chew Sánchez's Corridos in Migrant Memory (2006) explains in depth the many negative stereotypes of Mexican men and women in North American culture, which perpetuate The Myth of Mexico as The Land of Lawlessness:

In general, Mexicans in the United States have been stereotyped as a problematic minority. Mexican and Mexican American men have been portrayed as backward, corrupt, dishonest, incompetent, dirty and lazy... For the most part, Mexican and Mexican American women have been portrayed as ignorant cantina dancers and prostitutes. The general representation of Mexico, moreover, is characterized by political scandals, corruption and violence, in the land of lawlessness and no accountability, where white college students can be wild and get drunk on tequila during spring break. Mexico is blamed for many of the social and economic problems the United States is experiencing (such as drug consumption and economic crisis) and sometimes for what has been perceived as a 'cultural crisis of Western civilization' due to the strong presence of Mexican and Mexican cultural expressions in the United States. $(2006, 7)^7$

A survey of recent American political rhetoric denigrating immigrants with negative stereotypes, especially the campaign and rally speeches of right-wing populists, shows that little has changed over the eighteen years since Chew Sánchez's book was written.

Chew Sanchez notes the historical origins of the stereotypes, as well as the ways that fiction, songs, and films have decontextualized and generalized them, thus generating examples of The Myth of The Righteous Outlaw from real, living characters:

Since the end of the nineteenth century, Mexicans and Mexican Americans have been represented in a decontextualized way, often as bandidos (bandits). Bandido images have been the staple of westerns that portray Mexicans as border outlaws, thieves, smugglers, and horse and cattle rustlers. Many of these portrayals are based on the legendary figures that appeared soon after the Mexican-American War (Elfego Baca, Juan Cortina, Gregorio Cortéz, and Tiburio Vásquez), those who were present during the gold rush in California (e.g. Joaquín Murrieta), and of course, Pancho Villa and other revolutionaries. Interestingly enough, a rich corpus of corridos is based on those social bandits who sought to defend Mexicans and

western.net/index.php/The_Spaghetti_Westerns_of_Sergio_Leone).

⁷ Such stereotypes of Mexicans and Mexican Americans were common in mid-twentieth century Hollywood films such as Treasure of the Sierra Madre (1948), and Italian-American spaghetti Westerns such as A Fistful of Dollars (1964) and The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly (1966). "Spaghetti Western" is a derogatory term U.S. critics used for foreignmade films, likely because they were upset by the way that directors such as Sergio Leone manipulated the stereotypes of U.S.-made westerns from a non-American perspective: "Leone wanted to show how vile the people of his film were and he even makes the hero only slightly less evil than the villains. Thus revolutionizing the western anti-hero" (Korano, "The Spaghetti Westerns of Sergio Leone" (2011, https://www.spaghetti-

Mexican Americans against the loss of lands, murders, lynchings, economic exploitation, and oppression that accompanied the rise of white American cultural, economic and political ideals. (2006, 16)⁸

From this perspective, Mexican outlaws were justified in their actions as a means of self-defence against predatory white Americans, thus bringing the negative stereotypes more into line with their American outlaw counterparts.

Edberg notes that cultural personae such as that of the narcotrafficker are taken out of context so that they become "symbolic units in a social language (discourse) of self, such that individuals 'populate' the symbols and make them their own" (2004, 123). This is a way of using myths to construct national and cultural identity:

The narcotrafficker persona as represented in narcocorridos and the proliferation of narcofilms owes a great deal to cultural imperialism from the characters in American westerns, the John Wayne and Clint Eastwood stereotypes.... "The narcos tried to be norteños in a sense new in Mexico, one that didn't exist before the 1960s, norteños like John Wayne or the Marlboro Man or Clint Eastwood...." (2004, 123)

Another aspect of cross-cultural borrowing in these songs is the way each side assimilated not only thematic but also musical elements from the other, for example, the Spanish guitar in "El Paso," Marty Robbins's ballad of an American outlaw. There is an equivalent borrowing in Robert Rodriguez's rock guitar track in Tex-Mex band Chingon's adaptation of the traditional Mexican ballad, "Malaguena Saleroso" (2004). Such borrowings can be an homage, or they can be theft, as Bel Jacobs explains in "What Defines Cultural Appropriation?" (BBC News 2022).

A corrido that illustrates the theme of the justified rebel battling a corrupt society as seen in the Myth of the Righteous Outlaw is the nineteenth-century "El Corrido de Joaquín Murietta." Murietta travelled to California with his wife to work his brother's gold claim, only to watch his brother murdered, his wife raped and murdered, and to be himself beaten and driven off his claim (Leal 1995; Canales de Zamora and Evans 2002). He formed a gang and returned to exact revenge. As Carlos Veléz-Ibáñez describes it,

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⁸ Stereotypes of Mexican and Mexican-American "Robin Hoods" appear in several recent American films, such as Robert Rodriguez's Desperado (1995) and Rodriguez and Ethan Maniquis's Machete (2010).

⁹ Included on the soundtrack of Quentin Tarantino's Kill Bill Volume 2 (2004). The film director, Robert Rodriguez, is also a musician.

Murietta became a mythic hero in the minds of Mexicans who needed a hero-myth as much as Anglos needed the mythic villain. The former was composed of all the social values a suffering population needed: innocently wronged, valorous, hard-working, a man of the earth digging out the earth's riches with his hands, able to withstand hardships of the chase by rapacious Anglo sheriffs and rangers, skilled and cunning with the ability to out-strategize superior numbers, and finally never to be caught or defeated. (1996, 101)

Accompanied by traditional instruments, including the bajo sexto and accordion, with modern additions including drums and electric bass, corridos are an enduring form of popular music. Gary Hartman points out that "In many ways these 'outlaw corridos' are not so different from popular English-language ballads that glamorize notorious criminals such as Frank and Jesse James, Bonnie and Clyde, and Pretty Boy Floyd" (2008, 36). Hartman's encyclopaedic history of Texas music of all genres makes an important distinction between "folk" and "commercial" music that applies equally to the genre of the Mexican corrido: "music can be divided into two general categories: 'organic' and 'super organic'... As an important part of the community's cultural vocabulary, organic music is used in a variety of rituals, including births, deaths, courtship, marriage, religious ceremonies, work, planting, harvesting, hunting, warfare and politics." Most scholars and listeners would call this "folk" or "traditional" music, in contrast to "pop" or "commercial" music, which Hartman defines as "superorganic": "Superorganic music, on the other hand, does not evolve naturally over time as an organic expression of a particular community's culture. Instead, it is most often created and manipulated in order to produce a marketable commodity... and there is little, if any, organic relationship between the musicians and their audience" (2008, 13). Both "organic" and "superorganic" music have similar effects, however. If they become popular, they become internalized and can be used to communicate widely accepted motifs that codify and exemplify cultural mores and beliefs. 10

Music, Power, and Politics

Music serves multiple purposes including entertainment, advertising, and propaganda (Mohar and Kennedy 2024). Political regimes around the world have long recognized the power of music to create and manipulate feelings of national and cultural identity. Crooke et al. note "the potential of music to be used for

¹⁰ Examples include songs used at political rallies, often in defiance of the express wishes of the copyright holders, and often where the lyrics of the songs bear no relation to the message they are being used to convey. See Mohar and Kennedy (eds.) Words, Music and Propaganda (2024).

nefarious purposes, but also how such purposes may be linked to larger social processes" (2023, 34).

Such strategies have been used in both North and Central America. American broadcasting conglomerates blacklisted various groups and songs for their criticism of President Bush after 9/11, and many protest songs and singers during the Vietnam war (McCoy 2013). Joseph Hudak lists a number of patriotic-themed country songs recorded and released in the U.S. after 9/11, including several that called for violent retribution (2021). Similarly, Mexican state governments pressured broadcasters into banning the playing of narcocorridos (thus creating a demand for underground distribution of recordings). In "Power Needs Names: Hegemony, Folklorization, and the Viejitos Dance of Michoacán, Mexico" (2005), Ruth Hellier-Tinoco explains how the Mexican government used its power over broadcasting and cultural funding to promote a politicized version of national and cultural identity through music:

In Mexico there is an indexical correlation between 'folklore' and 'indigenous peoples.' Such classification and classificatory processes are part of a complex web of power relations in which there is a romantic valorization of artistic practice of the diverse peoples labelled as 'indigenous,' while the people themselves continue to live in marginalized and repressed situations. The predominance of a romantic, idealistic, 'folkloric' image of such peoples is diffused and perpetuated through the use of music and dance as tools of control (2005, 48).

Hellier-Tinoco sums up the mechanism: "governments and institutions are necessarily implicated in the promotion and manipulation of 'folklore' as a tool for purposes linked with identity-construction, unification, and nationalization, and as such how it is it intrinsically connected with control and power relations" (2005, 52). Steven Feld describes the process of hegemonic folklorization as one in which dominating outside parties legitimate condensed, simplified, or commodified displays; invoke, promote, and cherish them as official and authentic custom; and at the same time misunderstand, ignore, or suppress the real creative forces and expressive meanings that animate them in the community (1988, 96).

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¹¹ One such song, Toby Keith's "Courtesy of the Red, White, and Blue," was "performed at events for President George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump. In 2021, Trump awarded him a National Medal of the Arts" (O'Kane, Caitlin. CBS News, February 6, 2024).

Cultural Symbols in North American Music

Marty Robbins

Marty Robbins was an American singer/songwriter whose biggest hit, "El Paso" (1959), is a romantic version of the American cowboy ballad featuring an outlaw and set on the Texas/Mexico border. The song embodies the romantic vision of the Old West, featuring an outlaw hero who dies for love. The protagonist is an American cowboy who falls in love with Felina, a Mexican waitress. He kills a rival in a duel and flees but is drawn to return to her. When he arrives, he is shot and killed by a posse. Like other American cowboy songs, and Mexican Norteño songs, it glamorizes the outlaw figure; in this case, his illegal actions, killing his rival and stealing a horse, are motivated by love. Although a killer and a robber, he belongs to the category of The Righteous Outlaw: he is seen sympathetically, as he was motivated by love. His last words are like the parting words in a Shakespearean tragedy: "From out of nowhere Felina has found me/Kissing my cheek as she kneels by my side/Cradled by two loving arms that I'll die for/One little kiss, then Felina good-bye."

There are two Latin American elements in the song, the flirting Mexican girl, and the Spanish guitar accompaniment. Addie Moore notes that "El Paso" is "among the great songs about the Old West, a nod to Mexico's influence on English-speaking country stars and an earlier example of a country song with crossover pop appeal" (2021). He continues:

It's an early example of American country music's lyrical obsession with Mexico. While more recent stars look South of the Border to tell stories about drunken hedonism and hiding from the law (see everyone from George Strait and Waylon Jennings to Tim McGraw and Toby Keith for examples), Robbins went a more classy and classic route.

Los Lobos

Los Lobos is a Mexican-American band from Los Angeles, California whose album *How Will the Wolf Survive* contains several rock songs with Mexican themed lyrics, several traditional Mexican-styled songs, and several songs with Spanish lyrics. Their repertoire continues to be a mix of American and Mexican styles. This adherence to traditional music is a strategy to resist the commodification of people and their

culture (Kennedy and Gadpaille 2017). Their music combines elements of rock and roll, Tex-Mex, country, folk, and traditional Mexican music, and it has received positive critical and popular attention:

Mixing the soul of rural Mexican music with good-rocking American roots, *How Will the Wolf Survive?* is one of the best records of 1984. Singer David Hidalgo, who will break your heart with two gorgeous tunes called 'Will the Wolf Survive?' and 'A Matter of Time,' sounds a lot like Fifties Chicano rocker Ritchie Valens: he's got the same romantic, plaintive tenor' (Miller 1985).

"Will the Wolf Survive?" is a rock and roll song with English lyrics that convey one of the main themes of Norteño music, the struggle of illegal immigrants from Mexico to survive and prosper in the United States, as seen in the line: "running scared and forced to hide/In a land where he once stood with pride." This statement reflects two central concepts outlined in Claudia Sadowsky-Smith's Border Fictions: Globalization, Empire, and Writing at the Boundaries of the United States (2008). First is the concept of dependency: "Dependency theory argues that Latin American nations are underdeveloped not because of inherent defects or historical 'backwardness' but because of their specific position in a world economic system that keeps them dependent" (2008, 8). Mexican workers pride themselves on their ability to work hard, but, finding no work at home, are forced to cross the border illegally to take low-paying jobs in the United States. Sadowsky-Smith notes that the U.S.-Mexican border has become increasingly militarized, while simultaneously American industries, especially agriculture, depend on migrant workers. Veléz-Ibáñez describes this as the "commodification" of the Mexican population and its labor (1996, 7). A second important concept is that of "U.S. hegemony in the cultural, political and economic realms" (1996, 12). Economically, Mexican workers are forced to seek work in the United States. NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) opens the borders to products but keeps them closed to people; exploited and at the same time marginalized, politically, they are excluded, but economically, they are necessary.

"Serenata Norteña," also from *How Will the Wolf Survive*, is a traditional norteña song; the Spanish lyrics are a love song with reference to Norteña themes and culture: "Y te juro que no miento/Pues jamas un buen norteno/Habla sin tener hono" (I swear that I am not lying/For never a good Norteño/Speaks without his honour). There are also references to the Northern Mexican locations Nuevo Leon, Matamoros,

Reynosa and Rio Bravo, with the summary statement, "It is pure tradition," and a final meta-reference to the style of the song itself, "here in the North, the accordion reigns."

Los Lobos's norteña songs and their English-language rock songs illustrate one of the principles enumerated by Rice: "Music can also challenge powerful social institutions from positions of structural weakness. It can help to form communities where none have existed before, and to activate change in the underlying cultural assumptions and social structures of a society" (2014, 46).

The voice of the Norteño is heard in the last verse of "How Will the Wolf Survive?":

Sounds across the nation Coming from your hearts and minds Battered drums and old guitars Singing songs of passion It's the truth that they all look for Something they must keep alive

These lines encapsulate the main theme of Norteña, that music creates and preserves cultural identity.

Los Tigres del Norte – the Latin American Outlaw as Villain

Los Tigres del Norte are a Mexican-American band who reside in California. The members of the band are all from Mexico, but on a tour of the United States in 1968, their passports were stolen by the tour organizer, and they were stranded in California, where they settled down. Their music is popular among Spanish-speaking Americans, as Larry Rohter notes in *The New York Times*: their songs appeal to the immigrant audience because they are sympathetic to the plight of migrant workers:

Though they have made more than 50 albums and sold millions of records in their 45 years together, Los Tigres are all but invisible to mainstream English-speaking America. But to the country's growing Spanish-speaking population—especially the many Mexican and Central American immigrants who do the scut work in fields, construction sites, factories and hospitals—they are idols who sing, from personal experience, of trying to make a new life in a strange new country. (Rohter 2014)

Many of their songs deal with outlaws and drug dealers, but as Rohter notes, in one way they differ from most other songs in the genre: "What makes Los Tigres' songs about drug smuggling different... is that 'the bad guys get their comeuppance" (2014). "Muerte Anunciada" (Vargas Jimenez 1994) is a narcocorrido about the pursuit and death of Columbian drug trafficker Pablo Escobar. The first verse sums up the story: "Era una muerte anunciada, desde que gano la cima/Puso el mundo de cabeza, "El Zar de la Cocaína"/Pero cayó en Medellín, Don Pablo Escobar Gaviria" (It was a death foretold, since he won the summit/He turned the world upside down, "The Cocaine Czar"/But he fell in Medellín, Don Pablo Escobar Gaviria). Rohter notes another major difference between Los Tigres del Norte and other bands in the genre: "the Mexican regional music scene is increasingly dominated today by younger bands singing 'narcocorridos' glorifying the drug lords who have brought havoc to Mexico, and the Hernández brothers are alarmed by the tone of those songs" (Rohter 2014).

Los Tucanes de Tijuana – the Latin American Outlaw as Antihero

Los Tucanes de Tijuana (1987-present) are a popular Norteño band with 12 Grammy nominations in the United States and numerous awards in Mexico. In addition to traditional corridos, they are famous for their narcocorridos, such as "El Benefactor de Colima" (1995) and "El Diablo" (1997). These songs modernize the themes of traditional corridos to describe the lives of modern-day drug producers and traffickers similar to the cowboy ballads of American music, which celebrate the freedom of outlaws and gunfighters. In these songs, the narcotraficantes are heroes who combat corrupt politicians and police officers, until inevitably dying tragically in a hail of bullets. The first verse of "El Diablo" shows this:

Era un hombre de veras valiente Se burlaba de la policia A su mando traia mucha gente Su negocio se lo requeria Poderoso y tambien muy alegre Como "el diablo" se le conocia He was a brave man
He made fun of the police
At his command he brought many people
His business required it
Powerful and also very happy
As "the devil" he was known

Contrast this to the lyrics of "Soy de Durango" (2002) which tell the story of a tough man, perhaps, but not explicitly a drug trafficker:

Soy buena gente a la Buena Pero muy malo a la mala El ke se pasa de listo Kon su pellejo me paga Mi super solo dispara A la frente y a la cara I am a good person
But very bad in a bad way
The one who goes too far
With his skin he pays me
My super just shoots
To the forehead and to the face

In the town in Mexico where he lives, Culiacan, "La ley es de primitivo," (the law is primitive), and his violent nature makes him popular there, especially with women. Even these extreme statements of Mexican identity have made it into American mainstream consciousness: "Recently, narcocorrido (a Mexican genre dedicated to chronicling Mexico's ongoing drug war) made an appearance in the AMC's Breaking Bad (season 2 episode 7, "Negro y Azul")—immortalizing the deplorable acts of Walter White in song" (Kjorness 2013).

This is an apt borrowing of a cultural trope, since the fictional Walter White has become a quintessential example of the Righteous Outlaw: a middle-class white American anti-hero driven to lawbreaking by an uncaring capitalist society after being betrayed by his business partners and then being diagnosed with cancer. Several episodes in the series show his uneasy and violent dealings with a Mexican narcotraficante named Tuco Salamanca. Ironically, after leaving his business, Walter becomes a chemistry teacher; ¹² in Los Tucanes' "El Diablo," the main character is also described as a teacher.

ZZ Top – The Ironic Mexican Outlaw

ZZ Top's "El Diablo (de Mexico)" (1976) is an American version of the corrido. Building on a long tradition of American gunfighter ballads, such as the traditional "Streets of Laredo" and "El Paso" (1959), this one differs in that it features a Mexican outlaw as protagonist. It presents an American perspective on the *mojado* ("wetback"), not as a freedom-seeking hero (see Ragland 2009, 140–1), but as outlaw and bandit. Like Escobar in "Muerte Anunciada," he meets his fate at the hands of the law:

¹² In the first episodes he is a high school chemistry teacher; when he "breaks bad" he becomes the mentor to a former student, whom he teaches how to make methamphetamine.

He was caught, he was bound In La Casa de Calaboose He was tried, he was found And readied for the noose But the break he would make It didn't turn out so well And the hombre called Diablo Bid his last farewell

ZZ Top often celebrate outlaws in songs such as "Beer Drinkers and Hell Raisers" (1973), and "Arrested for Driving while Blind" (1977), although their lyrics are usually ironic, as exemplified in "Sharp Dressed Man" (1983); this one, however, paints the picture of a Mexican outlaw from the American perspective; the treatment of the main figure is sympathetic, however.

El Diablo is not exactly a sympathetic character; he is a gambler and a gunslinger, but there is no mention of any higher motive; there is no Robin Hood subplot. In this, he is similar to Joe in Billy Roberts' murder ballad "Hey Joe," who kills his wife in a fit of jealousy and then escapes the law by running to Mexico: "I'm going way down south/Way down to Mexico way, alright/I'm going way down south/Way down where I can be free" (1965), reinforcing the North American mythical stereotype of Mexico as a Land of Freedom, a lawless place, a haven for murderers and criminals.¹³

Conclusion

The rise in popularity of Latin American music worldwide can be attributed to several factors, including demographic change in hitherto majority English-speaking countries, but also to the rise of "crossover" artists, who present an initially exotic spectacle to the mass market, but over time become normalized. Artists such as Los Lobos, for example, appeal to the mainstream rock and roll market, and their catchy tunes and musical virtuosity attract listeners and introduce them to new kinds of music that they would not otherwise have encountered.

¹³ Hollywood films such as *Butch Cassidy and The Sundance Kid* (dir. George Roy Hill, 1969) use this stereotype; two likeable but unrepentant bank robbers flee to Bolivia to escape the law and a posse of private detectives but are finally caught and killed by the Bolivian army.

Annie J. Randall offers an insight into the process of mythmaking that results in popular songs that eclipse their origins in "The Censorship of Forgetting: Origins and Origin Myths of 'Battle Hymn of the Republic'" (2005). She begins by quoting a seminal insight of Roland Barthes:

Myth deprives the object of which it speaks of all History. In it, History evaporates. It is a kind of ideal servant: it prepares all things, brings them, lays them out, the master arrives, it silently disappears: all that is left is to enjoy this beautiful object without wondering where it comes from.... [T]his felicitous figure ... removes from sight ... all soiling traces of origin. (Barthes 1957, 151)

Randall analyses the way the historical account of John Brown's 1859 attack on Harper's Ferry, an action that would be labelled a hate crime or terrorist attack today, was transformed by selective retellings of the story and elevated into a national anthem. Barthes' essays provide many examples of how this transformative process works, and the process can be seen in American, Mexican, and Mexican-American songs and stories. The process of mythmaking takes a local hero, antihero, or villain, and builds a story around the character that offers universal appeal.

Songs from both sides of the border and both languages are similar in this respect: traditional American stereotypes of the good guy in the white hat, usually a lawman, versus the baddie in a black hat are ironically inverted when the law, and the lawman, are perceived as corrupt, and the outlaw is portrayed as a freedom fighter. In songs from south of the border, corridos and narcocorridos, the hero is a hardworking Mexican immigrant fighting injustice, often in the form of racism, while trying to provide for his family, thus upholding traditional values, even in the case of narcocorridos. In music, "outlaw" proves a borderless concept.

The outlaw is a central figure in North and Latin American mythology. Children learn in school that the United States was founded by pilgrims and pioneers fleeing oppressive regimes to find freedom in a new land (and ironically setting up their own oppressive regimes). In popular films, television shows, and songs, the outlaw has long been portrayed as an antihero, a good person driven to lawbreaking by corrupt authorities. In the real world, we see examples every day of powerful figures taking advantage of the widespread appeal of this myth. It is one of the ironies on display in a divided society that the outlaw myth can be applied negatively to members of minorities perceived as The Other, while simultaneously being applied positively to

members of the controlling group. The deeper irony is that such universal themes are still used to divide and separate.

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SODBA, KATEGORIJA JEZIKA VREDNOTENJA, V SLOVENSKI NARODNOZABAVNI GLASBI

Agata Križan

Univerza v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta, Maribor, Slovenija agata.krizan@um.si

Slovenska narodnozabavna glasba je del slovenske kulturne dediščine. Močno se je razširila po drugi svetovni vojni, predvsem po zaslugi bratov Avsenik, medijev in priljubljenosti diatonične harmonike med ljubiteljskimi glasbeniki. Prispevek obravnava besedila slovenske narodnozabavne glasbe na diskurznosemantični ravni in v njih razišče sodbo, kategorijo jezika vrednotenja (Martin in White 2005), kot (potencialno) nosilko vrednot, norm in stereotipov (tj. ideologije), ki so se s predvajanjem na radiu in pozneje televiziji (ne)zavedno in (ne)namerno promovirali. Množični mediji namreč s predvajanjem glasbe (hitro) dosežejo množice tudi z besedili, v katerih je ideologija (ne)posredno izražena oz. prisotna.

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THE APPRAISAL CATEGORY OF JUDGEMENT IN SLOVENE FOLK-POP MUSIC

Agata Križan

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Maribor, Slovenia agata.krizan@um.si

Slovene folk-pop music is part of Slovene cultural heritage. This genre of music spread rapidly after WW2, mainly due to the brothers Avsenik, media and popularity of diatonic accordion among amateur musicians. The aim of this paper is to explore judgement, an appraisal category (Martin and White 2005), at a discourse-semantic level, in the lyrics of Slovene folk-pop music as a (potential) carrier of values, norms and stereotypes (i.e. ideology), which were (un)consciously and (un)intentionally promoted via radio and later TV broadcasting. Through the broadcasting of music, the mass media reach the audience with lyrics, also those with ideology (in)directly expressed.



Uvod

Kot kulturni fenomen ima glasba precejšen vpliv na oblikovanje različnih identitet (Pompe 2012). Z vpetostjo v kulturni sistem norm in vrednot (Muršič 1993) je glasba povezana tudi z ideologijo. Ta se v glasbi lahko učinkovito uporablja, saj je poslušanje glasbe prijetna dejavnost. Kljub različnim mnenjem o tem, kaj je v glasbi pomembneje, melodija ali besedilo, pa so besedila pogosto sestavni del glasbe. Medojević (2011) ugotavlja, da je za večino njegovih anketirancev besedilo enako pomembno kot glasba. Besedilo in melodija se pogosto vzajemno podpirata in kot enota komunicirata s poslušalci. Z raziskovanjem besedil lahko razumemo etos kulture, saj »besedila pesmi odsevajo kulturo, katere del so« (Merriam 1964, 204–205), torej obstaja povezava med besedili pesmi in ideologijo.

V sistemski funkcijski lingvistiki je besedilo definirano kot »harmonična zbirka pomenov, ki ustrezajo kontekstu« (Butt idr. 2000, 3), in jezik je tisti, ki realizira pomene, natančneje, predstavne/izkustvene, medosebne in besedilne pomene v vsakem stavku istočasno (Halliday in Mathiessen 2004, 29–30). Izhajajoč iz sistemske funkcijske slovnice, ki se ukvarja s povezavo med jezikom in drugimi elementi in vidiki družbenega življenja, Fairclough (2003, 24) obravnava jezik »kot element družbenega na vseh stopnjah« in besedila kot dele »družbenih dogodkov«, kar imenujemo diskurz. Z drugimi besedami, diskurz je »jezik, ki odseva družbeni red, pa tudi jezik, ki oblikuje družbeni red in interakcijo posameznikov z družbo« (Jaworski in Coupland 1999, 3). Ker torej diskurz kot jezik v družbenem kontekstu prispeva h gradnji sistemov znanja in prepričanj (Fairclough, 1992, 64), izraža ali odseva tudi ideologijo. Pri izražanju in prenašanju ideologije lahko torej pomembno vlogo igra tudi jezik vrednotenja kot vir za ustvarjanje medosebnih pomenov.

Namen prispevka je raziskati *sodbo*, eno izmed kategorij kategorije odnosa v sistemu jezika vrednotenja, ki sta ga na primeru angleškega jezika razvila James R. Martin in Peter R. R. White (2005) kot (potencialno) nosilko ideologije v besedilih slovenske narodnozabavne glasbe, ki se je oblikovala v času nekdanje jugoslovanske države. Pojem ideologija je mnogoznačen in se ga uporablja precej široko (Dolar 2012) oz. je skupek prepričanj o marsičem in mnogočem (Bjelčevič 2012, 7–8). Prispevek se opira na to, da ideologijo ustvarjajo vrednote, prepričanja, ideje in predstave. Hyzen ideologijo opredeli kot »sistem idej in asociacij, večinoma po modelu vrednote + prepričanja = mnenje, ki jih osebe ustvarjajo kot nekakšno kombinacijo bioloških in družbenih procesov« (2021, 3486). Podobno je ideologija razumljena kot

»koherenten niz idej, predstav in vrednot« (Pompe 2012, 77) oz. kot »skupek idej, ki uravnavajo družbeno delovanje [...], so razlage sveta, ki nam govorijo, kako naj vidimo svet in kako naj mi sami delujemo v tem svetu«. Thompson in Hunston trdita, da »vsako dejanje ocenjevanja izraža skupni sistem vrednot in vsako dejanje ocenjevanja gre v smeri ustvarjanja tega sistema vrednot. Ta sistem vrednot je komponenta ideologije, ki leži v ozadju vsakega besedila« (1999, 6). Torej je tudi s sodbo kot jezikom vrednotenja izražen sistem vrednot. Pompe navaja celo, da je vsaka izjava prežeta z ideologijo:

Prav ideološka ustrojenost našega bivanja šele omogoča jasno definicijo naših izjav – o čemerkoli razmišljamo, poročamo, karkoli vrednotimo in opazujemo, vedno te informacije prežemamo z lastnim glediščem, na katerega so vplivali številni družbeni impulzi, zato lahko takšna gledišča oz. njihov kontekst razumemo kot ideologijo. (Pompe 2012, 77)

Iz zgoraj navedenega sledi, da ni nenavadno, da Hunstonova (v White 2016, 80) celo najbolj objektiven diskurz vidi kot prežet s subjektivnostjo in ideološko vrednostjo. Preučevanje ocenjevalnega¹ jezika je zato zelo pomembno, kar je razvidno tudi iz sledečega zapisa:

Preučevanje mehanizmov ustvarjanja ocenjevalnih pomenov mora biti v ospredju vsakega preučevanja ideologije, ki ga zanima, kako so z ideologijo prepojeni vrednostni sistemi oblikovani, reproducirani, postavljeni pod vprašaj, ponovno proučeni in ustvarjeni, da so videti kot 'naravni'. (White 2016, 93)

Pri širjenju glasbe imajo pomembno vlogo množični mediji.² Narodnozabavna glasba, ki je postala pomembna sooblikovalka slovenske identitete (Torkar 2008, 14) ter mnogim pomeni ohranjanje narodnega ponosa in predstavlja kulturno dediščino, se je sprva predvajala na radiu, pozneje pa še na televiziji, s čimer so mediji bistveno vplivali na njeno razširjenost, priljubljenost in pridobitev nacionalne oznake ('tipično slovenska'). Kot pove Sivec, »[r]adijski in televizijski medij torej z uvrščanjem določenih skladb v redni dnevni ali tedenski spored bistveno vplivata, da si poslušalci

¹ V angleški literaturi se pojavljata izraza *evaluation* in *appraisal*, v obeh primerih gre za vrednotenje oz. jezik, ki izraža vrednotenje nečesa ali nekoga. Martin in White (2005) uporabljata izraz *appraisal*, da poudarita, da gre za ocenjevanje (*evaluation*) na diskurzno-semantični ravni. Zaradi razlikovanja v prevodu sem *evaluation* prevedla kot ocenjevanje, *appraisal* pa kot jezik vrednotenja. Na podlagi tega je tudi pridevnik *evaluative* v prispevku preveden kot *ocenjevalen*.

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² Chomsky in Herman govorita o 'modelu propagande' množičnih medijev in trdita, da »množični mediji služijo kot sistem za komunikacijo sporočil in simbolov splošni populaciji. Njihova funkcija je zabavati in obveščati ter vcepiti posameznikom vrednote, prepričanja in načine obnašanja, ki jih bodo integrirali v institucionalne strukture širše družbe.« (1988, 1)

oz. gledalci besedilo zapomnijo in si ga z nenehnim ponavljanjem osvojijo za dlje časa« (2022).

Množični mediji omogočajo, da se glasba (pogosto) predvaja in (hitro) doseže množice. To lahko pomeni, da množični mediji s (pogostim) predvajanjem glasbe prav preko besedil (ne)zavedno in (ne)namerno promovirajo oz. propagirajo vrednote, prepričanja in stereotipe, kadar so ti (ne)posredno izraženi v besedilih. Takšne vsebine lahko imajo propagandni značaj. Že v svojem najosnovnejšem in najbolj nevtralnem smislu propaganda namreč pomeni širjenje ali promocijo določenih idej (Jowett in O'Donell 2012, 2) in je lahko nenamerna (Tarín Sanz 2018, Thomson v Tarin Sanz 2018), nezavedna (Bourdiev v Tarin Sanz 2018), prikrita (Pečjak 1995, 141–142), pozitivna (Busu idr. 2014) in ne nujno dramatična (Kristensson 2004). Filmski teoretik Taylor propagando preprosto opredeli kot »poskus vplivanja na javna mnenja občinstva skozi prenos idej in vrednot« (v Schieber 2021). Splichal jo opredeli podobno, in sicer kot »poskus vplivanja na mišljenje in vedenje ljudi, pri čemer želi vplivati predvsem na čustveno in manj na razumsko komponento človekovih stališć« (2001, 26). Nosilci propagandnih sporočil so največkrat prav množični mediji (Mlačnik 2002, 14). Še več, kot trdi Joey Skaggs v povezavi z mediji, »vse je propaganda« (v Henigman 2016).

Jezik vrednotenja

Ocenjevanje (angl. evaluation), tj. izražanje pozitivnega ali negativnega odnosa, stališča ali čustva do entitet ali izrečenih izjav (Thompson in Hunston 1999, 5), lahko razumemo kot vseprisoten pojav v besedilih samih, kar pomeni, da vse izjave zavzemajo položaj ocenjevanja (White 2016, 80). Kot funkcijski model ocenjevalnega jezika na diskurzno-semantični³ stopnji in kot komponenta medosebne funkcije jezika je jezik vrednotenja vir za ocenjevanje oz. izražanje odnosa do stvari in ljudi ter za izražanje čustev, stopnjevanje odnosa in vključenost avtorja v izjave oz. za (ne)poravnavo avtorjevega/avtoričinega glasu z drugimi glasovi in položaji (Martin in White 2005, 34–37). Medosebna funkcija jezika je tista, ki jo Halliday in Matthiessen opredelita kot »jezik kot delovanje« (2004, 30), kar pomeni, da jezik obvešča, sprašuje, ukazuje, ponuja ter izraža odnose, čustva, mnenja in prepričanja o naslovljencu in svetu. Teorija, na kateri temelji jezik vrednotenja, je

³ Diskurzna-semantika je vsebinska plast, katere funkcija je, da neposredno realizira družbeni kontekst. Jezik je namreč večplasten, kar pomeni, da deluje na različnih vsebinskih ravneh in izražanja (Halliday in Mathiessen 2004).

sistemska funkcijska lingvistika, ki poudarja, da jezik kot sistem ponuja neomejeno izbiro jezikovnih sredstev, s katerimi ljudje ustvarijo pomene, tj., kar želijo ali morajo doseči. Torej je tudi jezik vrednotenja jezikovno sredstvo za ustvarjanje (medosebnih) pomenov. Jezikovna izbira je tako odvisna od družbenih funkcij (Halliday in Matthiessen, 2004). Kot v sistemski funkcijski lingvistiki je tudi pri jeziku vrednotenja pomemben kontekst, torej pri analizi jezika ne gre samo za jezik v rabi, pač pa za diskurz, tj. za »uporab[o] jezika v povezavi z družbenimi, političnimi in kulturnimi formacijami« (Jaworski in Coupland 1999, 3).

Model jezika vrednotenja po Martinu in Whiteu (2005) je razdeljen na tri glavne kategorije: odnos, stopnjevanje in vključenost. Kategorije odnosa so čustvo (npr. žalosten, srečen, prestrašen), sodba (npr. pameten, skromen, nezrel) in ocenitev (npr. vreden, čudovit, neučinkovit). Čustvo je vir za izražanje čustev, sodba za izražanje odnosa do ljudi, njihovega obnašanja in značaja, ocenitev pa je vir za izražanje odnosa do stvari, izdelkov, objektov, zunanjega videza ljudi, dogodkov ipd. Pri stopnjevanju gre za stopnjevanje moči in žarišča odnosa. Viri stopnjevanja moči so okrepitev (npr. zelo) in količinskost (npr. mnogo). Po Hoodovi (2004, 103) je vir stopnjevanja moči tudi obogatitev (npr. prebrati natančno), vir stopnjevanja žarišča pa so avtentičnost (npr. pravi prijatelj), specifičnost (npr. posebej) in izpolnitev (npr. rešiti problem). Pri vključenosti gre za avtorjevo udeležbo oziroma poseg v besedilo skozi zavračanje ali razglašanje trditev, dopuščanje alternativnih trditev in pripisovanje trditev in izjav drugim/zunanjim virom (npr. ni, ampak, seveda, očitno, morda, ona trdi).

Odnos je lahko izražen neposredno ali posredno in ima pozitiven ali negativen status. Neposreden (ekspliciten, vtisnjen) odnos je izražen skozi odnosno besedišče, medtem ko se posreden (impliciten, priklican) odnos sproži na podlagi širšega konteksta ali predstavnih pomenov (Martin in White 2005, 64). Prav tako imajo pomembno vlogo pri izražanju prikritega ocenjevalnega pomena asociacije, ki jih imajo besede (Channel 1999, 38) in sobesedilo. Kot trdi White, večinoma viri, ki izražajo odnos posredno, opravijo »najtežje ideološko delo« (2016, 93). Za pričujočo raziskavo je relevantna tudi ugotovitev, da stopnjevanje in vključenost igrata pomembno vlogo pri izražanju posredne sodbe v izbranih britanskih reklamnih oglasih (Križan 2016).

Pri sodbi, na katero je prispevek osredotočen, gre za jezik, ki ocenjuje značaj in vedenje ljudi v smislu normalnosti, zmožnosti, vztrajnosti, poštenosti in etičnosti (Martin in White 2005, 53). Claire Painter ugotavlja, da je ocenjevanje otrokovega vedenja, poleg čustev, tisto, ki je večinoma prisotno na začetku razvoja otrokovega jezika (2003, 206). V ospredju tukajšnje analize je tako jezik, ki (ne)posredno ocenjuje značaj, vedenje in dejanja oseb, ki se pojavljajo v izbranih besedilih slovenske narodnozabavne glasbe.

Analiza: sodba

Za namen raziskave so bila izbrana besedila pesmi 12 slovenskih narodnozabavnih ansamblov, ki so bila napisana oz. je bila pesem izdana v obdobju nekdanje Jugoslavije (SFRJ). Kriterija za izbor besedila sta bila dostopnost na spletu ter raznovrstnost izvajalcev in obdobij nastanka. V izbranih besedilih smo na podlagi modela jezika vrednotenja po Martinu in Whitu (2005) identificirali jezik, ki izraža (neposredno oz. posredno in pozitivno oz. negativno) sodbo, pri čemer so bile za analizo uporabljene sodbe, povezane z ideologijo. V prispevku so predstavljeni in interpretirani najbolj ilustrativni primeri takih sodb. Uporabljena je bila kvalitativno-raziskovalna metoda.

Primeri 1

Primorci smo veseli4 ljudje

(Primorci smo veseli ljudje – Ansambel Ottavia Brajka)

veseli fantje smo z vasi, da takih zlepa najti ni

(Na Gorenjsko – Ansambel Henček)

na trgatev vse povabiš, kar veselih je ljudi

(Dolini Vipavski – Ansambel Ottavia Brajka)

zmeraj v srcu nasmejane; ljubim te ljudi prijazne; odprtih le dlani

(Zakladi Slovenije – Ansambel Franca Miheliča)

prijazni vaščani mi stiskajo spet roko

(Vračam se domov – Ansambel Franca Miheliča)

⁴ V prispevku so besede, ki izražajo sodbo neposredno, odebeljene, besede (npr. druge neposredno izražene kategorije odnosa, stopnjevanje, vključenost, metafore), ki sodelujejo pri izražanju posredne sodbe, pa so v poševnicah.

Sodba, večinoma pozitivna, je v izbranih besedilih izražena tako do Slovencev na splošno kot tudi bolj specifično do Slovencev, ki živijo v različnih slovenskih regijah in krajih (npr. Zgornja Gorenjska, Kras, Mengeš, Primorska). Kot prikazujejo Primeri 1, so s pozitivno sodbo, ki zadeva Slovence iz različnih delov Slovenije ali iz vasi, le-ti neposredno ocenjeni kot veseli, prijazni, a tudi trmasti, saj »tudi v hlevu vsak si želi imeti prav« (*Jutro na deželi*⁵ – Ansambel bratov Avsenik). Slovenci so na splošno pozitivno ocenjeni kot nasmejani in prijazni ter posredno z metaforo »odprtih le dlani«, ki vsebuje členek »le« kot vira vključenosti, kot večno pošteni in odprti6. Vesela narava kot značilnost vaških fantov je predstavljena kot redkost z negativno ocenitvijo »zlepa« in zanikanjem z »ni« (vključenost) tega, da je najti takšne ljudi drugod vse prej kot enostavno, s čimer je implicirana negativna sodba, ki verjetno zadeva mestne fante. Poudarjena je vesela človeška narava, ki je predstavljena kot zaželena vrednota tudi pri povabilu na trgatev, ki je omejena zgolj na vesele ljudi z uporabo stopnjevanja (količinskost)⁷ »vse«, ki nakazuje izključenost negativnih karakterjev. Vesela narava in dobrovoljnost sta izraženi kot stalno prisotna značilnost Slovencev skozi vključenost, prežeto s stopnjevanjem »zmeraj«, ki je najvišja vrednost za modalno ocenjevanje običajnosti (Martin in White 2005, 142).

Primeri 2

a meni za bogastvo *ni* v tej **skromni** *hišici*; *laži* v razkošju *nimam rad*, saj v srcu sem bogat; vse tisto *malo*, kar imam, sem si ustvaril sam; vesel prižgem si pipico pred svojo *hišico*; pehal se *nisem* za denar; denar je zdavnaj svet *končal*, **pokvaril** je ljudi (*Za tvoj praznik*/*Posedam rad pred hišico* – Ansambel bratov Avsenik) *domek* svoj *ne* menjal bi za *kup zlata* (*Kadar grem prek njiv* – Ansambel Henček)

Skozi pozitivno sodbo, ki je izražena posredno in se nanaša na Slovence, je kot zaželena vrednota izražena skromnost, kot prikazujejo Primeri 2, četudi jo subjektivno izrazi lirski subjekt. Pri tem je sodba posredno izražena z zanikanjem (vključenost) »ni/ne/nisem« potrebe po pehanju za denarjem in po bogastvu, na kar kaže tudi zanikanje potrebe po zamenjavi skromnega doma s »kupom zlata«, kjer je

⁵ Primeri so iz izvirnikov, ki so dostopni na internetu, večinoma na https://www.besedilo.si.

⁶ Kot trdi Musek, so »predstave o značilnostih pripadnikov narodnostne skupnosti pomemben del nacionalne zavesti, identitete in samopodobe. Te predstave obstajajo pri vseh narodih« (1997, 189).

⁷ Po Martinu in Whiteu količinskost (angl. *quantification*) zajema število, maso, čas in prostor (2005, 151).

izražen metaforičen jezik prežet s stopnjevanjem (količinskost). Prav tako je skromnost poudarjena z neposredno izraženo ocenitvijo z besedo »skromni«, ki se nanaša na prostor bivanja, ki v tem kontekstu pridobi pozitiven status, ter s pomanjševalnico »domek« in »hišico«, s katero se posredno izrazi pozitivno čustvo do prostora bivanja, v slednjem primeru pa to dodatno podkrepi še neposredno izraženo čustvo »vesel«. Skromnost je tudi posredno izražena s stopnjevanjem (količinskost) »malo«, ki izrazi skromno imetje, z negativnim čustvom do razkošja »nimam rad« v kombinaciji z neposredno izraženo negativno ocenitvijo razkošja z besedo »laži« ter z neposredno izraženo negativno ocenitvijo denarja kot povzročitelja slabega s »končal« in »pokvaril«. V slednjem primeru gre lahko hkrati tudi za neposredno izraženo negativno ocenitev denarja kot pokvarjenega skozi neposredno izraženo negativno sodbo ljudi, ki jih je denar pokvaril.

Poudarjanje skromnosti lahko nakazuje tudi posredno negativno ocenitev, ki zadeva bogastvo kot značilnost kapitalizma, torej negativen odnos do kapitalizma, glede na to, da so analizirana besedila nastala v času socializma, ki je poudarjal enakomerno porazdelitev bogastva, odpravo razlik med družbenimi razredi in kolektivno lastnino, medtem ko je za kapitalizem značilen lov za dobičkom in akumulacija kapitala (Močnik 2017). V povezavi z denarjem je, na primer, pozitivna sodba (posredno) izražena takrat, ko tisti, ki imajo denar, le-tega porabijo za pijačo oz. plačajo pijačo drugim, kot je izraženo v »vsakmo j' mar, če maš dnar, da le daš zan' frakle« (*Takih ni nikjer ljudi* – Ansambel bratov Avsenik). V smislu radodarnosti se posredno izražene pozitivne sodbe nanašajo tudi na kovače, saj le-ti kljub pomanjkanju denarja plačajo pijačo v dobri družbi (*Mi, kovači, kujemo* – Štirje kovači).

Primeri 3

Tam, kjer beseda domača zveni, **dobri** ljudje živijo (*Tehi, Slovenija* – Ansambel Slovenija) tu pognala korenina bo za naš **ponosni** rod (*Naša domovina* – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka) **ponosno** pot prešel njegov je rod (*Aljažev stolp* – Ansambel bratov Avsenik) **spoštljivo** dvignem spet roko, *pozdravim* svoje vse ljudi (*Dober dan, prijatelji* – Ansambel Ottavia Brajka)

Kot kažejo Primeri 3, se pozitivna sodba prav tako nanaša na splošno na Slovence, ki so neposredno ocenjeni kot dobri, ponosni in spoštljivi. S pozitivno sodbo so navedene značilnosti in obnašanje promovirani kot zaželeni.

Primeri 4

ko vse *žuljave* umijem si dlani

(Kadar grem prek njiv – Ansambel Henček)

se kopači veselijo, ko v vinograd pohitijo, pridno kopljejo

(Veselimo se, prijatelji – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka)

trudne so njene roke, oči; ko zasvetlika za goro se *svit*, v *rosi* srebrni reber se blesti, kosec koso je dal *že* na rame

(Kosec in žanjica – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka)

dobro danes se godi, če **priden** si kot mi; vedno dobre volje smo [...] pa čeprav je težak naš kovaški stan

(Mi, kovači, kujemo – Ansambel Štirje kovači)

ljubim te ljudi prijazne, delavne vse svoje dni

(Zakladi Slovenije – Ansambel Franca Miheliča)

a majerca po hiši preganja z delom čas

(Če te Gorenje povabi – Ansambel bratov Avsenik)

kmetič veselo plug si pripravlja

(Pomlad na deželi – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka)

Iz Primerov 4 je razvidno, da je pozitivna sodba neposredno izražena, ko se nanaša na delavne (pridne) ljudi. Prav tako sta delavnost in pridnost izraženi posredno z metaforičnim jezikom »žuljave« ter z besedo »trudne«, ki izraža utrujenost kot posledico težkega dela. Čeprav so v smislu delavnosti predmet sodbe predvsem tisti, ki delajo na polju in v vinogradu, sodijo pridnost, poštenost, delavnost in discipliniranost med najbolj razširjene slovenske avto-stereotipe (Musek 1997)8. Pridnost in delavnost sta izraženi kot stalni značilnosti Slovencev s stopnjevanjem (čas kot količinskost) »vse svoje dni«. Prav tako sta pridnost in delavnost izraženi posredno s stopnjevanjem (čas kot količinskost) »svit« in »rosa«, ki izražata zgodnji čas, in z nasprotjem od pričakovanega kot virom vključenosti »že«, ki nakaže, da opravilo nastopi zelo zgodaj in prej od pričakovanega. Poleg neposredno izražene

8 Prav tako so Slovenci med drugim označeni kot manj družabni, zadržani, tesnobni, zaskrbljeni in slabe volje (Musek 1994). pozitivne sodbe z besedo »priden« se pridnost posredno izrazi tudi skozi stalno prisotno dobrovoljno naravo kovačev in njihovo veselje do/ob del(a/u), ki sta izraženi z vključenostjo, prežeto s stopnjevanjem, »vedno« in količinskostjo »povsod« in »vsak od nas«, ki izraža vsesplošno prepoznavnost in poudari značilnost vsakega posameznika brez izjeme, ter z vključenostjo »čeprav«, ki izrazi nepričakovano nasprotje težkemu delu. Pridnost kot pozitivna vrednota je tudi pogoj za prijetno dogajanje, izraženo z vključenostjo »če«, ki izrazi pridnost kot pogoj (modalnost) za dobro počutje in delovanje, kar še dodatno poudari zaželenost te vrednote. Prav tako je pridnost posredno izražena skozi veselje do kmečkega dela. S pozitivno sodbo, katere predmet so delavci v posameznih panogah (npr. kovači, kopači), so ti poklici, večinoma podeželski, pozitivno ocenjeni.

Primeri 5

tak'h *ni* n'ker, **bulšeh** nej, *ni* jeh ledi **buolšeh**; *vsi skupaj* smo pa le ljudje, ki čutijo, kaj je srce; in kadar se *vsi* srečamo, *veselo* spet se *objamemo* (*Takih ni nikjer ljudi* – Ansambel bratov Avsenik)

Kot kažejo Primeri 5, sta človečnost in ljubezen do sočloveka tisti, ki kot skupni pozitivni značilnosti združujeta vse Slovence in Slovenke,⁹ ne glede na značilnosti prebivalcev posameznih slovenskih pokrajin. To je izraženo s stopnjevanjem (količinskost) »vsi skupaj«, tj. brez izjem, in s pozitivnim čustvom »veselo objamemo«, čeprav je najvišja mera dobrote prikazana kot pozitivna lastnost samo pri ljudeh iz posameznih slovenskih regij (npr. Dolenjci, Primorci) z zanikanjem kot virom vključenosti »ni« in »n'ker« in primerjavo kot virom stopnjevanja (okrepitev) »bulšeh«.

Pozitivna sodba, katere predmet so Slovenci in Slovenke, je izražena tudi na podlagi njihove vsesplošne gostoljubnosti in radodarnosti skozi stopnjevanje (količinskost) »vse« in ponavljanje povabila kot vira stopnjevanja (okrepitev) »povabimo vas vse, le pridite v goste« (Na zdravje vsem – Ansambel bratov Avsenik). To torej velja tudi pri Gorenjcih, ki jih sicer lirski subjekt, tudi sam Gorenjec, v »jaz sem za šparanje, saj sem Gorenje« (Praktično je le kolo – Ansambel bratov Avsenik) negativno oceni kot stiskače skozi vključenost »saj«, s čimer se izrazi (očiten) razlog za varčevanje, in s

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⁹ Najbolj razširjeni avto-stereotipi pri Slovencih po Musku so tudi, da so prepirljivi, nepripravljeni popuščati, nespravljivi, zavistni in nevoščljivi (1997).

tem verjetno v šaljivem smislu potrdi stereotip o Gorenjcih kot stiskačih¹⁰. Ta stereotip je v Če te Gorenje povabi (Ansambel bratov Avsenik) posredno ovržen skozi radodarnost in gostoljubnost, ki sta predstavljeni kot stalno prisotni pozitivni značilnosti Gorenjcev, in neizpodbitno resnico v »saj jutri bo kot danes«. Prav tako se stereotip ovrže skozi neposredno izraženo negativno ocenitev s »to stare so laži«, primero »a dobri kakor med« kot virom stopnjevanja (okrepitev), ki poudari dobroto Gorenjcev in jo skozi vključenost »a« predstavi kot nasprotje od pričakovanega glede na njihovo navidezno redkobesednost, ki lahko implicira negativno sodbo, posredno pozitivno sodbo na podlagi prijaznosti in veselja do gosta v »postrežeta smeje, pred durmi čaka Janez veselega srca« ter stopnjevanje (količinskost) »za gosta on porabi dobrot prav zvrhan koš«. Čeprav so Gorenjci predmet neposredne pozitivne sodbe, ki je izvršena kot primerjava kot vir stopnjevanja (okrepitev), in kot zanikanje kot vir vključenosti »ni boljšega srca«, s katero se izključi kakršnokoli drugačno mnenje in se dobrota Gorenjcev prikaže kot najvišja mera, bi kategorično zanikanje obstoja višje mere dobrote od gorenjske pri drugih ljudeh sicer lahko hkrati impliciralo tudi negativno sodbo do drugih.

Pozitivna sodba je posredno izražena tudi zaradi lastnega dosežka, ki je izražen z zaimkoma »svojo« in »sam« v »pred *svojo* hišico«, »ki *sam* sem jo gradil« in »sem si ustvaril *sam*« (*Za tvoj praznik* / *Posedam rad pred hišico* – Ansambel bratov Avsenik), s čimer se nekaj, kar človek ustvari sam, poudari kot vrednota.

Pozitivna sodba, katere predmet so mladi Slovenci in Slovenke, je posredno izražena na podlagi njihove dolgoletne ljubezni do slovenskih planin, ki predstavljajo slovenski narodni simbol, kar je nakazano s stopnjevanjem (čas kot količinskost in ponavljanje kot okrepitev) v »mladi fantje in možje, mamice, dekleta na planine vandrajo dolga, dolga leta« (V si nazaj v planinski raj — Ansambel bratov Avsenik), in na podlagi medgeneracijskega proslavljanja ter druženja skozi naštevanje kot virom okrepitve (stopnjevanje) v »tastari, tamladi, otroci in vnuki proslavljamo« (V domačem krogu lastovke — Ansambel bratov Avsenik).

Primeri 6

hitimo dan za dnem naprej, ostaja vedno manj nam časa (Danes praznujemo – Ansambel Franca Miheliča)

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¹⁰ Med Slovenci krožijo šale o Gorenjcih kot stiskačih.

večkrat živimo kot tujci drug z drugim, vsem se nenehno samo še mudi, skopo odmerimo čas si za znance, svoje prijatelje, svoje ljudi; vzemi si čas, postoj vsaj malo

(V zemi si čas – Fantje z vseh vetrov)

čeprav drug za drugega ne vzamemo si časa

(Mojemu očetu – Alpski kvintet)

Čeprav so Slovenci in Slovenke, kot je prikazano v Primerih 6, večinoma ocenjeni kot predmet pozitivne sodbe, se na podlagi njihovega nenehnega hitenja in posledično pomanjkanja časa za prijatelje in sorodnike izrazi tudi posredna negativna sodba. Le-ta je nakazana z vključenostjo, ki je prežeta z najvišjo stopnjo stopnjevanja, z »vedno«, stopnjevanjem, ki izraža ponavljajoče se dejanje z »nenehno« in »dan za dnem«, ter količinskostjo kot virom stopnjevanja z »manj časa«, »večkrat« in »skopo«. S tem se izrazi časovna neprekinjenost in z njo stalna značilnost, pogostost hitenja ter redkost snidenja, s stopnjevanjem prepojenim besediščem »mudi«, s primerjavo »kot tujci«, z velelniki »vzemi si čas, postoj vsaj malo«, ki zahtevajo postanek, ter z vključenostjo »ne vzamemo si časa«, ki skozi kategorično zanikanje odmere časa za sorodnike in prijatelje poudari čas za druženje kot zaželeno vrednoto. Kljub temu Slovenci in Slovenke najdejo čas za družinska praznovanja v rodnem domu, četudi je treba pripotovati od daleč, kar je izraženo kot proti-pričakovanje (vključenost) »čeprav smo zbrani z vseh vetrov«, s čimer se posredno izrazi pozitivna sodba (Danes praznujemo - Ansambel Franca Miheliča). Pomanjkanje časa za druženje ni problem pri popivanju v »nam pa nikamor se zdaj ne mudi« (Čaše nalijmo si – Ansambel bratov Avsenik) in »domov še ne gremo« (Mi ga spet žingamo – Ansambel bratov Avsenik), kjer je z vključenostjo »ne« zanikana potreba po odhodu domov in hitenju.

Primeri 7

ko spletal **skrbno** za nas si toplo gnezdece; zatekam se k **modrostim** tvojega sveta; ob tebi sem *vedno* se lahko *vse dni* učil; *vse bolj* te **spoštujem**, *vse bolj* **občudujem**; s teboj sem občutil moč **ljubezni**

(Mojemu očetu – Alpski kvintet)

Nikdar vas pozabil jaz ne bom

(Ne pozabi domovine – Fantje z vseh vetrov)

Predmet sodbe, ki je večinoma pozitivna, so tudi starši. Kot je razvidno iz Primerov 7, je oče neposredno ocenjen kot skrben, ljubeč, občudovan, pameten in spoštovan. Pozitivna sodba na podlagi očetovega znanja je neposredno izražena z besedo »modrostim«, h katerim se otrok zateka, ter posredno kot otrokovo nenehno črpanje znanja od očeta kot neusahljivega vira znanja, kar je nakazano s stopnjevanjem prežeto vključenostjo »vedno« in »vse dni«. Prav tako je neposredna pozitivna sodba izražena na podlagi očetove skrbi za družino z besedo »skrbno«, medtem ko se pozitivna sodba izrazi posredno skozi otrokovo občutenje ljubezni ob očetovi prisotnosti, kar kaže na očetov ljubeč odnos. Naraščajoče spoštovanje in občudovanje očeta skozi stopnjevanje (okrepitev) »vse bolj« in ponavljanje tega spoštovanja in občudovanja ne implicira le pozitivna sodba, katere predmet je oče kot vir občudovanja in spoštovanja, pač pa tudi pozitivna sodba, katere predmet je sin, ki goji spoštovanje in občudovanje do očeta, tj. se zaveda očetovega pozitivnega vedenja in osebnosti. Pozitivna sodba, katere predmet je sin, je posredno izražena tudi na podlagi sinove večne ohranitve spomina na rodni dom, kar je nakazano z zanikanjem (vključenost) »nikdar« in »ne« pozabe doma, s čimer se poudari spoštovanje do doma, torej do staršev, ki so ustvarili ljubeč dom. Na podlagi spoštovanja in hvaležnosti do ostarelega očeta se starost pokaže kot pozitivna vrednota. Prav tako je na podlagi spomina lirskega subjekta na prednike v Zakladi Slovenije (Ansambel França Miheliča) in Moj stari kraj (Ansambel Fantje treh dolin) in nošenja narodne noše, ki jo je stari oče kupil kot poročno obleko, v Narodna noša (Ansambel bratov Avsenik), izraženo ne samo spoštovanje do tradicije in preteklosti, pač pa je hkrati nakazana tudi pozitivna sodba do lirskega subjekta, ki tradicijo in preteklost spoštuje.

Po drugi strani pa očetova podedovana navada pitja vina v *Očetovi navadici* (Ansambel Henček) sproži negativno sodbo, katere predmet sta oba, tako oče kot sin, z uporabo besede »navada«, ki označuje ponavljajoče dejanje oziroma pogostost pitja, s čimer torej kot količinskost opravi funkcijo stopnjevanja, pri čemer lahko pogosto pitje vina postane škodljivo, in z uporabo pogovorne oblike »glih« kot virom stopnjevanja (okrepitev), ki lahko v tem kontekstu implicira negativno čustvo (npr. jeza), v paru z dodajanjem (okrepitev) »tud« in okrepljeno količinskostjo »prav vsak dan« kot viroma stopnjevanja, ki poudari vsakodnevno uživanje alkohola brez izjeme. Sicer pa se z uporabo manjšalnice »navadica« v naslovu pesmi problem podedovane nezdrave navade omili.

Primeri 8

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dokler tam ljubeča je mati; ponosni smo nate in dragi naš dom (Za mami – Ansamble Lojzeta Slaka)
v zibelko nam položila je zaklad ljubezni za življenje vse (Kjer so zibali me mati – Alpski kvintet)
povejte, zvezde ve, kaj mati delajo; povejte mamici: njen fant vrnil se bo (Mama, prihajam domov – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka)
se spomniš, draga moja mama
(Se spomniš, draga mama – Ansambel Ludvika Lesjaka)
ko rano jutro ženem živinico v goro, na mizi skleda mleka dočaka me doma in mam'ca nadrobijo nam kruha črnega
(Na paši – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka)
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Kot prikazujejo Primeri 8, je predmet pozitivne sodbe tudi mati, ki je neposredno ocenjena z besedo »ljubeča« (*Za mami* – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka) in posredno na podlagi pozitivnega čustva – ponosa –, ki ga otroci čutijo do matere in doma, metafore, ki izraža njeno ljubezen, sinovo zanimanje za mater ter tolažbe, ljubečega naslavljanje matere ter materine skrbne priprave hrane za sina pred njegovim odhodom na delo (pašo) zgodaj zjutraj.

Primeri 9

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velik je zaklad, če je človek mlad

(V sak zase naj se briga – Ansambel bratov Avsenik)

zlata naj kapljica spet mladost nam požene v srce!

(Čaše nalijmo si - Ansambel bratov Avsenik)

vem takrat, da sem bogat, ko sem še mlad

(Kadar grem prek njiv – Ansambel Henček)

na tisti lepi čas, ko sam užival je še mladostne urice

(Jutro na deželi – Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
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Tako kot pri očetu je starost kot vrednota poudarjena tudi pri materi s primerjavo kot virom okrepitve (stopnjevanje), s katero je izražena povečana ljubezen otrok do matere v starosti »še *dražja* si danes, ko v letih si že« (*Za mami* – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka), pri čemer otrokovo spoštovanje in ljubezen do ostarele matere sproži pozitivno sodbo, katere predmet je (odrasel) otrok. Čeprav je starost kot pozitivna

vrednota in s tem pozitivna sodba, katere predmet je star(ejša) oseba, posredno izražena tudi s ponavljanjem kot virom okrepitve (stopnjevanje) s »*Kaj nam mar? Kaj nam mar? «* (*Nazdravimo si še enkrat* – Ansambel Franca Miheliča), ki implicira indiferentnost do starosti, in z neposredno izraženo pozitivno ocenitvijo materinih las s »krasijo te beli« (*Za mami* – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka), je vendarle mladost tista vrednota, ki je večinoma poveličana s pozitivno ocenitvijo, kot prikazujejo Primeri 9. Na podlagi navedenega je moč sklepati, da je mlad človek tisti, ki je večinoma predmet pozitivne sodbe.

Primeri 10

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Ah, te ženščine, to na živce gre
(Če vinček govori — Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
boljša je kupica kot koprivasta ženkica
(Veseli samec — Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka)

ostra kakor nož
(Vsak naj se zase briga — Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
sem lintvarna dobil
(So mam'ca mi d'jali — Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
glavn', da se afna
(Samo, da je moder'n — Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
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V izbranih besedilih so predmet sodbe tudi ženske in poročene žene, kot je razvidno iz Primerov 10. Sodba je pogosto negativna in izražena tako neposredno kot posredno. Ženske so na primer negativno ocenjene kot muhaste, izumetničene, krute, navihane in zapeljive. Prav tako so ženske tiste, ki se pritožujejo, in tiste, ki so razlog za moško zmedenost, jezo in nezvestobo.

Negativna sodba v Primerih 10, katere predmet je žen(sk)a, je izražena neposredno z besedami »ženščine«, »koprivasta«, »afna« in »lintvarn«,¹¹ ki so semantično prežete s stopnjevanjem, z metaforično primerjavo kot virom okrepitve (stopnjevanje) »ostra kakor nož« ter s primerjavo s kozarcem vina, ki moškemu nudi večje zadovoljstvo kot žena. Negativna sodba, izražena z »ženščino«, je še dodatno podprta z negativnim čustvom »na živce mi gre« in »ah«, ki kot vzdihljaj tudi nakaže negativno čustvo.

^{11 &#}x27;Lintvern' nižje pogovorno pomeni zmaj (https://www.fran.si/iskanje?Query=lintvern).

Posredna negativna sodba, katere predmet je žena, je izražena na podlagi ženine krutosti s stopnjevanjem okrepljeno metaforo »me *kmalu* privila je *močno na trdo*«, s katero je nakazana sprememba ženinega obnašanja pred in po poroki, ter ženine prisile moža v mnoga značilno ženska hišna opravila (okna ji brišem, kuham, likam). Določena izmed njih opravlja posebej za ženo (zaimek »ji«), s čimer slednje še poudari možev težaven položaj, ki spominja celo na odnos služabnik – gospodarica v *Je že pač tako* (Ansambel bratov Avsenik). Po drugi strani pa naštevanje mnogih 'ženskih' hišnih opravil, ki jih mož opravlja, primerjava z avtomatom kot virom stopnjevanja (okrepitev), ki poudari količino dela, neposredno izražena pozitivna sodba z besedo »skrbno« ter neposredno izražena pozitivna ocenitev hrane z besedo »dobre« kaže na moževo skrbnost in marljivost, torej se izrazi posredna pozitivna sodba. Vseeno na koncu pesmi mož posredno izrazi pozitivno sodbo do žene z »drugo vse z Evo sem dobil«. Kadar posredna pozitivna sodba, katere predmet je žen(sk)a, ni izražena kot prevladujoča nad negativno sodbo v isti pesmi, se možnost sprejetja stereotipa verjetno poveča s (pogostim) poslušanjem zgolj te pesmi.

Uresničitev najboljše verzije moža je skozi vključenost (modalnost) v »če vedno prijazna in prikupna boš« (Je že pač tako – Ansambel bratov Avsenik) pogojena z ženinim vedenjem, tj. z njeno stalno prisotno prijaznostjo in prikupnostjo, s čimer se krivda za neizpolnitev posredno prenese na ženo. Pri tem lahko prikupnost pomeni tako zunanjo urejenost kot tudi lepo vedenje. Je pa lepa zunanjost tista, ki je poudarjena pri ženski, kot na primer »brhka Micka« (Če te Gorenje povabi – Ansambel bratov Avsenik), »brhkih tu deklet« (Na zdravje vsem – Ansambel bratov Avsenik), »planinka brhka se mi smehlja« (Ples v planinski koči – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka) in »lepi ženkici sosedovi« (Vsak naj se zase briga – Ansambel bratov Avsenik), s čimer pa ni izražena sodba, torej značaj, ampak ocenitev, kar postavlja žensko zunanjost (lepoto) nad značaj.

Primeri 11

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a men' ni do smeha ... nič več ne hom vriskal (So mam'ca mi d'jali – Ansambel bratov Avsenik) mož v zakonu trpi (Če vinček govori – Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
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rešite me *zablod, skomin in grešnih zmot*; jesti, piti da mi moja ženkica, *vročega srca pa ne pozna!*; *je tako na sveť*, moški naših let rad se hodi gret, če doma je *led* ...; ja, ja, ja, ja,

je že tako *povsod*, da *slajši* je *drugod* drevesa plod!; kadar prek poti ga *zvabijo* oči; tuje so žene *nevarne* vse!

(*Vsak zase naj se briga* – Ansambel bratov Avsenik) *vabljivo* se mi posmeji (*Ples v planinski koči* – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka)

Kot prikazujejo Primeri 11, so žene kot vir moževega trpljenja ocenjene posredno z negativno sodbo, pri čemer je moževo trpljenje izraženo neposredno z negativnim čustvom »trpi« in zanikanjem pozitivnega čustva (veselja) kot vira vključenosti. Prav tako je moževo trpljenje nakazano skozi željo po drugi ženi, grešne misli in zmote, ki se jih sicer lirski subjekt želi rešiti, ter moževo nezvestobo v določenih letih, pri čemer je le-ta celo opravičena na podlagi splošno veljavne resnice in razširjenosti dejstva »je tako na svet'« in »ja, ja, ja je že tako povsod« in odsotnosti ženine strasti. Žena je sicer ocenjena posredno s pozitivno sodbo na podlagi skrbi za in zadovoljitvijo moževih osnovnih potreb, razen potrebe po spolnosti, pri čemer je slednje nakazano z zanikanjem (vključenost) in okrepitvijo kot stopnjevanjem v obliki vzklika »vročega srca pa ne poznal«. Pri tem je lahko nakazana tudi ženina frigidnost in s tem krivda, torej negativna sodba. Podobno je krivda za moževo nezvestobo posredno pripisana ženi z metaforo ledu ter na podlagi ženske zapeljive, celo nevarne narave, ki moškega vabi v skušnjavo. Ženska je tista, ki privablja oziroma nastavlja past moškemu. Vabljivost tujih žensk je predstavljena kot nevarnost za vse (poročene) moške, pri čemer poved z uporabo klicaja prevzame celo vlogo svarila, kar še okrepi negativno sodbo, katere predmet je neznana ženska.

Ženska zapeljiva narava se lahko prepozna tudi skozi metaforo rožice, s katero ženska vabi moškega, kar ima lahko seksualno konotacijo, in ukaza, izvršenega z velelnikom »le pridi sam si ponjo pod noč, ko se stemni« (*Na travniku* – Ansambel Henček). Besedila slovenske narodnozabavne glasbe se omembe spolnosti izogibajo ali zakrijejo, kar je v nasprotju z besedili slovenske moderne narodnozabavne glasbe (Stanković 2021). Moški pa ni predstavljen samo kot žrtev, ampak tudi kot predmet posredne pozitivne sodbe, sprožene na podlagi vključenosti »če«, ki nakaže moško moralno nesporno tj. 'nefalotsko' obnašanje, neposredno izražene pozitivne sodbe z besedo »priden«, okrepitve s ponavljanjem z »ja, ja, ja, ja« in količinskosti (stopnjevanje) z »brž« in »ne kod, ne kam« kot viri stopnjevanja ter zahtevo moškega po odpuščanju grešnih misli in napak z uporabo ukaza, izvršenega z velelnikom (*Vsak zase naj se briga* – Ansambel bratov Avsenik).

Primeri 12

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najlepše je dekle, ki zvesto čaka te
(Prelep je svet – Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
in drugo si našel je fant, a sanjam, da vrnil se bo spet
(Cvetoče tulpe – Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
počakaj me, da leto mine
(V tujino – Ansambel Henček)
kedo bo dekle ljubil, ko bom k vojakom šel? jaz sam bom dekle ljubil, ko bom nazaj
prišel
(Kdo bo listje grabil – Ansambel Ottavia Brajka)
moja dobro ve, kdaj luna nosi me
(Vsak zase naj se briga – Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
Sva se pobotala, se več ne kregava
(Če vinček govori – Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
v sanjah zlatih me poljublja, v svoj objem si me želi
(Moje dekle – Ansambel Rudija Bardorferja)
tja, kjer izbral sem si dekle
(Moj rodni kraj, moj rodni dom – Ansambel bratov Avsenik)
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Žen(sk)a je v Primerih 12 predstavljena kot tista, ki zvesto čaka moškega in ki odpušča moško nezvestobo. Še več, najvišja stopnja žen(sk)e lepote je pogojena z zvestim čakanjem na moškega, kar pomeni, da je zvesta žen(sk)a predmet pozitivne sodbe. Z ukazom, izvršenem z velelnikom »počakaj me«, je zvestoba celo zahtevana. Tarča pozitivne sodbe je tudi žena, ki je spravljiva in razumevajoča v prepiru z možem, ki je v opitem stanju, ki si želi moškega in ga razume. Od (slovenske) žen(sk)e, ki se ji z navedenim dodeljuje precej pasivna vloga v odnosu z moškim, se pričakujejo vrednote, kot so prijaznost, skrbnost, razumevanje, zvestoba, potrpežljivost, ljubkost in spodobnost, ki bi jih lahko označili kot tradicionalne.

Po drugi strani pa je ženska v *Polka, valček, rock and roll* (Ansambel Henček) skozi lirski subjekt ženskega spola predstavljena kot odločna in samostojna v smislu odločanja glede svojih čustev in delovanja, kar je nakazano skozi modalnost kot virom vključenosti v obliki retoričnega vprašanja in njegove ponovitve kot virom stopnjevanja (okrepitev) »Zakaj sedela bi doma čemerna in otožna? Zakaj nocoj bi ne bila brezskrbna in vesela?«, kar kaže na pozitivno sodbo.

Ženska odločnost in s tem pozitivna sodba se kaže tudi v *Navihani deklici* (Ansambel Ottavia Brajka) na podlagi kategoričnega zanikanja (spolne) prepustitve moškemu in nasprotja od pričakovanega kot virov vključenosti v »ne dam pa ujeti se« in »pod nosom se obriše vsak, ki tistih misli je«, kljub vključenosti z »že res«, ki potrdi splošno resnico o navihani in zapeljivi naravi, lepoti, ljubezni do zabave in pomanjkanju strahu ponoči na začetku besedila, ki lahko implicira moralno spotakljivo vedenje (Keber, 2011) in s tem negativno sodbo.

Primeri 13

še našim Mickam *nismo* kos, svet okrog njih se vrti! (*Mi ne gremo na drug planet* – Ansambel bratov Avsenik) na zdravje žen in vseh deklet, brez njih je prazen svet (*Sezidal sem si vinski hram* – Ansambel Lojzeta Slaka)

Kot je razvidno iz Primerov 13, moški nakljub trpljenju v zakonu in negativni sodbi, katere predmet je žen(sk)a, priznavajo, da bi bilo življenje brez žensk in žena prazno, s čimer jim priznavajo pomembno vlogo in s tem posredno izrazijo pozitivno sodbo. Prav tako je pomembnost žensk in žena nakazana z nazdravljanjem moških v njihovo čast in metaforo, s katero so ženske prepoznane kot glavni vir pozornosti in dogajanja s »svet se okrog njih vreti«, torej se posredno izrazi pozitivna sodba. Pozitivno sodbo, katere predmet je žen(sk)a, je možno prepoznati tudi skozi zanikanje zmožnosti spopadanja moških z ženskami (Mickami) kot virom vključenosti, katerim posredno priznavajo premoč, vendar je pri tem lahko implicirana tudi ženska muhasta tj. težavna narava in s tem negativna sodba.

Negativna sodba, katere predmet so žen(sk)e, je večinoma izražena na šaljiv način¹² in s tem nenamerno tudi kot dopolnitev veseli melodiji pesmi. Slovenski žen(sk)i se v nekaterih primerih priznava pomembnost njenega obstoja, zato je negativna sodba vseeno lahko pri poslušalstvu razumljena in sprejeta kot nekakšna splošna resnica in stereotip. Stereotip je »vgrajen skoraj v vseh človeških prepričanjih, naj gre za humor, razlage o drugih ali druga izražanja« (IvyPanda 2021). Poleg tega pa »so študije

¹² Ansambel bratov Avsenik je kasneje dodal še humoristične in povezovalne elemente na odru (Sivec 2002), ki jih je moč najti tudi v besedilih, s čimer se je razvedrilni in zabavni namen pesmi še poudaril.

pokazale, da če veš, kako drugi stereotipizirajo ljudi, ki so del tvoje lastne demografske skupine, boš začel/a tako delovati« (Sheehan v Vallauri, 2017, 65).

Zaključek

Prispevek obravnava sodbo, kategorijo jezika vrednotenja (Martin in White 2005), kot možno prenašalko ideologije v besedilih slovenske narodnozabavne glasbe. Analiza sodbe v izbranih besedilih slovenske narodnozabavne glasbe je pokazala, da so skozi (ne)posredno pozitivno sodbo izražene vrednote, kot so pridnost, delavnost, poštenost, vesela človeška narava, dobrota, ponos, radodarnost, odprtost, prijaznost, mladost, delno tudi starost, očetova modrost in znanje, materina ljubezen, skromnost, ljubezen do sočloveka ne glede na regionalne meje Slovenije, lastna stvaritev in družinska medgeneracijska praznovanja. Po drugi strani negativna sodba v besedilih poudarja odtujenost prijateljev in sorodnikov zaradi pomanjkanja časa in hitrega življenjskega tempa, pohlep in prekomerno pitje alkohola kot problematične, ter izraža nekatere stereotipe o ženskah in ženah. Čeprav so stereotipi izraženi precej subjektivno skozi lirski subjekt, v prvi edninski ali množinski osebi, in na šaljiv način, se lahko s (pogostim) poslušanjem poveča prevzemanje ali ohranjanje določenih stereotipov, prepričanj, občutkov in vrednot, ki so v besedilu (ne)posredno, (ne)zavedno ali (ne)namerno izražene oz. promovirane, kot normalnih in zaželenih. Čeprav je v ospredju analize sodba, ki je le ena izmed kategorij jezika vrednotenja, sta pri prepoznavanju sodbe, predvsem posredne, pomembno vlogo odigrali tudi vključenost in stopnjevanje, ki sta poleg odnosa (ena izmed kategorij katerega je sodba) prav tako kategoriji jezika vrednotenja.

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COUNTERPROPAGANDA IN SELECTED ALTERNATIVE ROCK AND METAL MUSIC

Tadej Todorović

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Maribor, Slovenia tadej.todorovic@um.si

This article attempts to determine whether we can identify any linguistic differences between songs that are typically considered as propaganda and those considered as counterpropaganda. We analyse a World War I propaganda song ("Over There" by George Μ. compare rock/metal Cohan) and it two (counterpropaganda) songs: Muse's "Uprising" and Gojira's "Amazonia." The analysis is done using a finite speech act typology. The findings indicate that propaganda songs utilise a higher percentage of Requests, as the aim of propaganda is often to promote joining some movement or cause. Propaganda typically aims to be familiar, and repetition is used for this purpose: counterpropaganda songs in our analysis are less repetitive propaganda Propaganda compared songs. counterpropaganda songs feature the same kinds of Requests, yet the Requests in propaganda songs are unambiguous, concrete and specific, whereas in counterpropaganda songs, they are vague and abstract. Finally, Opines are utilised to a higher degree in counterpropaganda, which could be explained by the fact that Opines are inherently subjective, making them unsuitable for delivering the clear and factual messages required by propaganda.

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1 Introduction

In this article, we attempt to answer the following question: are there any linguistic differences between songs that we usually refer to as propaganda songs and songs that are considered counterpropaganda (or antipropaganda)? Specifically, we compare traditional and noncontroversial examples of propaganda music to rock and metal songs. Since both contemporary genres are often connected to the counterculture, they can serve as good examples of counterpropaganda songs. The motivation behind this endeavour arises from the following scenario: a relativist or cynic would be quick to claim that whether some piece of music is propaganda or counterpropaganda simply depends on the point of view and would end the discussion there, yet this does not seem like a sufficient answer – surely there must exist some differences in substance or form between propaganda and counterpropaganda? John Lennon's "Imagine" serves to illustrate this point: Texas Senator Lee Tiralo said that "The lines, Imagine there's no countries, would incite unnecessary tension in the already volatile Israel-Palestine zone" and "the opening lines 'Imagine there's no heaven,' are outrightly, impudently blasphemous" (Chakravarti 2013, as cited in Lim and Lemanski 2017), yet others describe it as "22 lines of graceful, plain-spoken faith in the power of a world, united in purpose, to repair and change itself' (Rolling Stone 2003), hailing it as the third best song of all time. We do not agree with the relativists that John Lenon's "Imagine" is just as much propaganda as various war songs, so we conducted a linguistic analysis of three selected songs (one propaganda example and two counterpropaganda examples form rock and metal) using speech acts to find out whether we could articulate any substantive linguistic differences between propaganda and counterpropaganda.

2 Review of literature

Propaganda in music has been studied from various angles and fields, such as sociology and psychology (Denisoff 1966, 1968; Lim 2017); however, little research has been conducted on the linguistic characteristics of propaganda music, especially in the context of demarcating propaganda and counterpropaganda music.

In "European anti-propaganda policies" (Robin 2023), propaganda is defined as "a process which deliberately attempts, through persuasive techniques, to obtain from an audience (propagandee), before it can deliberate freely, the responses desired by the propagandists" (Henderson 1943, 83). The definition is, as it stands, broad and

can be applied, in the context of music, to various kinds of songs. Music is often emotional: e.g., it can manipulate how our brain processes information by tapping into our emotions (Whitcombe 2013); it can be used to affect our mood (Hennessy et al. 2021), and nostalgic music can serve to buffer individuals against sadness (Sedikides, Leunissen, and Wildschut 2022). It is no secret that songs can thus be used as propaganda for various goals. Propaganda songs, or "songs of persuasion", as Denisoff calls them, can be understood as songs "designed to communicate social, political, economic, ideological concepts, or a total ideology, to the listener" (Denisoff 1966, 582).

On the other hand, the function of counterpropaganda is supposedly the opposite: to prepare answers to false propaganda in order to refute the disinformation of propaganda (Romerstein 2009, 137). The hard part is to formalise the difference between the two. Rock, alternative rock, and metal music are often associated with counterculture (Macan 1997; Hjelm, Kahn-Harris, and Levine 2012; Karbownik 2022), opposing mainstream views and norms, so (relativistically) characterising such music as propaganda, but from the other side of the aisle, seems unfair at the very least. Whereas the differences in propaganda and counterpropaganda songs can be analysed from various perspectives, such as psychological or sociological, the main aim and motivation of this article is to determine whether we can articulate any meaningful differences between the two in terms of language.

3 Data and methodology

For the purposes of this analysis, we have chosen one song that can be (uncontroversially) classified as a propaganda song and two (counterpropaganda) rock/metal songs that feature at least some mobilization or persuasion of the listener to do something, that call for general dissent, or aim to make the listener angry, indignant, etc. This is in line with Denisoff's (1968) definition of two categories of propaganda/protest songs: "magnetic" protest songs, the aim of which is for the listener to join some movement or reinforce some commitment, and "rhetorical" protest songs, which focus on making the listener indignant or call for dissent.

For our paradigmatic example of a propaganda song, we have selected Cohan's "Over There", which has been described as the "greatest song of the First World War" (Morehouse 1943, 17) and is a great example of "pro-American music during the First World War, and how such themes as patriotism worked into the realms of

the everyday American life" (Goodwin 2015). The main message of the song is to convince the American public to join the war, heavily appealing to the patriotism of the American people in doing so.

For the first counterpropaganda song, we selected "Uprising" by the English rock band Muse, which was described by Matt Bellamy (writer and lead singer of the band) as a protest song against banks, expressing mistrust of bankers, politicians, and global corporations. The overall message of the song is straightforward: calling for people to "rise up and take the power back" from the corporations and put people back into control.

The second counterpropaganda song, titled "Amazonia", comes from the French heavy/death/progressive metal band Gojira, and was written as a "vehicle for environmental activism" (Hartmann 2021), warning against the dangers of burning down the Amazon forest, as evident from the chorus line "The greatest miracle is burning to the ground".

These songs were selected because they unequivocally deliver a specific message (pro-war, anti-corporation, and pro-environmental). At the same time, the length of all three songs is similar, which is convenient for our analysis. Naturally, the data cannot be considered representative; nevertheless, we believe this case study analysis does identify clear and interesting linguistic trends that distinguish propaganda from and counterpropaganda songs and which could be further explored/investigated by future research on a larger sample.

We will be using a speech act analysis for the purposes of this case study. Speech acts are verbal utterances, defined in "terms of content, the intention of the speaker, and the effect on the listener" (Colman 2015). The concept was first defined by Austin in the philosophy of language (Austin 1975) and further discussed and popularised by Searle (Searle 1969). Since then, the concept has served as a cornerstone for pragmatic analysis (Kádár et al. 2024; House and Kádár 2022), although with notable upgrades (Edmondson, House, and Kádár 2023). We will be using a finite speech act typology for our analysis (Edmondson and House 1981; Edmondson, House, and Kádár 2023), which contains 25 different categories of speech acts, as classified in the table below.

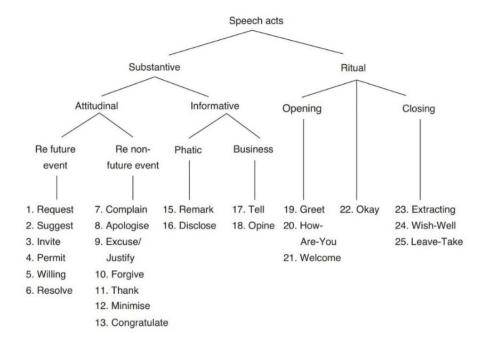


Figure 1: Finite speech act typology, developed by Edmondson and House (1981)

As we are analysing songs, we can expect that there will be very few examples of ritual speech acts, since there is no interlocutor present. Accordingly, we can instead expect a much higher number of speech acts such as Tell, Opine, Request, and Suggest. The data was annotated manually; however, given the specifics of the medium (lyrics), we could not annotate each line in the lyrics but had instead to identify the smallest meaningful unit – this means that sometimes a line could serve as a unit, whereas in other cases we had to combine 2 or 3 lines for a meaningful unit to emerge. For example, in the song "Amazonia", we determined that the two lines, "The greatest miracle" and "Is burning to the ground", constitute a single meaningful unit (The greatest miracle is burning to the ground).

4 Results and Discussion

The analysis consists of two segments: first we will present the speech act analysis of the selected songs, followed by findings regarding the overall differences and general trends between them. Afterwards, a more detailed analysis of individual speech act categories that appear in all datasets will be presented, namely Requests

and Opines, since these are the only wo speech acts that appear in all songs in sufficient numbers for meaningful analysis.

Speech act analysis of the three selected songs

Table 1: George M. Cohan: "Over There" (1917)

	Lyrics	Speech Act
1.	Johnny get your gun, get your gun, get your gun	Request
2.	Take it on the run, on the run	Request
3.	Hear them calling you and me	Pagyage
	Every son of Liberty	Request
4.	Hurry right away, no delay, go today	Request
5.	Make your daddy glad to have had such a lad	Request
6.	Tell your sweetheart not to pine	Request
7.	To be proud her boy's in line	Request
8.	Over there, over there	
	Send the word, send the word over there	Request
	That the Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming	
9.	The drums rum-tumming everywhere	Tell
10.	So prepare, say a prayer	Request
11.	Send the word, send the word to beware	Request
12.	We'll be over, we're coming over	Tell
13.	And we won't come back till it's over, over there	Opine
14.	Johnny get your gun, get your gun, get your gun	Request
15.	Johnny show the Hun you're a son of a gun	Request
16.	Hoist the flag and let her fly	Request
17.	Yankee doodle, do or die	Request
18.	Pack your little kit, show your grit, do your bit	Request
19.	Yankees to the ranks, from the towns and the tanks	Request
20.	Make your mother proud of you	Request
21.	And the old red, white and blue	Request
22.	Over there, over there	
	Send the word, send the word over	Request
	That the Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming	
23.	The drums rum-tumming everywhere	Tell
24.	So prepare, say a prayer	Request
25.	Send the word, send the word to beware	Request
26.	We'll be over, we're coming over	Tell
27.	And we won't come back till it's over, over there	Opine

Table 2: Muse: "Uprising" (2009)

	Lyrics	Speech Act
1.	Paranoia is in bloom	Opine
2.	The PR transmissions will resume	Opine
3.	They'll try to push drugs that keep us all dumbed down	Opine
4.	And hope that we will never see the truth around	Opine
5.	(So come on)	Request

	Lyrics	Speech Act
6.	Another promise, another scene	Tell
7.	Another packaged lie to keep us trapped in greed	Opine
8.	And all the green belts wrapped around our minds	Opine
9.	And endless red tape to keep the truth confined	Opine
10.	(So come on)	Request
11.	They will not force us	Opine
12.	They will stop degrading us	Opine
13.	They will not control us	Opine
14.	We will be victorious	Opine
15.		Request
16.	Interchanging mind control	Request
	Come, let the revolution take its toll	
17.	If you could flick the switch and open your third eye	Suggest
	You'd see that we should never be afraid to die	
18.	(So come on)	Request
19.	Rise up and take the power back	Request
20.	It's time the fat cats had a heart attack	Opine
21.	You know that their time's coming to an end	Opine
22.	We have to unify and watch our flag ascend	Request
23.	(So come on)	Request
24.	They will not force us	Opine
25.	They will stop degrading us	Opine
26.	They will not control us	Opine
27.	We will be victorious	Opine
28.	(So come on)	Request
29.	They will not force us	Opine
30.	They will stop degrading us	Opine
31.	They will not control us	Opine
32.	We will be victorious	Opine
33.	(So come on)	Request

Table 3: Gojira: "Amazonia" (2021)

Ly	rics	Speech Act
1. Incite a riot, put yourself in a tra	nce	Request
2. You rotate the frame in a world	you rely on	Opine
3. A scar, a line has been drawn in	the sand	Opine
4. Behold the life, the boundaries f	ools will crush	Request
5. The greatest miracle Is burning	to the ground	Opine
6. On to the next stage of the plan	Mourn the witness of the wind	Request
7. A hand, full of thunder Will rise	one last time	Opine
8. There's fire in the sky		Tell
9. You're in the Amazon		Tell
10. The greatest miracle Is burning	to the ground	Opine
11. Godly Amazonia		Opine
12. Bloody Amazonia		Opine
13. Mighty Amazonia		Opine
14. Killing Amazonia		Opine
15. Godly Amazonia		Opine
16. Bloody Amazonia		Opine

	Lyrics	Speech Act
17.	Mighty Amazonia	Opine
18.	Killing Amazonia	Opine
19.	Godly Amazonia	Opine
20.	Bloody Amazonia	Opine
21.	Burn the land	Request
22.	Learn the end	Request
23.	Burn	Request
24.	Another gold mine is unveiled	Tell

The first element we can emphasise is the general structure of songs by quantifying the number of recurring speech acts. Starting with our propaganda example, "Over There", we note that, out of 25 types of speech acts available in our typology, only 3 speech acts are used in the lyrics. Request is the most dominant with 21 instances out of the 27 units, followed by 4 instances of the speech act Tell, and 2 instances of the speech act Opine. In the counterpropaganda examples, we note some commonalities regarding the number of speech acts used: similar to "Over There", it is on the lower side, with only 4 speech act types appearing in the lyrics of "Uprising" and 2 speech act types in "Amazonia". However, the distribution of speech acts is substantially different. Out of 33 units in total, "Uprising" has 21 instances of Opines, only 10 instances of Requests, 1 Tell, and 1 instance of the speech act Suggest. Gojira's "Amazonia" follows a similar trend: out of the 24 total speech acts, it contains 15 instances of the speech act Opine, 6 instances of the speech act Request, and 3 instances of the speech act Tell. The table below summarises the recurrent speech acts in all three songs.

Table 4: Speech acts in Cohan's "Over There", Muse's "Uprising", and Gojira's "Amazonia"

	Cohan's "Over There"	Muse's "Uprising"	Gojira's "Amazonia"
Requests	21	10	6
Suggests	/	1	/
Tells	4	1	3
Opines	2	21	15
Total number of speech acts	27	33	24

The overall composition of the songs in terms of speech acts is telling, especially if we consider the main functions of propaganda songs. Denisoff writes that the essential factor in propaganda songs is that the song "persuades, both emotionally and intellectually, individuals into supporting or joining movements or goals of the writer and of the organisation for which the song is written" (Denisoff 1968, 230). From a linguistic point of view, Requests are paramount for this task: after all, how

could we persuade someone of anything without requesting that they either do something or think about something? One would thus expect that propaganda songs would contain a higher percentage of Requests relative to the total number of speech acts compared to counterpropaganda songs. Our analysis supports this: 78% of all speech acts in "Over There" are Requests, whereas in our counterpropaganda examples, Requests amount to only 30% (in "Uprising") and 25% (in "Amazonia") of total speech acts.

A further structural difference that we must examine is repetition. An important characteristic of propaganda songs is familiarity and ease of communication: propaganda songs must have a simplistic musical scale that facilitates the attention and participation of the audience (Greenway 1953),¹ and repetition is the perfect vehicle for that. Research suggests that repetition is correlated with familiarity in music (Witvliet and Vrana 2007; Pereira et al. 2011; Margulis 2013a), a recent fMRI study, for example, suggests "that familiarity – achieved through repetition – is a critical component of emotional engagement with music" (Margulis 2013b).

In light of this, one would expect that if counterpropaganda songs differed from propaganda songs, we could observe differences in the degree of repetitiveness. Looking at the lyrics in our propaganda song, we note that they are simple and repetitive, which fits the model of propaganda (and protest) songs: "/.../ it is often the seemingly simplest songs that evoke the strongest emotions" (Eyerman and Jamison 1998, 43). When it comes to repetition in "Over There", we can identify 5 distinct segments that are repeated throughout the song: one Request that appears in lines 1 and 14 ("Johnny get your gun, get your gun, get your gun"), another Request that is repeated in line 8 and 22 ("Over there, over there Send the word, send the word over there That the Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming"), a Tell repeated in line 9 and 23 ("The drums rum-tumming everywhere"), a pair of Requests repeated in lines 10 and 11 and 24 and 25 ("So prepare, say a prayer" and "Send the word, send the word to beware"), and a Tell and Opine pair repeated in line 12 and 13 and 26 and 27 ("We'll be over, we're coming over" and "And we won't

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¹ The melody, rhythm, instrument variety, etc., also contribute to the perceived simplicity or complexity of the song. There are probably massive differences between the songs in question in these aspects that could also be considered as characteristics for differentiating between propaganda and counterpropaganda songs; however, this chapter focuses exclusively on the linguistic elements, so an in-depth analysis of these elements falls outside the scope of this chapter (and the author's expertise).

come back till it's over, over there"). Overall, there are 4 repeated Requests, 2 Tells, and 1 Opine.

On the other hand, the selected counterpropaganda songs are much less repetitive. Muse's "Uprising" has only two segments that are repeated throughout the song, 1 Request ("So come on"), which is repeated in lines 5, 10, 15, 18, 23, 28, and 33, and a segment of Opines that is repeated in lines 11–14, 24–27, and 29–32 ("They will not force us They will stop degrading us They will not control us We will be victorious"). Overall, we have 1 repeated Request and 4 repeated Opines. Gojira's "Amazonia" follows a similar trend, as we can again only detect two segments that are repeated throughout the song, both of which consist of Opines: line 5 is repeated in line 10 ("The greatest miracle Is burning to the ground") and Opines from lines 11–14 ("Godly Amazonia Bloody Amazonia Mighty Amazonia Killing Amazonia") are repeated immediately in lines 15–18 and 19–20 (only the first 2 Opines). Overall, Gojira's "Amazonia" has 5 distinct repetitions, all of which are Opines.

The analysis thus shows that the selected counterpropaganda songs are less repetitive – both "Uprising" and "Amazonia" have only 2 repeated segments compared to 5 repeated elements in "Over There", but the examples also differ in terms of what is being repeated. In "Over There", there are 4 repeated Requests (so, 8 speech acts out of 27 in total are repetitions of Requests), whereas there is only one repeated Request in both counterpropaganda songs combined. Furthermore, the Requests in "Over There" are much more direct and unambiguous ("Johnny get your gun, compared to a relatively ambiguous Request in "Uprising" ("So come on"). Considering that simplicity has been identified as a characteristic of propaganda music, even when it comes to the lyrics--"Simpler texts had an advantage over complicated lyrics, because they were easier to remember ..." (Oettinger 2017, 19), this substantiates the simple/complex dichotomy that seems to shape the language of propaganda and counterpropaganda in our analysis.

Requests

This brings us to the most prevalent speech act in the analysis, Requests. In "Over There", 78%; in "Uprising", 30%; and in "Amazonia", 25% of total speech acts are Requests. This is not surprising since Requests are among the most common speech acts in general: after all, much of our communication serves to retrieve some kind of information or aims at requesting someone to do something. In the chosen

typology of speech acts, we differentiate between Requests for Non-verbal Goods and Services and Requests for Verbal Goods and Services. The latter are requests for time, location, or any other information (questions, colloquially), while the former are requests for the hearer to do something, e.g. making a cup of coffee, proofreading an article, etc. Unsurprisingly, considering that there are usually no verbal exchanges between the singer and the listener (in the direction of the listener to the singer), all Requests in all three songs are requests for Non-verbal Goods. From this point of view, there are no major differences between the songs.

Another aspect of Requests that can be analysed is the degree of directness or indirectness. The examples of Requests in all songs are either direct or leaning toward direct Requests – they are hearer-oriented and explicit, e.g.: "Pack your little kit, show your grit, do your bit" ("Over There", line 18), "So prepare, say a prayer" ("Over There", line 24), "Interchanging mind control Come, let the revolution take its toll" ("Uprising", line 16), and "Incite a riot, put yourself in a trance" ("Amazonia", line 1). However, the songs differ in the degree of ambiguity of Requests.

Most of the Requests in "Over There" request specific, simple, and concrete actions: "Johnny get your gun, get your gun, get your gun" – get a gun; "Tell your sweetheart not to pine" – tell your partner not to dwell in sadness; "Over there, over there Send the word, send the word over there That the Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming" – tell everyone that the Yanks are coming, etc. On the other hand, the Requests in "Uprising" and "Amazonia" are often ambiguous and much more abstract. In "Uprising", the most *unambiguous* Request is "We have to unify and watch our flag ascend", which still remains fairly abstract: How do we unify? What specific action should we take? Which flag? Compared to grabbing a gun, telling your partner not to be sad, praying, packing, and joining the army, the Request in "Uprising" requires at least some further deliberation. The same can be said for the most repeated Request in "Uprising", "So come on", which, again, is fairly abstract: "come on" and do what? The final Request in "Uprising", "Interchanging mind control Come, let the revolution take its toll", is also passive – *let* the revolution do its thing – compared to exclusively active Requests in "Over There".

The Requests in "Amazonia" are even less straightforward and require a further degree of interpretation. The first Request, "Incite a riot, put yourself in a trance", might be the most straightforward: the listener should enter a trance-like state and

start/join some sort of riot/rebellion, while the second Request, "Behold the life, the boundaries fools will crush," functions more as an appeal to recognise the life that humans (fools) are destroying (boundaries they are crushing): again, a much more passive Request that encourages reflection on the listener's part, something that is completely absent in the case of "Over There". The third Request, "On to the next stage of the plan Mourn the witness of the wind", is probably the most ambiguous and the least straightforward: it could be interpreted as inviting the listener to mourn the damage done to the Amazon, while at the same time inviting them to the next stage – rebellion/riot mentioned in the first Request. The final three Requests in "Amazonia" ("Burn the land", "Learn the end", "Burn") are also noteworthy, as they are heavily ironic and do not address the immediate listener, but (the rest of) humanity: keep on burning the forests (in the name of profit, as evidenced by line 24, "Another gold mine is unveiled") and you will meet the consequences (of which the listener and singer are already aware).

To sum up, both propaganda and counterpropaganda examples feature the same kinds of Requests, namely, Requests for Non-verbal Goods and Services, which reflects the fact that musical works usually do not request verbal responses from the listeners. Furthermore, both use fairly direct forms of Request, since they are heareroriented and explicit. However, we can identify some linguistic differences between the two. The first is ambiguity: in our dataset, Requests in he propaganda song example are extremely unambiguous, whereas counterpropaganda Requests are not. The second potential difference is the aspect of concreteness/abstraction: Requests in our propaganda example are concrete and specific, whereas Requests in these counterpropaganda examples are much more abstract and open to interpretation (in the sense that there is no specific action the hearer is supposed to perform, and they must first interpret the Request). We could also claim that counterpropaganda Requests invite hearers both to contemplation and interpretation of the Requests, which are cognitively more demanding tasks that are not present in propaganda Requests in our dataset. This again substantiates the idea that there could be a linguistic difference btween propaganda and counterpropaganda music in terms of simplicity/complexity: listeners to counterpropaganda examples are expected to engage in complex cognitive tasks (contemplation, interpretation, recognising irony, etc.), whereas hearers of the propaganda example are only expected to follow simple, concrete, and specific Requests.

Opines

Opines are the only other category of speech acts that was heavily prevalent in our dataset: 64% of total speech acts in "Uprising" and 63% of total speech acts in "Amazonia" are Opines, whereas in "Over There", only 7% of all speech acts are Opines, as evident in Table 5.

Cohan's
"Over There"Muse's "Uprising"Gojira's "Amazonia"Opines22115Total number of speech acts273324Percentage of Opines7%64%63%

Table 5: Percentage of Opines in our dataset

The difference in the usage of Opines in the dataset is telling, yet we believe it can be explained in the context of the relation between objectivity and propaganda. Opines are, by definition, subjective and cannot be used as vehicles for disseminating facts (which is the role of Tells). If propaganda aims at unequivocal delivery of the message, it would, therefore, make sense not to utilise Opines. Because Opines are subjective, they require interpretation and reflection: once we recognise that something is an Opine, we are invited to rationally deliberate whether the Opine in question is true or false. Propaganda often presents itself as objective when it is actually propagating subjective opinions: "If unbalanced opinions are presented as if they are facts, they act as propaganda or persuasion" ("Subjective vs. Objective," n.d.). Considering that most speech acts in these counterpropaganda examples are Opines (64% and 63% in "Uprising" and "Amazonia, respectively), whereas only a few cases of Opines can be found in the propaganda example (7% in "Over There"), this fact could be considered as an additional linguistic difference between the two. The significant presence of Opines in the counterpropaganda examples could be considered an additional indicator that we are not dealing with propaganda: from a linguistic point of view, the songs mostly use Opines to express their message, which requires both interpretation and deliberation – cognitive tasks that propaganda does not typically encourage. This also explains why "Over There" does not employ Opines: as a propaganda piece, the delivered message should be presented as clear and unambiguous, which means that there is no place left for the subjectivity and ambiguity that Opines bring to the table.

5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to identify linguistic differences between propaganda and counterpropaganda in music by analysing three songs: a World War I propaganda song ("Over There" by George M. Cohan), a rock song ("Uprising" by Muse), and a metal song focused on environmental activism ("Amazonia" by Gojira). The analysis was done using finite speech act typology as developed by Edmondson and House (1981) and W. J. Edmondson, House, and Kádár (2023).

The analysis revealed that the propaganda and counterpropaganda songs differ in several respects when it comes to language. Considering that the aim of propaganda is often to encourage joining of a movement or cause, one would expect there to be a high degree of Requests present in propaganda music, a phenomenon which was collaborated by our analysis: 78% of all speech acts in "Over There" are Requests, whereas in our counterpropaganda examples, Requests amount to only 30% (in "Uprising") and 25% (in "Amazonia") of total speech acts.

Furthermore, propaganda is usually designed to be familiar, which can be achieved by repetition: propaganda music would be expected to use repetition to a higher degree compared to counterpropaganda. Our analysis shows that not only are selected counterpropaganda songs much less repetitive, but the examples also differ in terms of what is being repeated – repetitions in the propaganda example are almost exclusively Requests, whereas repetitions in the counterpropaganda examples are mostly Opines.

The analysis revealed a further difference between propaganda and counterpropaganda songs in terms of Requests. Propaganda and counterpropaganda songs feature the same kinds of Requests, namely, Requests for Non-verbal Goods and Services, and (being hearer-oriented and explicit) use fairly direct forms of Request. However, the Requests in our propaganda song are unambiguous and specific, whereas counterpropaganda songs are much vaguer and more abstract. This further supports the notion that there may be linguistic differences between propaganda and counterpropaganda music in terms of simplicity and complexity. Listeners of counterpropaganda songs are required to engage in more complex cognitive processes, such as reflection and interpretation (and recognition of irony), while listeners of propaganda songs are primarily expected to respond to straightforward, clear, and specific requests.

Finally, the difference in the use of Opines highlights an additional distinction between propaganda and counterpropaganda. Opines are inherently subjective, making them unsuitable for delivering clear, factual messages, which is the purpose of propaganda. Since propaganda seeks to present its message as objective and unambiguous, it avoids using Opines, to prevent the need for reflection or deliberation. Our analysis supports this, as only 7% of all speech acts in "Over There" are Opines. In contrast, counterpropaganda frequently employs Opines to invite listeners to think critically and interpret the message, indicating a further linguistic difference between the two. This is corroborated by our analysis, as 64% of the total speech acts in "Uprising" and 63% of speech acts in "Amazonia" are Opines.

Future research should expand on this analysis by examining a larger dataset to confirm these linguistic trends and explore additional differences between propaganda and counterpropaganda music.

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Discography

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KRITIČNA ANALIZA DISKURZA V KORPUSU RAP PESMI V POVEZAVI Z DRUŽBENIMI RAZMERJI V IDEOLOGIJI PETODSTOTNIH

JOŽEF KOLARIČ Mala Polana, Slovenija jozef.kolaric@outlook.com

V osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja se je rap razširil po vsem svetu, znotraj njega pa se je razvilo tudi več ideologij. Ena izmed prvih ideologij v rapu je bila doktrina štirih elementov, ki jo je razvil Afrika Bambaataa, s časom pa so vzniknile še druge. V besedilu bomo s pomočjo kritične analize diskurza raziskali, kako se skozi intertekstualnost in aluzijo v rap glasbi kažeta ideologiji, in sicer hip hop in ideologija petodstotnih.

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Five Percenters

A CRITICAL TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF A RAP SONG CORPUS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE IDEOLOGY OF THE FIVE PERCENTERS

JOŽEF KOLARIČ Mala Polana, Slovenia jozef.kolaric@outlook.com

Rap spread all around the world in the 1980s, and during this process various ideologies developed in it. One of the first of these ideologies was the doctrine of the four elements of hip-hop, which was developed by Afrika Bambaataa, and soon afterwards other ideologies emerged within the genre. In this article we will use critical discourse analysis to show how two ideologies, namely hip hop and the Five Percenter ideology, are manifested in rap music through intertextuality and allusion.



Uvod

Od¹ osemdesetih let 20. stoletja se je rap razširil po vsem svetu (gl. Androutsopoulos 2003, Nitzsche in Grünzweig 2013). Sčasoma je postal ena najpopularnejših glasbenih zvrsti na svetu. V ZDA predstavlja rap 30 % vse glasbe, ki jo ljudje poslušajo (glej Kemmerich 2020), zato ni presenetljivo, da lahko rap najdemo celo v oglasih za politične kampanje (Charnas 2010, Dyson 2019). Medtem ko se bralne navade mladostnikov krčijo in spreminjajo (gl. Clark in Teravainen-Goff 2020), pa ljudje konzumirajo več drugih medijev in se z novimi idejami srečujejo zunaj knjig (glej Herman in Chomsky 2008, 9–11, 18–19, Horvat 2022, 97). Zato je zelo pomembno, da raziščemo rap, ki je eden najbolj razširjenih medijev, v katerih mladostniki iščejo vsebine. V naši raziskavi se posvečamo ideologijam v rapu. Te bomo preučili s pomočjo metode, ki se imenuje kritična analiza diskurza.

Fairclough trdi, da pri uporabi kritične analize diskurza opazujemo izjave, ki jih lahko razumemo kot besedilo (2013, 74). »Besedilo« razume široko, kot govorjeni ali pisni jezik v vseh pojavnih oblikah, med katere sodi tudi pesem (Fairclough 2013, 173). Pri analizi diskurza je pomembno, da jo izvajamo na konkretnih podatkih, ki smo jih zbrali. V našem primeru bodo to besedila rap pesmi, ta pa smo zaradi večje zanesljivosti zbrali v korpus, da jih lažje opazujemo (Jäger 2016, 94).

Termin 'diskurz' se v analizi diskurza nanaša na katerikoli raziskovani objekt, ki ga tvorijo izjave kot osnovni gradniki (Jäger 2016, 9, 10). Definicijo termina 'intertekstualnost' bomo povzeli po Faircloughu. Fairclough (2013, 94–95) intertekstualnost, imenovano tudi interdiskurznost, razume kot navezavo med dvema besediloma. Gre torej za besedilo, ki se med vrsticami navezuje na neko drugo besedilo. Kot smo že omenili, Fairclough kot besedilo razume vse, od molitve do pesmi. Za namene tega članka bomo sledili Faircloughovi definiciji in intertekstualnost pojmovali kot navezavo med dvema besediloma. Ker pa je vodilna tema pričujočega članka ideologija, je treba upoštevati razmerja moči med posameznimi diskurzi (Fairclough 2013, 131). Moč v diskurzu je treba razumeti kot funkcijo moči akterjev v družbi, ki je preprosto preslikana v domeno besedila. Pri tem gre lahko za neposreden govorjeni diskurz med posamezniki, lahko pa tudi za

¹ Deli tega članka se pojavijo v avtorjevi doktorski dizertaciji z naslovom »Deutschsprachiger Rap als Raum für Sprachkontakte«, napisane na Katedri za germanistiko na Univerzi Sv. Cirila in Metoda v Trnavi na Slovaškem. Za potrebe tega članka pa so bili deli predelani in preoblikovani, tako da ustrezajo potrebam članka.

prikriti diskurz v medijih. Med medije sodijo televizija, radio, film in časopisi (Fairclough 1989, 43, 49). V ta nabor sodijo tudi mediji, ki predvajajo pesmi, med drugim rapovske, zato je upravičeno, da s pomočjo Faircloughovih miselnih orodij analiziramo pesmi kot mesta, kjer se pojavlja ideologija. Fairclough vidi ideologijo kot diskurzivni dogodek, ki ga najdemo v različnih pozicijah v samemu diskurzu, kajti ideologije se nahajajo v besedilu (2013, 57). V dotični analizi gre za ideologije v rapovskih besedilih.

V članku bomo torej analizirali besedila rap pesmi, zbrana v korpusu. Korpus vsebuje besedila sledečih pesmi: »In The Flesh«, »Daytona 500«, »Living in the World Today«, »Wildflower«, »Doomsday«, »Sunni's Blues« in »Unto the Dust«. Na podlagi korpusa bomo preučevali ideologiji hip hopa in petodsotnih, zato je nujno, da analizirane pesmi vsebujejo vsaj eno intertekstualno navezavo oziroma aluzijo (gl. spodaj) na eno od obeh ideologij. Raziskovalno vprašanje, ki si ga zastavljamo, je namreč, *kako* se kažeta ideologiji hip hopa in petodstotnih v besedilih rap pesmi in ne *ali* se kažeta, saj je, kot bomo videli, odgovor na to vprašanje pritrdilen. Ker pa ideologija ni pojav zase, ampak je odvisen od družbenih razmerij moči pri posameznikih v času, bomo pri analizi pozorni tudi na vprašanje, kako se kaže diskurz moči pri posameznikih, ki so del rap scene.

Metoda, ki jo bomo uporabili pri iskanju odgovora na raziskovalno vprašanje, se imenuje kritična analiza diskurza. Pri kritični analizi diskurza gre za način, kako bolje razumeti učinke diskurza na govorno skupnost, v kateri nastaja. Ta metoda ima tri prijeme, in sicer se poslužuje 1) lingvističnega opisa, s katerim opisujemo jezik (v smislu struktur) v besedilu, 2) interpretacije, s katero opisujemo (produktivni in interpretativni) diskurzni proces in besedilo, in 3) razlage diskurznega procesa, v katerem tega povežemo z družbenimi procesi (gl. v Fairclough 2013, 132). V tej analizi bomo pretežno uporabili metodo lingvističnega opisa, saj bomo pozornost namenili jezikovnim strukturam v rap besedilih, in metodo interpretacije, s katero bomo opisali razmerja med diskurzi.

Teza članka se glasi: ideologiji hip hopa in petodstotnih se skozi rap besedila kažeta predvsem v *intertekstualnih navezavah* in *aluzijah*. Pri tem gre za opazovanje različnih navezav na različna besedila, skozi katera se kaže diskurz moči. *Intertekstualno navezavo* bomo definirali po Faircloughu, ki jo prepozna kot enega najpogostejših diskurznih prijemov, ki jih mora kritična analiza diskurza preučevati. Fairclough (2013, 94–95)

jo razume kot navezavo med dvema besediloma. Kot smo že povedali, se »besedilo« pri Faircloughovi analizi diskurza lahko nanaša na kakršnokoli obliko diskurza, zato je za prepoznavanje intertekstualnih navezav v besedilih rap pesmi potrebno široko poznavanje kulture, v kateri so ta nastala. Osnovno besedilo, ki ga bomo v okviru intertekstualnih navezav preučevali, bo torej besedilo pesmi, vir intertekstualnih navezav pa bodo poleg ostalih besedil rap pesmi tudi drugi kulturni artefakti, ki imajo funkcijo besedila. Pokazali bomo tudi, zakaj je intertekstualnost v zasnovi rapa in hip hopa tako pomembna.

Abrams in Harpham (2012, 12) definirata *aluzijo* zelo široko: gre za površinsko navezavo, ki lahko ali pa ne vzpostavi odnos do zgodovinskih osebnosti, krajev ali dogodkov ali do literarnega dela. V tem članku bomo obravnavali aluzijo v odnosu do zgodovinske osebe, dogodka, kraja in literarnega dela. Poglavitna lastnost, po kateri se aluzija razlikuje od intertekstualnosti, je torej ta, da je tisto, na kar aludiramo, lahko tudi nekaj drugega kot besedilo – v našem primeru bo to ideološki nauk. Poglejmo, kako se to kaže v besedilih rap pesmi.

Hip hop kot ideologija

Kar danes razumemo kot hip hop, je ideološki konstrukt, ki ga je razvil Afrika Bambaataa po vzoru mladostniške kulture, ki se je začela razvijati v sedemdesetih letih v New Yorku. To mladostniško gibanje je nastalo v najbolj opustošenih in revnih delih tamkajšnje mestne četrti Bronx. V zgodnjih sedemdesetih je npr. nezaposlenost med mladimi v Bronxu znašala 60 %. Izgradnja avtoceste skozi Bronx je povzročila, da so se ljudje, ki so imeli to možnost, odselili (Chang 2005, 14–15). V tem kontekstu so se razvili štirje elementi hip hopa, in sicer na sledeči način: v šestdesetih so se pojavili grafiti iz Filadelfije, didžejanje se je začelo z DJ Kool Hercom, rapanje pa se je tako, da DJ Kool Herc ni več sam zmogel voditi zabav, zaradi česar je zbral ljudi, ki so to lahko počeli, tem pa se je reklo »raperji«. Četrti element, *b-boying*, izhaja iz DJ Kool Hercovega poimenovanja ljudi, ki so plesali na njegovih zabavah (gl. tudi razdelek Hip hop kot intertekstualnost) (Chang 2005, 67, 73–74, 78, 80).

Sam Afrika Bambaataa je bil eden vodij tolpe Black Spades. Za oblikovanje njegovega pogleda na svet so bili ključnega pomena vedno pogostejši nasilni spopadi med temnopoltimi in svetlopoltimi v času njegovega šolanja v srednji šoli Stevenson

High. V glasbi je Afrika Bambaataa videl rešitev, kako spremeniti antagonizem med tolpami v nekaj pozitivnega, zato se je leta 1971 odločil, da ustanovi Bronx River Organization in skozi to organizacijo prireja zabave, kjer je vrtel glasbo (Chang 2005, 92–97). Naslednji korak v formaciji Afrikaja Bambaataaja je bila ustanovitev organizacije Zulu Nation. Afrika Bambaataa se je prijavil na esejistični natečaj in na njem zmagal. Za nagrado je šel na potovanje v Evropo in Afriko, kjer se je seznanil z resničnimi pogoji obstoja temnopoltih zunaj ZDA in ugotovil, da se od tistih v Ameriki močno razlikujejo oziroma so predvsem boljši. Prevzet od tega spoznanja je ustanovil Bronx River Organization in kot njen vodja prvi poimenoval do tedaj nepovezane kulturne prvine didžejanja, b-boyanja, rapanja in risanja grafitov s skupnim imenom »hip hop« (Chang 2005, 90, 100–102, 105–107). Treba pa je poudariti, da se niso vsi strinjali z njegovo interpretacijo hip hopa.² Kot smo videli, je rap nastal v eni najbolj marginaliziranih skupin v svojem času. Ni torej presenetljivo, da so mladostniki posvojili ideologijo, ki jim je ponujala vsaj diskurzni način, kako se povzpeti iz marginalnega položaja.

Hip hop kot intertekstualnost

Afrika Bambaataa je postavil prve ideološke okvire hip hopa v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja, začetki te zvrsti pa segajo v začetek tega desetletja, v čas zabav znanega DJ-ja Koola Herca. Ta je skupaj z DJ-em Holywoodom odgovoren za dejstvo, da je v hip hop od samega začetka vtkana intertekstualnost. Oba didžeja sta delovala hkrati. DJ Kool Herc je prvič nastopil 11. avgusta 1973, ko je priredil zabavo, kjer je predvajal glasbo, na katero so ljudje plesali. Posebnost njegove tehnike didžejanja je bil t. i. vrtiljak (ang. merry-go-round). To je pomenilo, da je na gramofonu predvajal ploščo tako, da je predvajal samo tisti del plošče, ki se je imenoval prelom (ang. break) in ki je vseboval začetni del pesmi, na kateri lahko slišimo samo zvok bobnov. Potem je vzel drugo, po vsebini enako ploščo in spet predvajal prelom. Na te prelome so potem ljudje plesali, zato jih je DJ Kool Herc imenoval »break-boys« ali »b-boys« (Charnas 2010, 16–17).

DJ Holywood je bil predstavnik t. i. govorečih didžejev, kar je pomenilo, da je na svojih zabavah publiko nagovarjal ter si izmišljeval govorne nastope zanjo (Charnas 2010, 13–15). V zgodnjih sedemdesetih letih se je uveljavil kot didžej tako, da je

² Grandmaster Flash denimo ne vidi povezave med grafiti in hip hopom (gl. Grandmaster Flash v Edwards 2015, 12).

uporabljal tehniko, ki ji je rekel »mešanje beatov« (ang. *blending beats*), ki se je je naučil pri Bou Hugginsu. Beate je mešal na sledeči način: imel je dva gramofona in mešalko, na enem gramofonu je ploščo predvajal, medtem pa s slušalkami poslušal drugo. Za mešanje beatov je potreboval dve plošči s približno enakim tempom. Drugo ploščo, ki jo je sam poslušal, je utišal tako, da je občinstvo ni slišalo, ter poiskal začetne dele pesmi na tej plošči. Z roko je podrgnil po njej, da je nastavil iglo, nato pa je iglo pridržal s palcem in čakal na pravi trenutek, v katerem bi se ritma obeh plošč, tiste, ki jo je občinstvo slišalo, in tiste, ki je ni, uskladila. Nato je počasi zvišal glasnost druge plošče in tako uskladil beata (Charnas 2010, 13–14).

Zakaj sta se sploh vzpostavila dva modela didžejanja? Razlika med njima je bila ekonomske in starostne narave. Kdor je hotel priti na zabavo DJ-a Hollywooda, je moral biti star osemnajst let in imeti primerna oblačila. To je hkrati pomenilo, da je bilo za obisk takšne zabave potrebno imeti zadosten materialni status. Zabave DJ-a Koola Herca so bile dostopne vsem, ki so vedeli, kje se le-te odvijajo, ne glede na ekonomski/socialni status in starost (Charnas 2010, 15–16). Gre za razmerje med dvema pozicijama moči, kar je pri raziskovanju ideologije ključnega pomena.

Oba modela didžejanja sta že po svoji naravi intertekstualna. Po Faircloughovi definiciji intertekstualnosti je lahko tudi pesem besedilo, zato vsaka od plošč predstavlja eno besedilo. Tako DJ Kool Herc kot DJ Hollywood sta pri svojem delu, ki ga po Charnasu (2010) smatramo za začetke hip hopa, uporabljala dve plošči, torej dve pesmi, kar pomeni, da brez intertekstualnih navezav rapa in hip hopa ne bi bilo, torej je intertekstualnost nujen pogoj zanju. Skozi intertekstualnost pa se kaže tudi, kako so mladostniki uspeli vzpostaviti pozicijo moči, čeprav so prihajali iz marginalizirane pozicije.

Raba aluzij v hiphopu

Hip-hop od vsega začetka vsebuje ogromno aluzij. Aluzije pa niso omejene samo na usklajevanje tempa dveh različnih plošč. Poglejmo si tipičen primer aluzije v besedilu rap pesmi, in sicer refren pesmi »In the Flesh« skupine Jurassic 5:

Cause it's the J-U-R-A capital S another S-I-C 5 MC's in the flesh bound to catch wreck

V zgornjih vrsticah lahko hkrati opazimo aluzijo in intertekstualnost. Sam refren je aluzija na zgodovinske dogodke: gre za eno izmed prvih hip hop rutin iz sedemdesetih (gl. Kid Creole et al. v Fricke in Ahearn 2002: 74ff). Hkrati je prva vrstica intertekstualna navezava na pesem »As the Rhyme Goes On« z albuma *Paid in Full* Erica B. in Rakima: »I'm the R the A to the K-I-M/If I wasn't, then why would I say I am«.

Seveda pa hip hop ni edina ideologija, ki jo lahko opazimo v rapu. Skozi intertekstualnost in aluzijo lahko zasledimo tudi druge ideologije, zato bomo v sledečem razdelku raziskali, kaj je ideologija petodstotnih in kako se kaže v rap besedilih.

Petodstotni skozi intertekstualnost v pesmi »Daytona 500«

Začetki petodstotnih (ang. *The Five Percenters*) segajo v leto 1963, ko je Clarence 13X Smith zapustil versko organizacijo Nation of Islam in vzpostavil svoje samostojno gibanje. To gibanje se je imenovalo petodstodni in se je od Nation of Islam razlikovalo po tem, da ni bilo tako rigorozno, saj je Clarence 13X svojim sledilcem dovolil uživanje alkohola in drog. Zaradi tega si je pridobil večje število podpornikov med mladimi moškimi. Sebe je znotraj gibanja razglasil za Alaha, kar so zunanji opazovalci imeli za blodnje in duševno motnjo. V poznih šestdesetih je zaslutil, da se mu bliža konec, zato je svojim podpornikom zapovedal, naj za njim ne žalujejo, saj so tudi oni Alah. Leta 1969 so Clarenca 13Xa res ustrelili, ko je bil na poti k svoji ženi (Knight 2007, xii–xiii). Clarencovi podporniki so njegove besede interpretirali tako, da so svetovno prebivalstvo razdelili v tri skupine: na tiste, ki tvorijo 85 odstotkov, na tiste, ki tvorijo 10 odstotkov, in na tiste, ki tvorijo 5 odstotkov.

V tej razdelitvi 85 odstotkov prebivalstva predstavlja vse ljudi, ki niso civilizirani, ne verjamejo v pravega boga in jedo prepovedano hrano. Ti ljudje so v njihovih očeh sužnji, saj so vodljivi in pogosto gredo v napačno smer, redko v pravo, saj naj ne bi poznali svojega pravega izvora. 10 odstotkov prebivalstva predstavljajo bogati oziroma lastniki »sužnjev« iz skupine 85-ih odstotkov. Ti slednje krivo učijo, da je pravi vsemogočni živi bog nekakšen duh, ki ga ni mogoče videti s prostim očesom. Pripadniki gibanja Clarencea 13Xa jih imenujejo tudi sesalci krvi revnih. Preostalih 5 odstotkov prebivalstva pa predstavljajo revni, a pravični učitelji, ki ne verjamejo v nauk tistih iz 10-ih odstotkov, saj so modri in vedo, kateri je pravi bog: pravi bog je

temnopolt. Ljudje iz skupine 5-ih odstotkov razglašajo tudi svobodo, pravičnost in enakopravnost vseh ljudi na planetu (Knight 2007, 36–37).

Še dva koncepta sta pomembna za razumevanje petodstotnih, in sicer t. i. Supreme Alphabet in Supreme Mathematics. Supreme Mathematics je sistem števil od ena do dvanajst, znotraj katerega ima vsako število določen pomen. Ena na primer pomeni »Knowledge« (znanje), dva pomeni »Wisdom« (modrost), tri »Understanding« (razumevanje) itn. (Knight 2007, 53). Supreme Alphabet je posebna abeceda, pri kateri ima vsaka črka dodaten pomen. A pomeni tudi »Alah«, B je »Be« (biti) ali »Born« (rojen), C je »Cee« (enakoglasnica besede »see«, ki pomeni videti) itn. (prav tam, 53–54). Petodstotni so imeli še posebna imenovanja za moške in ženske. Moški so se imenovali Gods oz. Bogovi, ženske pa Earths oz. Zemlje (prav tam, 19, 297).

Ideologijo petodstotnih v rapu bomo ponazorili s pomočjo besedila pesmi »Daytona 500« Ghostfacea Killaha, v kateri gostuje tudi Raekwon. Prve vrstice pesmi so naslednje:

Say peace to cats who rock MAC Knowledge Knowledge Street astrologists light up the mic, God acknowledge this

Poetična persona začne z nagovorom »peace«, ki je značilen pozdrav med petodstotnimi (Knight 2007, xiv). »MAC Knowledge Knowledge«, ki se pojavi v naslednji vrstici, moramo v skladu s sistemom Supreme Mathematics, v katerem je »Knowledge« enako ena, interpretirati kot MAC 11, ki je ime modela pištole (gl. MAG). Poetična persona potem sebe nagovori kot uličnega astrologa, ki zažiga na mikrofonu, poslušalca pa nagovori kot boga. Možni sta dve razlagi te vrstice: »Street astrologists« oz. ulični astrologi se lahko navezuje na Supreme Mathematics in Supreme Alphabet ali pa na poslušalčevo sposobnost rapanja na mikrofon, za katero poudari, da jo je treba upoštevati. To še zdaleč niso edine aluzije na petodstotne v tej pesmi, saj se skozi vso pesem pojavljajo navezovanja na bogove, ko poetična persona naslavlja druge moške. Intertekstualne navezave se tu pojavijo zato, da se pokaže moč poetične persone nad drugimi.

Intertekstualne navezave na ideologijo petodstotnih v pesmi »Living in the World Today«

Glavna tema pesmi »Living in the World Today« raperja GZA je boj, saj poetična persona rapa o svojih sposobnostih kot raper. Besedilo pesmi vsebuje intertekstualno navezavo na Supreme Alphabet, in sicer z njeno pomočjo v pesmi žali policijo v sledeči vrstici:

Father You Cee King the police

»Father« je po Supreme Alphabet F, »You« je U, »Cee« je C in »King« je K. Ko besede spremenimo v črke in te preberemo kot eno besedo, se v vrstici izpiše stavek »fuck the police« oz. »jebeš policijo«. V tem diskurzu se pokaže dinamika moči: poetična persona predstavlja temnopolte, ki so v marginaliziranem položaju in skušajo s pesmijo vzpostaviti drugačno pozicijo moči, tako da policijo, represivni organ, ki je sicer kot nosilec državne moči brez dvoma v nadrejenem položaju z vidika moči, žalijo in ponižujejo.

Diskurzivni prevrat pozicije moči poetična persona v pesmi še večkrat podkrepi s poimenovanjem moških z God, kot npr. v naslednji vrstici:

and from that point the God made a statement

Označevanje sebe in drugih za bogove je v kombinaciji z žaljenjem nadrejenih agentov moči v obliki policije mogoče razumeti kot ideološki diskurzivni konstrukt, ki sprevrača dinamiko moči.

Ideologija petodstotnih skozi aluzijo v pesmi »Wildflower«

V pesmi »Wildflower« Ghostfacea Killaha je ena izmed tem prekinjena zveza med moškim in žensko. Kot smo že omenili, so se moški med petodstotnimi imenovali »Gods«, ženske pa »Earths«. Znotraj te organizacije so se na področju spola in spolnosti vzpostavile pomembne ločnice. Prva izmed njih je bila v samem številu moških in žensk v organizaciji: moški so prevladovali v razmerju 10 proti 1. Tudi seksualnost je bila pod strogim nadzorom; voditelji so šli tako daleč, da so predpisovali, kako naj se spolnost odvija. Vlogo ženske so videli zelo patriarhalno,

in sicer je bila njena vloga večinoma omejena na vzgojo otrok, vselej pa je ostajala podrejena moškemu (Knight 2007, 209ff).

V pesmi »Wildflower« poetična persona nagovori žensko kot »Earth« in poudarja, kaj vse se je tekom razmerja naučila. To vključuje tudi doktrino petodstotnih.

You gained crazy points, baby just being with *God*

V navedeni vrstici lahko vidimo, da se poetična persona naziva z »God« in poudarja, da je nagovorjena ženska imela privilegije, ker je bila z njo v razmerju.

Taught you how to eat the right foods fast, and don't eat lard
I gave you *Earth* lessons
I came to you as a blessing
You didn't do the knowledge what the *God* was manifesting

V nadaljevanju pesmi poetična persona opisuje, kako je poučevala žensko o doktrini petodstotnih. Za to uporablja aluzije na nauke petodstotnih, ki jih imenuje »Earth lessons«. Da gre pri teh naukih za predpisano žensko vedenje znotraj te organizacije, je mogoče razbrati iz nadaljevanja. Najprej omenimo poudarek, da gre za »Earth lessons«, torej »Earth« v smislu ženske v ideologiji petodstotnih, ki jo je potrebno naučiti, kako je treba živeti. Poetična persona nato poudari, da ženska, preden je bila v razmerju z njo, ni bila osveščena o ideologiji petodstotnih. Pesem se nadaljuje z žalitvami ženske s strani poetične persone. Sledi samorefleksija s strani poetične persone in ugotovitev, da se po koncu razmerja počuti, kot da bi ji kdo umrl ali pa bi ji ubili mamo, namreč 'staro' oziroma »old Earth«:

It feel like somebody died or shot your old Earth

Pesem se zaključi tako, da poetična persona sama sebe opiše kot »God«, tako da uporabi črke Supreme Alphabet: »I'm God Cipher Divine«. »God« predstavlja G, »Cipher« je O in »Divine« je D (Knight 2007, 53–54). To stori v odnosu do zahteve, da mora biti ženska, s katero je v razmerju, »čista« oz. v skladu s patriarhalnimi

zahtevami petodstotnih glede seksualnosti. V teh izjavah se kaže premoč moškega nad žensko skozi intertekstualnost.

Petodstotni skozi aluzijo v pesmi »Doomsday«

Teme besedila pesmi »Doomsday« raperja MF Dooma so poveličevanje sposobnosti rapanja svojega avtorja, ilegalne dejavnosti, ki jih je MF Doom izvajal, in pa čas, ki ga je poetična persona preživela v zaporu. Tudi v tej pesmi je uporabljen Supreme Alphabet z namenom, da raper žali policijo. To je razvidno v sledeči vrstici:

Pop the trunk on Cee Cipher Punk

Situacija, ki je prikazana, je dobesedno odpiranje prtljažnika policiji. Policijo oziroma policiste se skozi aluzijo na Supreme Alphabet poimenuje kot Cee ki pomeni C, Cipher, torej O, in Punk, ki je P (pogostejša realizacija črke P je sicer beseda Power (moč)). Beseda, ki se izpiše s črkami Supreme Alphabet, je cop, ameriška slengovska beseda za policista. Učinek, ki ga ima aluzija na Supreme Alphabet, je podoben tistemu v pesmi »Living in the World Today«, namreč diskurzivna konstrukcija manj podrejene pozicije v odnosu do nedvomno hierarhično više postavljenega nosilca državne moči. Gre torej za moč, ki se kaže skozi diskurz, to pa marginalizirana poetična persona artikulira tako, da policista označi z žaljivko »punk«, ko je primorana pri pregledu vozila odpreti prtljažnik svojega vozila. Treba pa se je zavedati, da kljub snovanju te diskurzivne pozicije poetična persona ostaja v podrejenem položaju.

Petodstotni skozi aluzijo v pesmi »Sunni's Blues«

Do spremembe v diskurzu ideologije petodstotnih pride na primer v pesmi »Sunni's Blues« skupine Armand Hammer. Sledeča vrstica predstavlja odstop od normativne rabe ideologije petodstotnih:

NGE is a schism

NGE, ki pomeni Nation of Gods and Earths, drugo poimenovanje za petodstotne, poetična persona označi kot razkol. Gre za razkol med petodstotnimi in Nation of Islam, in sicer je označen negativno, kar – kot smo pokazali v korpusu – predstavlja

velik prelom v diskurzu o petodstotnih znotraj rapa. V kontekstu dotične pesmi poetična persona naslavlja in kritizira različne verske doktrine, zato je vrstico nedvoumno treba razumeti kot kritiko ideologije petodstotnih. V vseh doslej obravnavanih pesmih je bila ta ideologija predstavljena pozitivno, zato je pesem »Sunni's Blues« zanimiva z vidika kritične analize diskurza. V domeni ideologije besedilo te pesmi predstavlja moč diskurza oz. ideologiziranja, da se poetična persona emancipira in odmakne od doktrine petodstotnih.

Petodstotni skozi pesem »Unto the Dust«

V pesmi »Unto the Dust« raper KA opisuje ulični kriminal in pove, kako je ta vplival na njegovo družino. Hkrati poetična persona izraža zadržke do religioznosti. Ko se v pesmi iz zapora vrne sorodnik poetične persone, ugotovi, da je njegova družina razpeta med dve religiji:

Y'all played the Dozens my favorite cousins spent they youth in prisons They names known, came home now, the house got two religions Peace be with you, *Wa-alakkum salaam*

Te vrstice nam pokažejo, da je poetična persona soočena z dvema religijama. Zadnja vrstica izraža tudi konflikt, saj se personi pozdravita v dveh različnih jezikih, angleščini in arabščini. Wa-alakkum salaam je sicer zelo pogost pozdrav med muslimani (gl. »As-Salaam-Alaikum« and »Wa-Alaikum-Salaam«), arabščina pa velja za sveti jezik. Ta pozdrav je bil popularen med raperji, ki so se dojemali kot del petodstotnih in so se zato ohlapno povezovali z islamom (Knight 2007, 179ff). Kritična analiza diskurza nam preko osvetlitve aluzije na povsem drug jezikovni sistem pokaže, da lahko diskurz izkazuje tudi moč posameznika, ki se je skozi religijo emancipiral, hkrati pa je ravno zaradi tega v jasnem konfliktu z lastno družino.

Diskusija

Kritična analiza diskurza se je izkazala kot primerna metoda za analiziranje besedil rap pesmi. Dejstvo, da se jo lahko uporabi za različna besedila, nam je omogočilo vpogled v to, kako se ideologije kažejo v besedilih teh pesmi. Na korpusu sedmih besedil smo preverili, kako jezikovni opis in interpretacija aluzij in intertekstualnih

navezav v besedilih konstruirata ideološka razhajanja in strinjanja, ki so prisotna tako pri raperjih kot tudi pri občinstvu in okolju, kjer oboji živijo in delujejo. Pristop interpretacije je bil pri tem ključen, saj nam omogoča vpogled v način rabe intertekstualnih navezav in aluzije ter v načine, kako se ideologije manifestirajo.

Hip hop je nastal znotraj ene izmed najbolj marginaliziranih skupin v ZDA v obdobju med sredino šestdesetih in začetkom sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja. Hip hop je kot ideološki konstrukt vzpostavil Afrika Bambaataa, vendar ta ni bil v celoti sprejet. Vseeno je bil Bambaataajev poskus dovolj uspešen, da so se skozenj diskurzivno emancipirali mnogi v rapu aktivni posamezniki - z rapanjem so opolnomočili svoj diskurz in izražali svojo družbeno moč oz. željo po večji družbeni moči. Z didžejanjem, rapanjem, break danceom in grafitiranjem so dobili orodja, s katerimi so lahko izrazili svojo kreativnost in se emancipirali od družbenih determinant. V času, ko je hip hop nastajal, je bil Bronx namreč eno najbolj opustošenih predelov New Yorka pa tudi vse mesto New York je bilo v finančnih težavah (Chang 2005, 10, 13, 90). Mladi temnopolti so menili, da nimajo perspektive, in zdi se, da je edini izhod iz brezupja predstavljala ideologija, ki so si jo ustvariti sami. Hip hop jim je omogočil, da so lahko osebnostno rasli, in ponujal miselna orodja za refleksijo njihovega okolja in osvoboditev od njega. K temu je pripomogel tudi popoln izpad elektrike v New Yorku leta 1979, med katerim so si lahko mladi priskrbeli opremo za ustvarjanje glasbe, tako da so jo ukradli (Chang 2005, 84). Čeprav se vsi niso strinjali z ideološkim projektom Bambaataaja, je hip hop vseeno predstavljal ventil, skozi katerega so se mladi lahko izražali in postali produktivni. Bil je ena vodilnih ideologij, ki je v tem okolju omogočala emancipacijo posameznikov in način za pridobivanje družbene moči.

Petodstotni je ime za gibanje, ki je svojo ideologijo med raperje in rap skupine prineslo sredi osemdesetih let 20. stoletja. Domet te ideologije je bil omejen predvsem na raperje iz New Yorka. Tako kot hip hop so tudi petodstotni predstavljali možnost osvoboditve raperjev od njihovega okolja. Predvsem v osemdesetih in devetdesetih se je dotična ideologija prestavila v zelo pozitivni luči (Knight 2007, 177ff). Izražala je moč posameznika nad njegovim okoljem in predpisovala normativno obnašanje, kot smo videli na primeru pesmi »Wildflower« glede norm seksualnosti in spolnih vlog med moškim in žensko. Jasno je, da družbena moč, ki je izvirala iz ideologije petodstotnih, ni služila zgolj za emancipacijo članov tega gibanja: uporabljali so jo tudi za nadzorovanje žensk in njihovega

obnašanja. Koncepti, kot sta Supreme Alphabet in Supreme Mathematics, so bili uporabljeni z namenom šifriranja družbenokritičnih vsebin. V obravnavanih primerih smo videli predvsem žaljenje policistov. To je eden od načinov izražanja moči v diskurzu: poetične persone lahko tako izražajo moč nad represivnimi organi in se postavljajo zase. Tako se skozi intertekstualnost prikaže dinamika med dvema diskurzoma: policisti predstavljajo institucionalno družbeno moč v nadrejenem položaju, mladi temnopolti, ki so v podrejenem položaju, pa svojo družbeno moč šele skušajo uveljaviti.

Do spremembe v razumevanju petodstotnih je prišlo s skupino Armand Hammer v prvi polovici prvega desetletja 21. stoletja. Billy Woods, eden izmed njenih članov, se je neposredno distanciral od ideologije petodstotnih in jo razglasil za ločitev od Nation of Islam. Podobno se je tudi KA od islama nekoliko ogradil. V tem se izvajalca razlikujeta od svojih predhodnikov, ki so elemente ideologije petodstotnih uporabili za poseganje v razmerja družbene moči. Po drugi strani Armand Hammer pokaže, da je mogoče moč diskurza uporabiti tudi za distanciranje od ideologije, ki prevladuje v določeni družbeni skupini. Sicer je treba opozoriti, da ideologija petodstotnih počasi izginja iz rapa in nima več takšne navzočnosti, kot jo je imela v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih. To je mogoče videti na primeru skupine Armand Hammer in KA-ja.

Raziskava je s pomočjo korpusa rap pesmi pokazala, da intertekstualnost in aluzija služita kot zelo pogosta načina, kako se ideologija odraža v rapu. Pokazali smo tudi, kako sta ideologija hip hopa in ideologija petodstotnih prišla v rap. Hip hopu je moral ideološki okvir zgraditi Afrika Bambaataa, šele potem pa je lahko absorbiral tudi druge ideologije. To mu je omogočila intertekstualna narava hip hopa, ki je prisotna že od začetka in s svojimi navezavami zmore vključevati tudi druge ideologije. Kritična analiza diskurza je pokazala tudi, da je besedilo tisti element rapa, kjer se največkrat pojavljajo nove ideologije: že obstoječa besedila in koncepti so skozi aluzijo in intertekstualnost namreč prešli v rap besedila. Obe ideologiji ponujata možnost emancipacije skozi diskurzivno izgradnjo družbene moči prek doktrin hip hopa in petodstotnih. Gre preprosto za to, da se lahko posamezniki, ko rapajo, prestavijo s pozicije nemoči na pozicijo moči. Opozorimo še, da obstajajo tudi primeri, kot sta Armand Hammer in KA, ki kažejo, da se raperji tudi distancirajo od teh doktrin.

Zaključek

Iz zgoraj navedenih primerov lahko vidimo, da hip hop in rap nista tako homogena, kot se to morda zdi na prvi pogled. Hip hop je že od svojega začetka ideološki konstrukt, ki ga je postavil Afrika Bambaataa. Analiza pokaže, da je v rapu mogoče najti ideologiji hip hopa in petodstotnih, orodji, skozi kateri se le-ti kažeta, pa sta pogosto intertekstualna navezava in aluzija. Ustvarjalci v rapu lahko intertekstualne navezave uporabijo za navezave na klasična rap besedila ali pa na druga hiphopovska besedila. Prikazali smo, da lahko z analizo diskurza pokažemo, kako se v ideologiji odraža moč med posamezniki. Analiza je bila zasnovana na korpusu sedmih besedil in je odgovorila na vprašanje, v kolikšni meri se družbena moč določene skupine kaže skozi intertekstualnost in aluzijo. Ideologiji, ki smo ju opazovali, sta hip hop in petodstotni. Ugotovili smo, da se skozi ti dve ideologiji v rap besedilih diskurzivno konstruira moč posameznika, da se emancipira. Videli smo tudi, da so se nekateri kasnejši raperji predvsem od ideologije petoodstotnih distancirali, in da ideologije v rapu ne služijo zgolj emancipaciji, pač pa tudi zatiranju, kot smo videli na primeru pesmi »Wildflower«, ki obravnava žensko vprašanje v doktrini petodstotnih. V nadaljevanju bi bilo zanimivo raziskati, kako se še druge ideologije kažejo v rapu in kako se v njih manifestira vprašanje moči.

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SOUNDS OF RESISTANCE: A SOCIO-POLITICAL CRITIQUE OF POST-WAR CROATIA THROUGH THE LENSES OF MUSIC

Ana Marković

University of Ljubljana Faculty of Social Sciences, Ljubljana, Slovenia ana.markovic1709@gmail.com

This chapter analyses the emergence and development of socially engaged music in Croatia during the post-war transition period from the end of the Homeland war until the present. A content analysis of fifty socially engaged songs by Croatian musicians will identify main themes concerning how socially engaged music reflected the social, political, and economic realities of this period. Following the content analysis, three major themes emerge: a critique of the corrupt and criminal system, a critique of society, and a critique of the Balkans in general. The findings suggest that socially engaged music in Croatia continues to be a valuable tool for addressing social and political issues in the country. The themes that emerge from the analysis highlight the ways in which socially engaged musicians in Croatia are using their music to call attention to important social issues and inspire change.

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Introduction

Musicians and artists have long used their work to call attention to social issues and to inspire movements for change. Music can capture emotions and experiences in a way that other forms of communication cannot (Robinson 2013, 2–8), and it can be a powerful tool for bringing people together and creating a sense of community around a cause. Most protests demanding social justice have musical soundtracks that are used to engage participants in their initiative(s) but also to signify and communicate protest.

I will focus on a particular historical and socio-political context in which socially engaged music in Croatia emerged and reflected the social, political, and economic realities of post-war Croatia from the end of the Homeland War until the present. By analysing the content of fifty socially engaged songs by Croatian musicians, I will show how socially engaged music in Croatia reflected upon the post-war transition period, which is an ongoing process. The analysis provides answers to these questions: What are the main topics and issues addressed by socially engaged music? What messages are sent by musicians via lyrics? What does content analysis of socially engaged music disclose about the present and future of socially engaged music in Croatia?

Music and social protest

When investigating the role of music in society, the fundamental question one must ask is why music matters in the first place, and what is its social value (Hesmondhalgh 2013). Music plays a multidimensional role in social life, serving as a powerful medium for emotional expression, social bonding, and cultural communication. By promoting shared experiences and group identity, it facilitates human contact and social cohesion (Schulkin and Raglan 2014; Saldanha 2009). From religious ceremonies to political movements, music is utilized in diverse social contexts, helping to manage relationships between individuals and collectives (Clayton 2016; Turino 2008). It also functions as a commodity within the social process, reflecting societal contradictions and market values (Adorno 1978). Furthermore, music aids in the regulation of emotions and the formation of self-identity, thereby contributing to personal well-being and enriching social interactions (Hargreaves and North 1999; Rentfrow 2012). Compared to some other forms of

art, like novels or films, music captures social changes at a faster pace, largely because the process of creation and the path from the artist to the audience is significantly shorter, making it more timely and relevant (Cvitanović 2009). A song's poetry and music can change reality, perhaps not instantly by resulting in changes in law, but by having a deeper impact on the society that makes the law (Friedman in Friedman 2013). Ramet (1994) presents music as the cause of political participation, stating that music is a powerful source of social and political change since it brings people together and evokes collective emotional experiences to which common meanings can be attributed.

Throughout history, music has been an efficient medium for engaging masses in political, social, religious, and other causes; for example, two significant artefacts bracket the history of African-American music in the 19th century: Richard Allen's *Collection of Spiritual Songs and Hymns* and John and James Johnson's song "Lift Every Voice and Sing," which became a coded statement of protest (Peretti in Friedman 2013). The term "protest music" often conjures images of great historical movements that were accompanied by music, such as with "La Marseillaise" in the French Revolution (Bickford 2014). Nowadays, rebellious political rhetoric can be found in many music genres such as hip hop, punk, rap, country, metal, and alternative rock.

From Yugoslav era to post-Yugoslav space

Popular music in Yugoslavia played an important, yet ambivalent role (Muršič 2017). It comprised an important part of the system since it served as a medium for the expression of dominant values, but it also represented a tool for confronting the system (Muršič 2017). In that sense, Yugoslav rock'n'roll can be viewed as a "distinct and important socio-cultural force in socialist Yugoslavia" (Mišina 2013: 1). It served the system in the form of propaganda, but it was also a tool for resisting that system in the form of anti-propaganda. Goran Bregović, leader of the Yugoslav rock band Bijelo Dugme (White Button), pointed out that in socialist Yugoslavia they did not have any alternative parties or any alternative organized politics; therefore, rock'n'roll presented one of the most important vehicles for helping people think in an alternative way (Ramet 1994).

MUSIC WITH A MESSAGE

The violent conflicts that followed the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s marked a period of upheaval and suffering. The legitimization of war(s) and the struggle for independence was explained by the political elites through various forms of nationalist mobilization (Stojanović in Listhaug et al. 2010). Today, it is considered controversial to speak about socialist Yugoslavia in official discourse. It could be said that Yugoslavia has survived only in memory and in music (Muršič 2017). Even though Yugoslavia no longer formally exists on geographical maps, and even though nationalist and neoliberal ideologies of the successor states consider controversial the use of the terms socialist and Yugoslavia (Velikonja 2013), Yugoslav popular music is still vital and has clearly survived, and continues to provide fans with a consciousness of belonging to a cultural community that goes beyond the borders of the newly established countries (Mišina 2013). Many Yugoslav rock bands and performers became popular across Yugoslavia, and they survived the collapse of the country and its market (Muršič 2017). Nearly a decade after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, musicians from the former country started giving concerts outside the borders of their respective countries. The first comeback concerts held in Serbia after the war caused emotional reactions in the audience, primarily associated with feelings of nostalgia and Yugonostalgia (Muršič 2017).

Even now, three decades since the fall of Yugoslavia, nostalgia remains a prominent lens for interpreting and defining musical activities in the post-Yugoslav era, as noted by Hofman (2015). However, these feelings of nostalgia, often referred to as Yugonostalgia, are arguably much more linked to the present than they are to the past. Nostalgia can be interpreted as a subversive response towards an unjust present and an uncertain future (Velikonja 2008). Yugoslav music has survived the newly established borders, even though during the 1990s everything connected with the terms "socialist", and Yugoslavia was, in official discourse, considered subversive, controversial, and even forbidden. However, post-Yugoslav musical cooperation across the newly established borders has usually been perceived as "borne by nostalgic drives" (Hofman 2015), which implied that Yugoslav music had no emancipatory potential. Yugoslav cultural memory is usually considered a form of pure nostalgic escapism with no political potential within its interpretations as an emancipatory counter-discourse of resistance in the newly established nation-states (Hofman 2015). Yet, taking into account this notion of Yugoslav music as something purely nostalgic, and bearing in mind that in the dominant discourse in most Yugoslav successor states, Yugoslavism has been presented as something they do

not want to be linked with, the invocation of Yugoslavism contained in Yugoslav music is inevitably an expression of resistance and thus has emancipatory, subversive, and political potential. Additionally, Hofman (2015) discusses how theories of affect can provide new insights into how music is experienced and understood emotionally and socially, suggesting that music can evoke powerful emotional responses and shape collective identities. This perspective highlights the role of music in not only reflecting but also actively shaping social affect and cultural memory, thereby contributing to its potential as a form of resistance and political expression.

Socially engaged music in post-Yugoslav Croatia emerged and developed in the period after the end of the war, from 1995 onward. During the war, between 1991 and 1995, popular music played a key role in raising morale and providing a sense of unity and solidarity among the Croatian people. Many popular songs of the time were patriotic and spoke to the pride and resilience of the Croatian people in the face of war. Pettan (1998) suggested that there were three main functions of popular music in Croatia during the war: to encourage those who were fighting and those who were hiding from the enemy; to challenge and humiliate the enemy; and to call on those who are not directly threatened to become involved and provide help.

I will show that socially engaged music in Croatia arose from disillusionment with the failure of political leaders to deliver on their promises of change and progress. The collapse of Yugoslavia happened in the most dramatic way, marked by violence, conflict, and economic collapse, followed by a seemingly endless period of transition to liberal democracy and neoliberal capitalism (Štiks and Horvat 2015). This transition was explained by political elites as something that would finally bring a long-awaited progress, peace, prosperity, and the desired return to the "European family" where Croatia always belonged. However, the emergence of liberal capitalism did not put an end to the poverty and underdevelopment of the entire region; instead, it deepened dependence on foreign capital, and imposed limited sovereignty and democracy (Unkovski-Korica 2015). This resulted, among other things, in hundreds of thousands of members of society slipping to the bottom of the social ladder and filling the social welfare offices and employment bureaus. In the social apocalypse that befell the country, many musicians found inspiration for socially engaged songs that described the environment in which they originated.

The emergence of socially engaged music in Croatia

The first musicians to address the post-war reality in their songs were mostly rap and hip-hop performers, starting with El Bahattee, Tram 11, Elemental, and Edo Maajka,¹ who reflected on the effects of the conflict and the challenges facing Croatian society in its aftermath. In addition to these post-war socially engaged musicians, some bands were active in the pre-war and war periods, including Hladno pivo (Cold Beer) and The Beat Fleat (TBF). All of them contributed to the socially engaged music scene in Croatia, and most are still actively performing.² Their songs express their perception and understanding of post-war Croatia and all the problems the country and its people have experienced as a result of the war and transition, followed by corruption and criminal activity. Over time, new generations of socially engaged musicians have emerged.

Like the musicians from the first period, these new songwriters address present-day socio-political issues, mostly with sarcasm and ridicule. The thematic focus of the newer songs no longer includes war topics, leaning more toward addressing current socio-political issues in new music genres influenced by global musical trends, with elements of trap music with specific local influences. The target audience for these songs includes the younger generations, those called *millennials*. I will analyse some of these songs by Vojko Vrućina and Kandžija.

I have used content analysis to detect the main themes of fifty socially engaged songs by eight different artists of the post-war period. As Hsieh and Shannon (2005) point out, content analysis is a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data. Lyrics for the content analysis were obtained using internet sources like Genius, tekstovi.net, and similar pages, as well as official musicians' websites.

The first step in the analysis consisted of decoding the jargon used in the songs and identifying general themes to detect specific patterns, which were grouped into descriptive codes. This led to the formulation of key concepts and categories to

¹ Even though Edo Maajka is a Bosnian native, he fled that country during the war and eventually came to Croatia, where he began to perform. In many of his songs, he addressed the situation in Croatia, although he often addressed the entire region (post-Yugoslav countries). However, I define him as a Croatian socially engaged musician. All his albums have been published by the Croatian publishing house, Menart.

 $^{^2}$ El Bahattee is no longer active (1997–2003), and Tram 11 was active from 1996 until 2003, and again from 2017 to the present.

detect specific phrases in the lyrics, identify similar patterns, and combine the songs into specific categories. The second step involved grouping the analysed text based on literal codes by analysing words in the songs that are expressed literally. The third step consisted of the reduction of both literal and descriptive codes to three main analytical codes that are not as firmly linked to the text but are rather identified by the subjective approach of the author.

Following the content analysis, three major themes emerged: a critique of the corrupt and criminal system, a critique of society, and a critique of the Balkans in general. The first theme is apparent in songs that criticize the system by calling out all actors involved in creating a corrupt and criminal system of government, from political elites, associated business entities, media corporations, organized crime, foreignowned banks, and a corrupt judiciary. This theme can be further divided into three subthemes: a critique of the corrupt system and local political elite; cooperation between the political elite, business entities, tycoons, and the Church; and a critique of the current system by glorifying the former system of Yugoslavia. Some of the songs combine more than one subtheme.

Steal the money, come on, steal the money

The first subtheme is the largest, presented in songs that direct their criticism toward the corrupted system and the ruling elite. In "Steal the Money," Edo Maajka directly refers to the ruling elite, business entities associated with the ruling elite, tycoons, and war profiteers by satirically describing how the system works. The title of the song, "Steal the Money," reveals the intention, while the first repeated verses indicate Maajka's intention to criticize criminal activity by the ruling elite and its partners: "steal the money, come on, steal the money." Maajka continues by describing the process of corruption and criminal activity:

A little bit of political parties, a few parliamentary sessions, Construction company, money is leaking. A little bit of battlefield, war profiteers, so what?

³ Original title of the song: "Pokradi lovu."

These verses describe how the ruling elite and their associates⁴ accumulate wealth through illegal activities. They are paid for their political positions, while they use those positions for various corrupt and criminal activities; often they are associated with construction companies and set up work for them, from which both parties share the profit. A verse about the battlefield and war profiteers sarcastically points out that many people used their position and gained wealth during the war by exploiting the political and economic circumstances created by war.

Similarly, in "The Croatian Greats," Tram 11 refers to a corrupt system whose existence is ensured by theft and malfeasance:

Corruption, police, thievery, malfeasance, Same team, but a new system and inflation. If I don't get mine, then I will use force.

The first line refers to the ruling elite, including state institutions, as corrupt and prone to thievery and malfeasance. The second points to the fact that nothing changed after the collapse of Yugoslavia, since the politicians remained the same. The difference was that Croatia was no longer a socialist republic as the country transitioned to a market economy and multiparty system. The last line refers to the fact that in a country where the ruling elite is corrupt and prone to thievery, an ordinary person has no choice but to apply the same behavioural model if they want anything more than bare existence.

On a similar track, Edo Maajka addressed the corruption of the ruling elite and the struggle for the survival of ordinary people in "My Dear Government."

I would also like to go to the sea because my hands are burning with blisters. For euros, kunas, I would stay with you down in the island of Brijuni.

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⁴ "Associates" imply subjects connected to the political elite to conduct corrupt actions to accumulate wealth and power: war profiteers, founders and owners of business corporations and companies, the Church, etc.

⁵ Original title: "Hrvatski velikani."

⁶ Original title: "Dragi moj Vlado." Maajka is playing with words in this title. Vlado is a common male name, while Vlada means government. The song's message is directed toward the government, which is why the title is not translated literally.

Maajka is referring to the ease of being a politician in this region, since they enjoy their holidays on the island of Brijuni,⁷ while ordinary people do hard physical work to survive and do not have the luxury of enjoying vacations by the sea, as politicians do. In the second line, Maajka asks politicians to hire him in Brijuni in some imaginary position, as they do with their trusted followers and cronies, because he would like to do nothing and get paid for it.

Similarly, in "Why Do I Have You?" Elemental refers to the local political elite that rules manipulatively, deceptively, and corruptly and, through a network of collaborators, covers up every attempt to expose them:

You entered the parliament, facilitated a construction permit for a foreigner, For him to get land and build a shopping center, You took a commission, and bought a flat in the city.

The song addresses the issue of a ruling elite that allows private investors to exploit public goods. Elemental points out that local politicians prioritize their own financial gain over the well-being of the community they were elected to serve, which erodes public trust and undermines the democratic process. Moreover, Elemental also shows how the elite finds a way to cover up all its illegal activities:

Your function was at risk because of the investigation, and the affair of a shopping center built without a permit, you pulled the strings and everything was covered up, time heals the wound, and people forget quickly.

By blocking any attempt to expose their wrongdoing, the elite shields themselves from public scrutiny and accountability and perpetuates a cycle of corruption and abuse of power. This criminal activity is sustained by a web of relationships and favours which can leave those who speak out vulnerable to retaliation and harassment.

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⁷ For three decades, Brijuni was Tito's official residence. Afterwards, the Brijuni infrastructure continued to be used by Croatian presidents.

⁸ Original title: "Zašto te imam?"

In another song, "Solidarity," Elemental points out that the ruling elite depends on the voters and that voters should stand up to them and fight for their rights. The voters hold the power to elect or reject the ruling elite:

We created you, you are here for us, Invisible people raise their voices, This is not your private property, it is not your beautiful Homeland, And now the glass has been spilled.

The lyrics emphasize that it is the responsibility of voters to stand up for their rights and demand accountability from their elected officials. By voicing their concerns and holding their leaders accountable, voters can bring about change and ensure that their elected officials prioritize the needs of the people they serve. Voters must take an active role in their democracy and participate in the political process.

In the song, "Firm," 10 Hladno pivo (Cold Beer) criticize the criminal privatization process that trampled the working class and enriched the new Croatian elite who used false promises of a new beginning.

I take off my hat to all of us who still remember, The day when black limousines stopped in front of the firm And said: God, Homeland, Nation, everybody down, this is privatization. Make room for 200 families.

The song criticizes the non-transparent process of privatization in Croatia. The first two lines refer to the privatization process of large companies¹¹ that were once synonymous with success and development until privatization was largely reduced to filling the state budget and developing a primitive type of capitalism (Horaček and Nikolić, 2021). In this process, which favoured private investors at the expense of workers, thousands of employees worked an extended period without being paid, and thousands more lost their jobs. The last two lines refer to the narrative used to justify privatization, which was carried out under the guise of a new beginning, in the name of the Homeland and God, claiming that Croats deserved their own country, freed from Yugoslav one-mindedness. Instead, however, a few families

⁹ Original title: "Solidarnost."

¹⁰ Original title: "Firma."

¹¹ Usually, factories and other large production companies, including Kamensko, Dioki, Gredelj, Torpedo, Rikard Benčić, Dina Petrokemija and many more.

became rich and powerful, while the lives of most of the population were reduced to bare survival. The syntagm "200 rich families" refers to the first Croatian president, Franjo Tuđman, who said in one of his speeches¹² that there would be two hundred rich families in Croatia, and the rest would be their serfs, or, as Tudman called them, small-toothed livestock. 13

In "The Devil," 14 The Beat Fleat criticize the arrival of foreign investors who exploit the Adriatic coast in collaboration with the local government at the expense of citizens and the local community:

One spring morning, on a double-decker bus, With the first rays of the sun, the devil came into town. He sailed into the city with a 120-meter boat, then he announced via his vassals, That he plans to invest a lot of capital in the city. City leaders immediately came running, and they unanimously signed these big piles of paper.

The devil represents the foreign investor who decided to buy and exploit the land and resources with the approval of the local government, which, in turn, benefited financially from it. The increasing number of hotels and resorts on the Adriatic coast is causing concern among the residents, as it changes the character of the area. In addition to losing a public good that should serve the community, local authorities, following their own agendas, create fertile ground for foreign investors to make high profits while residents fill low-paid service jobs while the managers and similar better-paying positions are filled from abroad.

The Untouchable

Cooperation between the ruling elite, business associates, tycoons, and the Church is another common subtheme. In "Amen," 15 El Bahattee questions the role of the Church and its involvement in state affairs:

¹² The attribution of this syntagm to Franjo Tuđman is questioned by some; nonetheless, it has become a symbol of Croatia's privatization process led by Tuđman, which left hundreds of thousands unemployed, hundreds of thousands of retirees trapped with almost worthless pensions, and enormous external debt.

¹³ The original words that Tuđman used were: "Stoka sitnog zuba."

¹⁴ Original title: "Vrag."

¹⁵ Original title: "Amen."

Is it faith in God or a machine for money laundering.

Politics is a whore, but she wears such suits,

Your preachers are disguised under the crucifix,

They are involved in transitions, inquisitions, natality, and police affairs.

These lyrics point to the corruption and hypocrisy of the Catholic Church and its involvement in financial impropriety, including money laundering and corruption. The song criticizes the Church's interference in politics, while the Church claims to promote values such as faith, love, social justice, and community. The Church's interference in state affairs raises questions about the separation of church and state, which is a fundamental principle of secular societies. In Croatia, historical ties between Church and state are strong, and the Church maintains a significant amount of power and influence over the population. Also, as the Catholic Church is a large organisation, it has a vast network of resources, and sufficient influence to sway political decisions in its favour.

In "Manipulation pt.1," ¹⁶ The Beat Fleat criticise the connections between the Church, the ruling elite, their business associates, and tycoons by questioning the purpose of the country's battle for its independence:

It takes a lot of Vaseline to be where I am, kneeling in front of open slits, Crooked mouth due to the configuration of other people's penises. I never had ideals and dreams, I know that anything is possible with enough money.

These lines denote that being a politician in Croatia involves an elevated level of unscrupulousness, spinelessness, opportunism, sycophancy, and lack of morals. "Crooked mouth" is a reference to the first Croatian president, Franjo Tuđman, because of his facial characteristic, and because he is considered one of the persons most responsible for having allowed and encouraged the criminal process of privatization in the country. The lyrics continue:

Women are too strong, so boys turn me on. Anal investigator, master of the oral art. Shit without morals, this is what our battle gave us.

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¹⁶ Original title: "Manipulacija prvi dio."

These lines criticize the Catholic Church for condoning paedophilia. Finally, the song questions the purpose of the war, the killings, and thousands of people losing their homes and loved ones, since the result of the war is not prosperity, progress, and welfare, but corruption, crime, immorality, hypocrisy, and poverty.

In "The Untouchables," ¹⁷ The Beat Fleat criticize the ruling elite who, in conjunction with their business associates and tycoons, corruptly shape the destinies of millions of people:

I do not answer to my conscience, neither to people nor to God, I am the emperor of the world, first subordinate to God, And what should I be afraid of when I shape destinies.

These lines show that the ruling elite positions itself on the highest level of the hierarchy, which allows it to determine human destinies without consequences. The song continues:

Let the strong rule, and let the poor whine, And let them pray to their gods.

These lines refer to the fact that the ruling elite in Croatia uses religion, nationalism, and other emotional appeals to distract the public from their own misdeeds and to maintain their hold on power.

Similarly, in "Minimal Risk," 18 Edo Maajka points to bribery, corruption, and connections between the ruling elite and tycoons:

Bribed judges, ties are pulling, I'm lining up my people to make the law for me. Across the river Sava, I smuggle cigars when I need cash, Two or three tow trucks, hidden under the canvas, a tycoon of tycoons, and a diamond in my teeth.

Maajka points out that tycoons use their power and influence to engage in unethical and illegal activities to maintain their position of influence and control and to gain more wealth. Moreover, they leverage their wealth and power to influence political

¹⁷ Original title: "Nedodirljivi,"

¹⁸ Original title: "Minimalni rizik."

decisions that favour their own interests over the public good. Such practices undermine the democratic process and erode public trust in government, increase inequality, and reduce transparency and accountability.

We all loved him

A third subtheme appears in songs that criticize the current system by glorifying Yugoslavia. In "We All Loved Him," ¹⁹ Hladno Pivo portrays life in Yugoslavia as a time when life was different and better, and when Tito was a leader whom everyone admired:

We all loved him, except for those in prison,
We wrote long compositions, what is more beautiful, Him or the spring?
The greatest son of his people, he was our father, mother, God,
We admired him from below.

In the first line, "except for those in prison," the song refers to political dissidents who were imprisoned, which points out totalitarian aspects of the former Yugoslavia. However, it is important to highlight the complex nature of Yugoslavia, which made it difficult to classify it into either of the prevalent political systems in Europe at that time (Ionescu and Madariaga 1968; Fisk 1971; Linz and Stepan 1996; Ramet 2006; Flere 2014); these authors question the characterization of Yugoslavia as a totalitarian regime, although this does not mean that there were no elements of a totalitarian regime. Hladno Pivo remind us that repression existed in some form in Yugoslavia, while emphasizing that Tito was a charismatic leader adored by the Yugoslav people:

We lived well, somehow differently, western, more eastern. And we all cried when our greatest comrade died.

In these lines, Hladno Pivo emphasize that Yugoslavia was a unique country in many ways. It positioned itself as a non-aligned country, developed its own brand of socialism, and emphasized a policy of neutrality. The lines claiming that people lived "western, more eastern" refer to the country's balanced relationships with both the Soviet Union and the United States, while also maintaining autonomy for

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¹⁹ Original title: "Svi smo ga mi voljeli."

Yugoslavia, which allowed for a certain level of independence and freedom in foreign policy decision-making. When Tito died, it was a deeply emotional moment for many Yugoslavs. People from all levels of society, factory workers to intellectuals, mourned his passing, since he was perceived as the leader who had brought stability and prosperity to their country. Apart from the political prisoners, obviously.

Elemental, in "He's Gone," ²⁰ criticizes the current political and economic situation in sovereign and independent Croatia by glorifying life during Yugoslav times:

My parents easily found their first job,
No one was unemployed with a university degree.
No one lacked food,
They were happy in their small flat, secure job, seniority, and pension.

Elemental highlights the fact that the socialist system provided job security for many people as there was a high level of public ownership. Also, as pointed out in the second line, the unemployment rate in Yugoslavia was relatively low, compared to other countries in the region. In addition, there was a relatively low level of income inequality, as the government implemented policies aimed at reducing poverty and promoting a more even distribution of wealth. In comparison,

Today are different times, there are no jobs, everyone manages as they know how, They either sit unemployed or pay bribes for a job, In a rented apartment with an undeclared salary, without any security, and a head full of confusion.

These lines describe life in Croatia today, highlighting the poor socio-economic situation, high unemployment rate, elevated level of bribery, poor living standards, as well as the uncertain future.

The past smiles at us with tired eyes, And the air smells of nostalgia.

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²⁰ Original title: "Nema ga."

These lyrics are rooted in a sense of nostalgia for the socialist period, which provided a sense of stability and security for many. Today, after years of violence, conflict, and economic collapse, followed by a period of transition to liberal democracy and neoliberal capitalism, which were described by the ruling elite as long-awaited progress, peace, and prosperity, it seems for many that the past times were much better. Glorifying the socialist system and society that existed during Yugoslav times, while criticizing the current political and economic situation, are among the main themes of "Yugonostalgia."

However, it is important to remember that nostalgia for the Yugoslav past is not only nostalgia for everyday life, but also for something that never existed in such a form (Luketić 2013). As Velikonja points out (2008), by expressing nostalgia, one seeks for a utopian society and an imaginary country. Therefore, nostalgia for socialist Yugoslavia is a form of political opinion and a manifestation of political activism on what a just and ordered society should look like, which, in fact, was never the case in Yugoslavia.

Only in this region

Another main theme in socially engaged Croatian songs is the critique of society's predominant patriarchal and religious values, petty-bourgeois mentality, defeatism, and consumerism, a society so focused on the past that it is unable to move forward. In "Nature and Society," Elemental argues that Croatian society is patriarchal, poor, overly religious, and prone to national euphoria:

That is our nature and society, May a child be born, but may it be male.

These lines refer to the importance placed on having a male child, as it is still seen as a source of pride and a way to carry on the family name and legacy, revealing that Croatian society is still very traditional and that gender roles prioritize male heirs.

We scream and go wild when we score the goal, God and Homeland is all we have. Nature here is beautiful, But society is screwed up.

²¹ Original title: "Priroda i društvo."

These lines highlight the importance of football as a source of national pride that provides joy, excitement, and a feeling of belonging to a community. Football can also be viewed as a way for people to escape from the reality and hardships of everyday life. The line "God and Homeland is all we have" denotes that the ruling elite often uses these imaginary values and symbols as a diversion from the real problems in the country, including corruption, crime, poverty, brain drain, and a low standard of living.

In "How come?"²² Vojko Vrućina criticizes a specific Croatian mindset that prioritizes making money quickly and easily above creating value or quality:

I opened a fast food next to another fast food, My menu is worse, but my prices are higher, Everyone eats their food, and nobody wants to eat mine. How come?

Vrućina caricatures entrepreneurial incompetence. This mentality is sometimes referred to as the "get-rich-quick" mindset, or how to make fast money, and can be seen as a product of the challenging economic and social conditions that have faced Croatia. Poverty can undermine the development of the "spirit of capitalism" described by Weber (2005), which emphasizes the importance of hard work, diligence, and self-discipline in pursuing financial success. According to this view, poverty can make it difficult for individuals to cultivate these virtues, as they may lack access to education, training, and other resources that could help them develop the skills and attitudes necessary for success in a capitalist system, leading to the development of the "get-rich-quick" mindset. The song continues to highlight specific aspects of an average Croat's mentality:

Is it possible that someone is sabotaging me and lobbying against me? Maybe it's the government, maybe it's the Serbs, maybe it's the Masons.

These lines ridicule the mindset where, after every failure, one looks for someone else to blame. The lines also refer to the popular internal and external enemies of Croatian society, the government, and Serbs. This alludes to the fact that Croatian society is still deeply immersed in a kind of war mentality, as well as hatred towards

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²² Original title: "Kako to?"

their neighbouring Serbs, although years have passed since the war ended. "Masons" is a symbol of conspiracy theorists. By referring to the Masons, the song alludes to economic insecurity, mistrust of authority, and a cultural belief system somewhat based on traditional beliefs and superstitions as determinants of Croatian society, which often leads to lack of exposure to critical thinking skills, scientific reasoning, and analytical tools (Swami et al. 2011; Imhoff and Bruder 2014; Van Prooijen, Krouwel and Pollet 2015).

Croatian hip hop performer Kandžija ridicules life in a small mainland town in the song titled "Donji Miholjac":²³

I grew up in Miholjac, and I will always love it, If I succeed here, then I can succeed everywhere.

These lines are an allusion to the Alicia Keys song "Empire State of Mind," which implies that if one succeeds in New York, they can succeed anywhere, transferring it to the context of a small Croatian town, Donji Miholjac, thus emphasizing a situation completely opposite to that of the urban and developed environment that teems with possibilities in New York. This underscores that Croatia's rural areas are facing economic underdevelopment, demographic challenges, infrastructure deficits, lack of natural resource management, and a lack of political representation, which leads to a vicious cycle of economic, social, and cultural stagnation and, ultimately, brain drain.

The night of roasted oxen

The presence of war topics in socially engaged Croatian songs is common. Those songs and musicians are vocal in their critique of the lingering effects of war on Croatian society and have called for a more inclusive and progressive approach to social issues.

Elemental, in the song "Balkana," ²⁴ criticizes a society that is still immersed in the past, with war, hatred, and intolerance, while the generations whose childhood was irreversibly destroyed by war now have the task of rebuilding that society from scratch:

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²³ Original title of the song and name of a small town in continental Croatia.

²⁴ Original title: "Donji Miholjac."

Let's roll up our sleeves, we no longer have dreams because of our past.

Our childhood would have been different if the guns hadn't rattled
This is a land of wounds and empty promises.
Twenty years later and you still want to shoot, and put in your pocket what the people created.
We, the younger ones, must create anew, everything starts from scratch for us,

The first line refers to the fact that children who grew up in conditions of war do not have the same starting position as those who spent their childhood in peace, as should be the case for everyone. This generation still lives in a society that is grappling with the legacy of the past, including the scars of war, the persistence of ethnic tensions, and the challenges of rebuilding social and economic infrastructure. "Let's roll up our sleeves" calls for motivation for that generation, which is tasked with the responsibility of rebuilding society and promoting greater social cohesion and tolerance while confronting the challenges of economic inequality, unemployment, and political corruption.

In "The Night of Roasted Oxen 91"," ²⁵ El Bahattee depicts a war-time and post-war Croatian society that is immersed in crime and corruption, which was made possible by the circumstances of war, creating a class of tycoons, on the one hand, and an impoverished populace, on the other, on whose backs the tycoons continued to enrich themselves, in cooperation with the ruling elite:

Sirens blared for days, I lost school, I lost education.

Today I look at the youth and the nation, their parents are commandos, the 91' hinterland.

In the trench in front of the factory, they were lurking positions, stocks and factories.

Work force at the minimum wage, they still haunt us today.

The first line shows that many people lost normal opportunities in life, including the right to education and the right to a normal childhood because of war events in the country. On the other hand, a small class of tycoons and wealthy individuals were, in cooperation with the ruling elite, able to accumulate significant wealth and power. In the post-war privatization process, those individuals took advantage of the powerful position that they had acquired during the war and continued to exploit the post-war situation for (political) positioning and further enrichment, buying factories and large companies for bargain prices. They used the workers for their

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²⁵ Original title: "Noć pečenih volova 91'."

own advancement and enrichment then destroyed those factories by their poor management, leaving thousands of workers without jobs.

On a similar track, Elemental's "Day by Day"²⁶ questions the purpose of the Homeland War in Croatia, since the result of the battle for independence was poverty, debt slavery, injustice, corruption, and a struggle for bare existence:

Days of pride and glory, and minus on the bank account.

We were left without everything, it hit us too suddenly.

Who even knows what happened overnight.

While we were surviving, things in life got more expensive.

There is no justice to protect us, no honest government, all of them are converts.

Promises are cheap and life is so expensive, so the role models are criminals, which makes sense, people are not stupid.

These lines describe a post-war Croatia that may have gained its independence and sovereignty, but the question we are left with is whether that was worth the cost in human loss and socio-economic decline. The war left many parts of the country with poor infrastructure, weak institutional support, and corruption, and it contributed to a significant brain drain as many people left the country in search of better opportunities elsewhere. In such conditions, when there is widespread lack of trust in institutions resulting from the high level of crime and corruption, along with poor living standards, it is not surprising that criminals become role models, because they demonstrate how one can manage in a country where it is difficult to earn an honest living.

Tracksuit and a leather jacket

The third main theme of socially engaged Croatian songs is a critique of the Balkans as a wild and dangerous place, a space of hatred and corruption, patriarchy, and chauvinism. In "Tracksuit and a Leather Jacket," ²⁷ Kandžija depicts the stereotype of a typical Balkan male as an ignorant petty-bourgeois person who wants to be perceived as a "civilized European":

²⁷ Original title: "Trenerka i kožnjak."

²⁶ Original title: "Iz dana u dan."

The upper part is leather jacket on a bare skin, I unbutton myself nicely, show my belly.

Leatherette tracksuits and leather jackets,
I get from Joža, my girlfriend's brother's godfather.
I wear the same as Europe, and I don't care,
While others have a crisis, I have the best time ever.

The reference to a leather jacket and a tracksuit was probably intended to indicate a lack of civility, manners, and style, and, generally, to portray the Balkan male as a barbarian who is involved in illegal activities, such as reselling stolen goods, which makes him financially stable, in comparison to people who earn an honest living and struggle for bare survival. Moreover, by wishing to wear clothes that are worn in Europe, the speaker indicates an inferiority complex and a wish to belong to Europe, not the Balkans.

On a similar note, in "Hey Slavs," ²⁸ Elemental criticizes the Balkan region as an area of hatred, war, and excessive religiosity, where people desire to break free from those shackles and become "citizens of the world":

Sorry for carrying all that baggage,

that I am unpacking in front of you in Strasbourg and The Hague. Let me be a citizen of the world, unencumbered by the yoke of Balkan identity.

And understand that what I wear is not mine, those national colours are painted by others Hey Slavs, your fires still burn, they don't let me breathe.

I would draw a line and start over.

And to hell with your doctrines and our great leaders, and all this is gnawing at me, it is gnawing at me to the bone.

A man without a nation, a man without an emblem, a man without an anthem is a man without a problem.

These lines indicate the affliction of the Balkan region with war, hatred, nationalism, and various ideologies and the need for people to free themselves from these shackles and become citizens of the world, without the Balkan label, neutral, and freed from the burden of the Balkans. To some extent, the Balkan region has deservedly received the title of "powder keg." Through the 100-year period of the 20th century, this region went through many wars and conflicts. For this reason, the main topic of many Croatian songs is war, and the consequences of war, hatred, and

²⁸ Original title: "Hej Slaveni."

despair. In these lyrics, the image of the Balkans is barbaric, sad, and depressing, while war, barbarism, and hatred often become the most important and most common determinants of the entire region. War is often portrayed as something usual and timeless, and the Balkan region is described using precisely those determinants. However, it is important to point out that in this narrative of the Balkans as the bloody beginning of the 20th century, it is often forgotten and/or ignored that the entire history of Europe is filled with war and conflict (Luketić 2013). The history of Europe is interpreted in the spirit of the Enlightenment, as a constant progression towards democratic values and ideal civil societies, and on that path, war and violence are often considered necessities.

Building a better future

The changes that took place in Croatia at the beginning of the 1990s represent a significant turning point in the country's history. The fall of Yugoslavia and the subsequent war led to a complete change in the economic, social, and political structure of the country. This period was marked by great losses, from jobs and properties to identities and lives.

Socially engaged music has played a significant role during the post-war period, capturing the mood of the time and reflecting the experiences and struggles of ordinary people. It still has a vital role, as it helps give voice to those who would otherwise be marginalized and provides a platform for people to express their frustrations and hopes. Moreover, it plays a key role in holding political actors accountable for their actions. By publicly calling out corruption, deception, and crime, it can expose the dark underbelly of the political system and demand greater transparency and accountability from those in power. It has the power to speak to society in terms of accepting all the positive and negative aspects of the region they live in and recognizing that the Balkan region is much more than a "powder keg" of violence and instability. By acknowledging the full complexity of the region's history, it is possible to gain a deeper appreciation of the unique challenges and opportunities facing the Balkans today, and socially engaged music can play a significant role in that process.

Socially engaged music can address social, political, economic, and cultural problems and to send empowering messages to its audience. Its power lies in the fact that it can be used to challenge dominant ideologies and power structures (Frith 2007), and it will likely continue to serve as a potentially important tool for addressing social issues and promoting social change in the country in the years to come. By giving a voice to the marginalized and oppressed, by addressing new and emerging social issues, and by participating in shaping public opinion, it will continue to be a vital force for positive social change in Croatian society.

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OPPOSING ROLES OF FEMALE ARCHETYPES IN ANTI-CHURCH PROPAGANDA IN HOZIER'S "TAKE ME TO CHURCH" AND PHILLIP PULLMAN'S "HIS DARK MATERIALS"

Katja Težak

University of Maribor, Faculty of Agriculture and Life Sciences, Maribor, Slovenia katja.tezak@um.si

Whether something is propaganda or antipropaganda is often debatable. Literature and music are filled with social and literary archetypes which are defined as universal character constructs that we harbour in our collective unconscious, and which can function as both propaganda or anti-propaganda. Examples can be found in the unnamed female lover in Hozier's popular song "Take Me to Church" and the femme fatale in Philip Pullman's character Marisa Coulter from his trilogy His Dark Materials, both presenting the archetype of the temptress. Hozier's heroine is an approximate counterpart to the Roman Catholic Church's God while Marisa, on the other hand, is a villain who represents the Church in Pullman's trilogy, attempting to uphold its power and monopoly on knowledge, yet serving as anti-propaganda through her own wickedness and amorality. I will show how these two female characters both embody the archetype of the temptress and display Church anti-propaganda, each in her own distinct way: one representing evil and the other as good standing in opposition to evil.

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Introduction

Placing power, wielding power, and using someone to promote or denote power are distinct activities, and when women and their allure enter the power arena, it usually involves weaponization of one sort or another. Admiration, adoration, and pursuit of women has preoccupied world literature and the arts in general for ages, but there is a certain instinctive fear that develops when someone awakens deep desires within us, because that gives them power over us. The ancient archetype of the temptress is a personification of this fear, awakened in people's hearts as individuals, or in powerful organisations that wish to utilize or destroy the temptress's power. According to American author and historian Barbara Tuchman, "Woman (in the 14th century) was the Church's rival, the temptress, the distraction, the obstacle to holiness, the Devil's decoy" (Tuchman 2017, 36). Clearly, powerful organisations have a longstanding business built around human desires and the wish to control and monopolize the power they hold over human nature. To gain and hold power over a large number of people, they need to put time and energy into propaganda and at least some power and energy into anti-propaganda to denigrate elements that may threaten this power and influence, or to actually denigrate this power in question to stop its force and influence. Assuming that a temptress can hold power over at least a portion of the population they wish to control, she can become a weapon of either propaganda or anti-propaganda.

Two examples of temptresses, Mrs Marisa Coulter from Phillip Pullman's *His Dark Materials*, and a nameless character in Andrew Hozier's song "Take Me to Church," and their role in Church propaganda or anti-propaganda, invite an intertextual reading; the novel and song both build on and shape references from the Roman Catholic faith and the ancient archetypal image of the temptress. Intertextuality is a theoretical concept where one or more texts refer to, reference, quote, or allude to another specific text (Genette 1997). Here, the intertextual reading takes place through examining the two variants of the archetype that are rooted in the temptress concept and their relationship to the Church and used as pro and anti-church propaganda by their respective male authors.

I will focus on how the roles of these two characters differ in their positive or negative representation, especially in relation to promoting or denigrating the Church as an organisation. Both works clearly criticise certain activities of the Roman Catholic Church, which can also be seen in interviews given by the authors. One character is used as a villain to show the evil of the organisation, while the other stands as the Church's rival for power and attention with her influence and quasidivine status. Both examples originate in contemporary popular culture, not in ancient scripts, which indicates that the dangers of oppression, manipulation and other forms of abuse from the Catholic Church are still felt and present in modern literature and music.

Propaganda and Anti-Propaganda

Propaganda is "The systematic dissemination of information, esp. in a biased or misleading way, in order to promote a political cause or point of view" (Oxford English Dictionary 2022). Although this definition refers to "political causes," its reference to "points of view" applies equally to religious causes. Although church and state are separated by law in most countries of the westernised world, instances like these do still occur in many congregations, as reported by an Evangelical pastor:

[...] I felt pressure from a number of right-wing political and religious sources, as well as from some people in my own congregation, to "shepherd my flock" into voting for "the right candidate" and "the right position." Among other things, I was asked to hand out leaflets, to draw attention to various political events, and to have our church members sign petitions, make pledges, and so on. Increasingly, some in our church grew irate because of my refusal (supported by the church board) to have the church participate in these activities. (Boyd 2005, 11)

It is evident that faith and politics do not always go their separate ways and that they exchange and share power through propaganda, in this case in the form of handing out leaflets and drawing attention to certain political candidates: plainly speaking, to tell his congregation where to cast their vote. The church is thus very much a political entity striving and stirring power within many contemporary communities.

It is often the case that forms of propaganda spark anti-propaganda. Anti- or counterpropaganda is employed in situations to counter propaganda efforts; thus, to understand the former requires a clear understanding of the latter (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2006). The state of anti-anything needs to be understood and interpreted through the "pro" state, and anti-propaganda is no different. The paraphrased explanation above on anti-propaganda by Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell

indicates that understanding the distinction between propaganda and antipropaganda requires the perception that, in the case of Church propaganda and antipropaganda, the latter will try to persuade us of something negative about the Church and its activity; this is displayed in the works by Pullman and Hozier and by many other writers in non-fiction genres.

The Roman Catholic Church has raised eyebrows and tempers with its multitude of moral scandals, creating its own unintentional anti-propaganda. A Google search reveals the extent and number of problematic allegations towards the Church, such as *The Guardian*'s recent report on a high-ranking church official in Germany denying awareness of abuse allegations against members of his order: "The case centres on the elevation of a priest to a higher position in the city of Düsseldorf who has been accused of several accounts of sexual abuse against children" (Connolly 2023). Another example reported by the BBC lists abuse statistics of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States: "The state's top prosecutor said 451 clergy in Illinois had sexually abused 1,997 children since 1950. The church had acknowledged only 103 individual abusers before the start of the investigation in 2018. Nearly every survivor interviewed struggled with mental health issues after being abused, the report said" (Wendling 2023). These reports and numbers are extremely worrying and in stark contrast to the fact that the institution promotes itself with a moral position of compassion towards other people.

The scandal problem is not just a contemporary phenomenon or just limited to Europe. Canada has had traumatic experiences with the Church over the centuries as well, described in Michelle Gadpaille's 2010 analysis of Anful Disclosures of Maria Monk, or The Hidden Secrets of Nun's Life in a Convent Exposed (1836) and of Sarah Richardson's Life in the Grey Nunnery at Montreal (1858). The literature shows that an entire anti-church genre was born through the accounts of these women who were mistreated by the church: "[...] a special brand of evil was constructed: hypocritical, underground and expressed through the bodies and minds of nuns, such iniquity both arose from and helped to construct anti-Catholic sentiment on both sides of the border. The figure of the mad nun in particular became a trope for both the Catholic system and resistance to its strictures" (Gadpaille 2010, 1). These accounts portray the mistrust and growing negative feelings towards the Church as an institution and the way these negative feelings have grown through time into the present day.

In the 21st century, both Hozier and Pullman criticize the church and its propaganda in the media and in their works. Hozier is expressive in condemning the church's homophobia: "The Pope came here last year and said, Who am I to judge with regards to somebody's sexual orientation? I think it is important to differentiate between lip service towards something and actually making change. I think it is hopeful, but saying this in 2015, 'Who am I to judge?' is something that should have been said 100 years ago" (Hendicott 2015). Hozier included the theme of homophobia in the release video of "Take Me to Church." Pullman, on the other hand, expresses his disdain for the Roman Catholic Church by directly mentioning the scandals in which it has been involved and openly critiquing its corruption and power abuse:

It's been caught with its trousers down, in many different ways, hasn't it?' he says of the recent abuse scandals. 'They didn't expect this sort of thing to happen, this sort of thing to come out; they didn't expect to have to account for themselves in the way that they've had to. But this is what happens, always, when you have an organisation whose authority derives from something that may not be questioned.' 'Now,' he continues, 'when you get that sort of authority, in any set-up, the potential for corruption is wide open.' (Barton 2010)

Pullman's clear, pointed critique of the Roman Catholic Church indicates the disdain that we can see displayed in the trilogy *His Dark Materials*. This critique in Pullman's, like Hozier's work, shows clear signs of Church anti-propaganda, intended or not.

The two texts under consideration display an interesting counter use of the temptress archetype in the anti-propaganda of the Church. In Pullman's novel, we encounter a villainous temptress who represents the Church and its activity and is so devoutly focused on her work for the Church and its power-hungry endeavours that her disposition becomes a representation of and anti-propaganda for the Church itself. In Hozier's lyrics, we see a seemingly blasphemous temptress who is mockingly equated with a deity. The speaker ridicules organised religion through his devotion to the temptress, so she too is a type of Church anti-propaganda, but she is portrayed as a positive, grounding counterpart to the Church's self-righteousness and claim of right to judge, or, in other words, the Church's self-propaganda.

The Artists and the Church

Andrew John Hozier-Byrne, an Irish singer and songwriter, better known as Hozier, rose to world fame on 13 September 2013 when his hit single "Take Me to Church" was released by Rubyworks Records (Zollo 2020). The link was quickly established between his music, the critique of religion, and its consequent anti-propaganda effect:

Perhaps pagan, apparently agnostic, undeniably unchristian—whatever category you apply, Hozier's music is fundamentally religious. Rather than divorcing faith from art, Andrew Hozier-Byrne, who performs under the stage name Hozier, brings religion to center stage. He wrestles with God in both of his albums, inviting his audience to actively contemplate the afterlife and critically analyze the nature of worship alongside him. (Zollo 2020)

Another comment on his art states:

His disdain for institutionalized Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, colors his analysis of religion; [...] in his infamous debut single "Take Me to Church," he worships the human rather than the divine, begging to 'worship like a dog at the shrine of [his lover's] lies.' (Hayes 2021)

Hozier does not just hint at a critique of the Roman Catholic Church, which has the largest membership of any church in his home country of Ireland, in his songs, he states it directly in his correspondence with the press: "The damage done by the Church to the people of Ireland is completely irreparable, and the reparations are all too few. There's still a lack of will to turn around and say, "This is not OK" (Hozier 2014). Quotations from and about his music indicate that Hozier's work contains a predominance of anti-religious propaganda. "Take Me to Church" offers a truly poetic expression of rebellious, tempting female worship and an earnest act of advocacy against the oppression, hate and fearmongering of a powerful institution.

Sir Philip Nicholas Outram Pullman is a well-established English novelist who is perhaps best-known for his outspoken critique of the Church in the fantasy trilogy *His Dark Materials*. Pullman has produced other anti-religious works, such as *The Good Man Jesus and the Scoundrel Christ* (2010). He has been named as one of the "50 greatest British writers since 1945" by the *Times* (Times Magazine 2008) and, in 2019, was knighted in the New Year's Honours to Literature.

In an interview with *The Guardian* reporter Laura Barton, Pullman speaks about having left religion, the Church and its negative disposition behind, while labelling God as an "evil demiurge":

And so I came to realise that this world was actually rather a good place, which is full of things that make you laugh and things that make you happy and things that make you feel good physically, and so I gradually abandoned the idea of the evil demiurges who had created this ghastly world, and realised actually that this is our home, it's where we belong, and there ain't no elsewhere [...] So that's where I am now, spiritually speaking. Which I never do, because I don't like that word. (Pullman in Barton 2010)

Pullman's words demonstrate his dislike of the Church, its world-view and judgement of people's sins, all the while concealing moral scandal within its ranks. One of those scandals discussed in the same *Guardian* interview triggered the following response from Pullman:

I ask him [Pullman] if he thinks the scandal will change the Catholic Church. I hope so,' he says quickly, and then draws back. Well why do I hope so? In one way, I hope the wretched organisation will vanish entirely. So I'm looking on with a degree of dispassionate interest.' He does not, at this moment, seem so dispassionate. (Barton 2010)

These words will reappear in our analysis of Mrs. Coulter and her hypocritical role as a fanatically devout member of the fictional church in *His Dark Materials*. She is completely devoted to her organisation, but a deeply amoral person with a mounting list of horrible sins.

Archetypes in Literature

The Swiss psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Carl Gustav Jung first used the term "archetypes" in 1919. He defined them as "universal, primal symbols and images that derive from the collective unconscious" (Jung 1919, 17). Jung indicates that archetypes influence our behaviour and perception on an unconscious level; his model has been refined in more contemporary definitions like that of Kendra Cherry, who states that: "Archetypes are universal, inborn models of people, behaviours, and personalities that play a role in influencing human behaviour" (Cherry 2023); or in another recent one by Brugue:

It is described as a kind of innate unspecific knowledge, derived from the sum total of human history, which prefigures and directs conscious behaviour. They are underlying base forms, or the archetypes-as-such, from which emerge images and motifs such as the mother, the child, the trickster, and the flood, among others. (Brugue 2020)

All definitions point to the fact that archetypes, created or perceived, influence our unconscious and conscious perceptions and behaviour, making them useful in propaganda and anti-propaganda. Propaganda and its counterpart are both activities of persuasion and of changing and/or steering our perceptions and opinions. An archetype that already stirs certain subconscious thought patterns and associations can easily be utilised to direct the mind in the direction of an agenda, and that is why they are often used in propaganda or anti-propaganda campaigns, whether political or religious in nature (Pisch 2016, Nicolaides 2018).

In literary studies, archetypes are observed and interpreted mainly within the context of archetypal criticism theory, which is "a theory that interprets a text by focusing on recurring myths and archetypes in the narrative and symbols, images, and character types in a literary work" (Devika 2023). Archetypal criticism dates to 1934 and to Amy Maud Bodkin's *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry*, and winds its way through the work of scholars like the anthropologist Brandon Fraser and writer and scholar Joseph Campbell. Literary critic Northrop Frye describes archetypes as the building blocks of storytelling, as notes are the building blocks to music, and further elaborates that archetypes also shape our understanding of a literary work based on how we understand the archetypes themselves or based on how the author understands and uses them (Frye 2000). Furthermore, the field origins of archetypal criticism are rooted in academic disciplines like social anthropology and psychoanalysis (Bremm 2010).

In "Take Me to Church" and *His Dark Materials*, a general classification of archetypes and its close understanding play a major role in providing a frame for their identification and analysis. The authors use their own understanding and the socially expected interpretation of a temptress to weaponize this female figure for propaganda and anti-propaganda in ways that overlap but still remain distinct, showing the versatility of archetypal interpretations and their prevalent role and importance in contemporary literature and music. But first let us examine the archetype of the temptress.

The Temptress

The temptress archetype can be characterized as "embodying a woman of tremendous charm and desirability but who is at core unethical" ("Know Your Archetypes" 2022). This definition conjures up a picture of a beautiful woman with a dark allure but with no stance of innocence, except for when she deploys it to mislead her victims. In most narratives she represents danger for the other characters and leads them into peril.

The figure of the temptress can be traced back to the story of Adam and Eve in the *Old Testament*. Eve persuades Adam to eat the apple from the Tree of Knowledge, despite God's order not to eat from that tree. Although seduced and herself misled by the serpent, Eve is portrayed as the ultimate catalyst of Adam's doom, establishing the tradition of good men being misled via seduction:

And John Chrysostom uses Gen 3:6 to woman since it was the first woman in the beginning who lured man from Paradise. Aquinas says Eve suggested to the man that he sin (thus doubling her guilt). Bonaventure knows she exercised wicked persuasion and corrupted her husband. A fourteenth century author has it that she prayed and councelled him to eat of it as she did, and deceived her husband by wicked councel. Jacques de Vitry told that she had no rest until she got her husband banished from the Garden of Eden and Christ condemned to the agony of the Cross. (Higgins 1976, 640)

This passage demonstrates how the temptress is seen and portrayed: intelligent, persuasive, wicked, driven, and calculating. In some feminist studies, this archetype is regarded as a representation of the patriarchy's fear of a knowledgeable, powerful, free and promiscuous woman, also referred to as *The Lilith Enigma* (Wilson 2002). The concept of the patriarchy is often mentioned together with the Roman Catholic Church, as its leaders are predominantly men, and powerful men are often perceived as fearing powerful women, as they could undermine their own power (Hays 2023). When interpreting Pullman's and Hozier's work, this fear of powerful women becomes salient.

There are many other powerful, beautiful, intelligent, irresistible, alluring temptress characters in world literature, such as sirens, witches, lovers, and unfaithful wives like Clytemnestra, or King Arthur's wife Guinevere. Although they all have different dimensions of good and evil within them, they all possess the pull a temptress needs

to lure in her victims and establish the cultural ubiquity of our contemporary temptresses.

In "Take Me to Church" and *His Dark Materials*, the temptress appears on both sides of the same Church-defying coin. Hozier's temptress represents a mocking and defying anti-propagandist of the Church for its blind following and shaming of its believers, while Pullman's temptress is fully devoted to God and the Church and is one of its loudest promotors and representatives in the story, yet is in herself an example of anti-Church propaganda through being wicked and immoral and conducting the Church's amoral businesses.

Church anti-propaganda in Pullman's and Hozier's Temptresses

Marisa Coulter, the villain in *His Dark Materials*, is a dangerous, calculating, power hungry and driven temptress who exudes a dark femininity. She is the former lover of the stories' anti-hero, the protagonist's absent and later recurring mother; she is the head of the General Oblation Board, known as the Gobblers, who represent the Church's Inquisition wing in the trilogy. The Gobblers are notorious for stealing children and mutilating them, torturing people and trying to gain power for the Church overall. One aspect of how the Gobblers try to gain control over people, and in which Ms Coulter partakes, is taking their dæmons.

An important element of Pullman's characterization in the trilogy is the concept of dæmons. Every human in a particular dimension in this fictional world has an animal companion called a dæmon. They are extensions of the human soul and a type of spirit animal that always accompanies their human. They are particularly important for characterization because the dæmons themselves carry hidden characteristics that their humans can camouflage through behaviour, but the dæmon, being an animal, usually displays its characteristics more naturally and less covertly. The type of animal also reveals the nature of the human; servants, for example, usually have dogs as their dæmons because they represent obedience and loyalty; people perceived as cunning or calculating have a serpent dæmon, etc. Mrs. Coulter's dæmon is a vicious golden monkey, a reflection of her two-faced nature. While Marisa is beautiful, sweet and seductive, the monkey usually displays her wickedness, aggression and cunning authority:

A lady in a long yellow-red fox-fur coat, a beautiful young lady whose dark hair falls, shining delicately, under the shadow of her fur-lined hood, is standing in the doorway of the oratory, half a dozen steps above him [...]

The young lady's dæmon is moving out from beside the fox-fur coat. He is in the form of a monkey, but no ordinary monkey: his fur is long and silky and of the most deep and lustrous gold. With sinuous movements he inches down the steps toward the boy, and sits a step above him [...] The monkey watches the sparrow; the sparrow watches the monkey. The monkey reaches out slowly. His little hand is black, his nails perfect horny claws, his movements gentle and inviting. The sparrow can't resist [...] The lady bends her scented head to whisper. And then Tony turns. He can't help it [...] He's lost already [...] (Pullman 1995, 95, 96, 97, 98)

In these passages we are presented with Mrs. Coulter's physical allure, her gentle seductive demeanour as well as the beauty and flirtatious nature of her dæmon. There is also a recurring theme of her irresistible nature, a clear sign of a temptress. We also see how helpless her victim is, how utterly he succumbs to her charms and how his dæmon succumbs to the charms of the golden monkey, which can be read as the Church seducing its believers with promises of an eternal safe heaven, only to then abuse them with its various misdoings. This again can be interpreted as an anti-Church propaganda display. This example of Mrs. Coulter's evil temptress nature is not isolated. Another example solidifies her status as a temptress:

Inside the tent Mrs. Coulter was talking to a man Lena Feldt hadn't seen before [...] 'Of course, Carlo', she was saying, 'I'll tell you anything you like. What do you want to know?'

[...] 'But, Carlo', she whispered, 'I can please you, too, you know. Would you like me to please you even more?' [...] Her dæmon's little black horny hands were stroking the serpent dæmon. Little by little the serpent loosened herself and began to flow along the man's arm toward the monkey. (Pullman 1995, 132, 133)

Mrs. Coulter hones in on the desires of men like a true temptress archetype. She has a clear idea of how to move, how to weaponize her beauty, her voice and her intelligence; her dæmon is also well versed in the art of seduction, as is the Church she represents; again, she is a showcase of cunning and an example of anti-propaganda in her own character of the Church she represents.

Near the end of the third novel, Mrs. Coulter is completely exposed as an evil entity. She is faced with God's messenger, Metatron himself, who looks into her soul and says:

'Yes, I see', said Metatron.

'What do you see?'

'Corruption and envy and lust for power. Cruelty and coldness. A vicious, probing curiosity. Pure, poisonous, toxic malice. You have never from your earliest years shown a shred of compassion or sympathy or kindness without calculating how it would return to your advantage. You have tortured and killed without regret or hesitation; you have betrayed and intrigued and gloried in your treachery. You are a cesspit of moral filth.' (Pullman 1995, 166)

Here Pullman presents Mrs. Coulter directly, as cold, calculating and ruthless, who will drag anybody into the abyss for her schemes. This judgement is all the harsher because it is delivered by an all-seeing, almighty being from whom we cannot hide. Again, the hypocrisy of the Church is displayed; one of its mighty beings condemns the woman who is their representative. Pullman depicts her even more harshly when making her confess the truth:

'So you see,' she said, 'I can betray him easily. I can lead you to where he's taking my daughter's dæmon, and you can destroy Asriel, and the child will walk unsuspecting into your hands.' She felt the movement of vapour about her, and her senses became confused. His next words pierced her flesh like darts of scented ice.

When I was a man,' he said, 'I had wives in plenty, but none was as lovely as you' [...] That was the moment she felt most exposed and in most danger. But she trusted to her flesh, and to the strange truth she'd learned about angels, perhaps especially those angels who had once been human: lacking flesh, they coveted it and longed for contact with it. (Pullman 1995, 166, 167)

This paragraph shows how she meets her maker's right hand, and yet she still tries to seduce even him, although he can see the depths of her soul. In the way he is looking at her we see a negative representation of God's holy creatures themselves. The angel is nothing but a heart of greed and want, considering the temptress's bait. The anti-propaganda of diminishing the holiness of a higher being of God through the temptress shows how Pullman uses her as a negative representation of the Church in the real world, predicting its own downfall. As a representative of the Church, she takes on the form of Church anti-propaganda by defiling the pure and holy image of God in tempting him, showing the hypocrisy of a Church that preaches holiness and purity, yet disregards them with its greed, scandals, and intrigues.

There are more examples of the treacherous temptress archetype in Mrs. Coulter's work for the Church's Oblation Board. The church promises to treat the children well, to enable them to write home to their parents, but later discards their letters, knowing they will be mutilated in the name of the church instead of seeing their parents again:

Hey, lady! What you got us all here for?' He was a tough-looking wretch with dark chocolate on his top lip and a gaunt black rat for a dæmon [...] 'We want your help,' she said. 'You don't mind helping us, do you?' No one could say a word. They all gazed, suddenly shy. They had never seen a lady like this; she was so gracious and sweet and kind that they felt they hardly deserved their good luck, and whatever she asked, they'd give it gladly so as to stay in her presence a little longer.

Then the children clustered around to say goodbye. The golden monkey stroked all their dæmons, and they all touched the fox fur for luck, or as if they were drawing some strength or hope or goodness out of the lady [...] Then she turned back inside, with the golden monkey nestled in her breast, and threw the little bundle of letters into the furnace before leaving the way she had come. (Pullman 1995, 99)

Here, we witness an inversion of Christian symbolic imagery; the dæmons of the children touch the monkey's fur, as Catholics have extended their hands in hope to touch Jesus or various saints in supplication. Pullman has portrayed a strong anti-church propaganda image, showing the organisation's hypocrisy and cruelty, with its temptress as the wielder of evil.

The next scene indicates not only that Mrs. Coulter is an instrument of torture and evil but also her sense of belonging to the Church, and her pride in knowing how to hurt people:

'Oh, there is more suffering to come. We have a thousand years of experience in this Church of ours. We can draw out your suffering endlessly. Tell us about the child,' Mrs. Coulter said, and reached down to break one of the witch's fingers. It snapped easily' [...] Mrs. Coulter was saying, 'If you don't answer I'll break another finger, and then another' [...] There came another sickening crack, and this time a flood of sobbing broke from the witch. (Pullman 1995, 18)

In another example, Mrs. Coulter is shown as a force in opposition to the Church, further presenting an example of anti-propaganda against it in exposing its poor conduct towards her as a woman. Mrs. Coulter reflects her own position in the Church:

'I am wondering what Mrs. Coulter knows,' said the Cardinal. Is there something she should have told us before, I wonder?'

'You will have to speak more plainly than that', said Mrs. Coulter icily. 'You forget I am a woman, Your Eminence, and thus not so subtle as a prince of the Church. What is this truth that I should have known about the child?' (Pullman 1995, 16)

She is aware of her status as a woman in the organisation: one who is supposedly less subtle; a victim of chauvinistic accusations of being dumb; a deceiver or temptress solely due to her being a woman. Pullman shows through her that Mrs. Coulter is being both used and abused by the entity to which she is most loyal.

There are a number of contrasts between the symbolism of Mrs. Coulter as a temptress and the lyrical persona of Hozier's lover in the song "Take Me to Church." Hozier's music is a flowing meeting point of the strong and heavy waves of blues, the strum of rock, the smoothness of soul, the emotiveness of folk, and the depth of R&B. He is not only impeccable with tone and rhythm, but his lyrics also suggest more than just simple modern indie flair. His description indicates the role of his temptress:

My lover's got humor She's the giggle at a funeral Knows everybody's disapproval I should've worshiped her sooner (Hozier 2014)

The lover of the lyric persona is evidently charming and witty, inviting the poet in by amusing him, already displaying the tell-tale signs of a temptress; she is also rebellious and uncaring about other people's opinion or the Church's opinion, and has ensnared him, because he worships her. This is a clear display of Church anti-propaganda in the form of "do not mind their opinion or judgement before an altar, rather worship in the bedroom":

She tells me,
Worship in the bedroom
The only Heaven I'll be sent to
Is when I'm alone with you (Hozier 2014)

She tempts him sexually and invites him to the bedroom; his devotion and the fact that he has already been seduced are shown in the words "the only heaven I'll be sent to is when I'm alone with you." This is yet another indication of anti-propaganda against the Church because we can turn away from the institution and worship something or someone else.

One more instance where temptress status is used as anti-Church propaganda is indicated in the lines:

If I'm a pagan of the good times My lover's the sunlight To keep the Goddess on my side She demands a sacrifice Drain the whole sea Get something shiny (Hozier 2014)

She is again tempting him to do things for her, bending him to her will and commanding him to treat her as a deity, indicating that God is not the only player in the arena. This is not only a display of the temptress, but also of the elements of church anti-propaganda personified in a woman who demands divine status—blaspheming, belittling and mocking the Christian belief system. The direct age-old rival paganism is pointed out as further mockery. She is anti-propaganda, but in opposition to the Church and not a representative of it, like Mrs. Coulter.

Hozier not only equates his temptress to God, he also critiques and displays Church anti-propaganda in pointing out that institution's role as a suppressor of freedom of speech in making the temptress the last true mouthpiece: "If the Heavens ever did speak/She's the last true mouthpiece" (Hozier 2014). This again is a critical mockery of the Church and preferred worship of the temptress can be observed. He is saying that God is not willing to talk to us, but the woman he worships will, thus portraying the absurdity of worshiping an absent (imaginary) father figure. The definition of mouthpiece is also worth mentioning: "(disapproving) A person or a newspaper that only expresses the opinions of one particular organization" (*Cambridge Online*

Dictionary 2023). We can interpret these lines to mean that the temptress he worships is the only one who can speak on behalf of Heaven and us as humans instead of the Church.

The last lines of the song indicate antipropaganda through the temptress figure in colloquial terms:

Something meaty for the main course That's a fine looking high horse What you got in the stable? We've a lot of starving faithful That looks tasty That looks plenty This is hungry work (Hozier 2014)

Here we can see how the temptress's demands are slowly merging into the Church's standard demands for worship, feeding, giving, the hunger for meat and power, while simultaneously shining a light on its gluttony and greed, consuming even Christ's body as part of a ritual. The "high horse" is a colloquial allusion to judgement and how the Church controls people by looking down on "sinners." The expression "the starving faithful" points to Ireland's troubled past with the great Potato Famine between 1845 and 1852. The colloquial, macho, blue-collar expression "this is hungry work" could be interpreted to mean that wanting to have an outreach so strong and wanting to wield so much power demands sacrifice from believers to keep the church alive, which is again a strong critique and anti-propaganda concerning the Church's taking advantage of its believers.

Both authors present the archetype of the temptress in their work in their own unique way, yet, at the same time, both figures stand as anti-Church propaganda. The difference lies in the fact that Pullman's villainess is a representative of ecclesiastical evil, whereas Hozier's lover is its militant counterpart.

Conclusion

The powerful archetype of the temptress that evokes primal emotions and fears within readers has clearly been wielded to a similar purpose in our two examples. Archetypes, in general, are powerful images that evoke strong, universal reactions

and themes and are therefore often weapons of both propaganda and antipropaganda. They also cannot escape an intertextual reading, as they are ancient in origin and are reoccurring images throughout literature and music history, as well as reoccurring intertextual interplays between the novels and song discussed here.

These two temptresses from popular 21st-century culture display classic characteristics of the archetype and exhibit many similarities; they seem to have opposing roles yet similar goals in the anti-propaganda of the Church. While Pullman's Mrs Coulter is a duplicitous villainess who represents the Church, Hozier's lover mocks the Church as a type of female antichrist and seductress. Hozier's temptress is compared to a female messiah who presents anti-propaganda by questioning the absoluteness of God's being God. Mrs. Coulter is the polar opposite; she has blind faith in and obedience to the Church and its cause and is representative of its evil in thought and action alike, and is, through her own character flaws, the anti-propaganda to the Church she represents. Both female figures are irresistible and have a grip on their observers, yet the reader is still positioned to reject Pullman's temptress or feel shame for the pull she exerts. In Hozier's lyrics, the female figure is celebrated as a counter force to the Church, yet is succumbed to as an act of defiance against the Church.

The popular contemporary culture to which the two writers belong still feels the threat of the Roman Catholic Church as an institution. A contemporary English writer of young adult fiction and an Irish indie-blues musician both still convey the same attitudes as writers from the 1850s to the insidious influence of the Roman Catholic Church. The two contemporary artists who have created these temptresses display a classic reading and deployment of the archetype, but in comparison, also demonstrate how one ancient idea can take distinct forms, while having similar goals.

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UNVEILING PROPAGANDA IN NATIONAL ANTHEMS AS A TEACHING TOOL IN THE EFL CLASSROOM

BERNARDA LEVA

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Maribor, Slovenia bernarda.leva@um.si

It is essential that students who learn a foreign language become familiar with the history and culture of the country whose language they are studying. By incorporating national anthems into teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL), teachers can enhance both language learning and cultural awareness and create a more enriching classroom experience for their students. Anthems, throughout history, have served as powerful tools for propaganda, making them an excellent resource for educating students about this aspect. In this chapter, we will show how national anthems "God Save the King" (the United Kingdom), "The Star-Spangled Banner" (the United States), "Das Deutschlandlied" or "The Song of the Germany" (Germany), and "Zdravljica" (Slovenia) can serve as educational tools for revealing propaganda and ideology, explicitly targeting intermediate to upper-intermediate level students. By analysing the lyrics and exploring their origins and significance, we will delve into the concept of propaganda embedded within each of them. We will take a close look at two remakes of the anthems, each of which hides propaganda messages in its own way. This will provide a few more ideas specifically designed for the EFL classroom, drawing inspiration from national anthems.

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1 Introduction

When teaching a foreign language, it is vital that learners explore and understand the culture, history, and traditions of the nation whose language they are learning. Language and culture are closely connected, if not inseparable, so it is essential to incorporate cultural classes into teaching practice. Teachers should select a range of materials to enhance their learners' (inter)cultural understanding, and one approach is to utilise national anthems as teaching tools in the EFL classroom. Throughout modern history, national anthems have consistently conveyed propaganda to a significant extent, which makes them an excellent example for educating students about it. Since the words are closely intertwined with the music, the message has even more impact and meaning for anyone who listens to, repeats, recites, or sings these songs. The lyrics often express the pride and honour of the nation, strengthen national identity, reflect a particular nation's political and ideological values, and may, therefore, include propagandistic elements.

First, we will examine the anthems "God Save the King" and "The Star-Spangled Banner," which Slovene students often encounter when learning English. Since German is the most frequently chosen second foreign language among students in Slovenia, we will also examine "Das Deutschlandlied" with its English translation for analysis. Lastly, we will delve into a close analysis of the Slovene national anthem, "Zdravljica," based on its English translation. To foster students' engagement and critical thinking, it can be useful to encourage them to arrive at their insights and conclusions during the analysis of national anthems. After briefly presenting sociohistorical facts, we chose to explore ways to help identify propaganda within the text – this way, students can be empowered to detect and interpret propaganda independently. The chapter will continue with an examination of two remakes of national anthems, which express propaganda slightly differently. Finally, additional ideas for incorporating national anthems into teaching and learning English will be provided.

2 National Anthems as a Powerful Tool of Propaganda

2.1 Exploring Socio-Historical Roots to Unwrap Propaganda in National Anthems

A national anthem is a solemn musical composition officially adopted by a country as an expression of national identity. Like other national symbols, a national anthem represents a nation's tradition, history, beliefs, and people. It helps to evoke feelings of patriotism among the country's citizens, reminds them of their nation's glory, history, beauty, and heritage, celebrates values of peace, unity, solidarity, and freedom, and boosts collective identification; in short, like other symbols, it connects people of a specific nation. Abril (2007, 73) claims that a national anthem is a unique musical work in that it functions primarily as a malleable symbol of a bounded geographical region. Ethnomusicologist Nancy Guy (2002, 96) describes it as a symbol of the nation-state, which is far from being static or monologic. Because of its performative nature, it may be filled with additional meaning beyond that dictated by printed words and music notation (Guy 2002, 96). An anthem usually comprises many elements: first, there are words, then music is written upon them, or vice versa; a text may be added to a tune. Afterwards, the performance may also be a significant element, since it includes the singer or singers with various voices and musical instruments with different sounds, and thus, it opens numerous interpretive possibilities. National anthems are a valuable teaching tool, as they provide teachers with several ideas that can be intriguing and thought-provoking for their students. Based on the text, learners can acquire new cultural, historical, and linguistic knowledge, which can be compared to teaching and learning a foreign language through songs. Not only do the texts offer many opportunities to acquire and enrich vocabulary, but they also provide a tool through which new grammatical structures can be introduced and learned, or familiar ones may be revised. Nevertheless, to unveil the elements of propaganda in anthems, students should initially understand the essential socio-historical facts connected with them.

English language learners, in the first place, become familiar with the anthem of most Commonwealth realms, their territories, and the British Crown Dependencies, "God Save the King," or alternatively, "God Save the Queen." The title and the lyrics depend on the gender of the reigning monarch, and since the longest-reigning British monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, passed away after 70 years on the throne, the

word *King*, referring to King Charles III, will be used here. All feminine pronouns are replaced with their masculine equivalents.

There are no clear facts about the origins of "God Save the King." The anthem had many versions throughout history, and many verses were added or omitted. According to Cummings (1902, 2), it was believed that Henry Carey wrote the music and words; however, the music was later ascribed to Dr John Bull, who presumably composed it in 1607 for an entertainment given by the Company to King James I. (Cummings 1902, 3). Although we may not be sure about the authorship, the melody has been famous for centuries. Even Beethoven wrote in his Diary: "Ich muss den Engländern ein wenig zeigen, was in dem 'God Save the King' für ein Segen ist," which means: "I must show the English a little what a blessing they have in their 'God Save the King" (Cummings 1902, 1). It has been said that around 140 composers, including Beethoven, Haydn, and Brahms, used the tune in their compositions. On the other hand, the official website of the Royal Family (The Royal Household n.d.) states that the words and tune of the British anthem are anonymous, and the lyrics are a matter of tradition. Further, it is mentioned that only the first verse is usually sung on official occasions. The lyrics of the National Anthem are as follows:

God save our gracious Kingl Long live our noble Kingl God save the Kingl Send him victorious, Happy and glorious, Long to reign over us, God save the King.

Thy choicest gifts in store
On him be pleased to pour,
Long may he reign.
May he defend our laws,
And ever give us cause,
To sing with heart and voice,
God save the King. (The Royal Household n.d.)

"The Star-Spangled Banner" is the national anthem of the United States, written by Francis Scott Key on the early morning of September 14, 1814, as an account of the Battle of Baltimore, a days-long siege between British and American forces (Key-Smith 1930, 267). At this point, students should be taught that the Battle of Baltimore was a crucial land and sea battle of the War of 1812. Following their occupation and burning of Washington, D.C., in August 1814, British forces decided to strike the port of Baltimore, America's third-largest city and a shipbuilding centre. Although the British expected the city and harbour to fall quickly, they were defeated, as Baltimore's citizens had worked on the city's defence for more than a year (Bluhm 2024).

Key was inspired to write the lyrics when watching through the night how the British Navy bombarded Baltimore's Fort McHenry. Siegel and Green (2000, 29) vividly describe that as the sun rose, the flag flying at the Fort was still there, which meant that the American troops had been victorious in. Key wrote the first stirring lines of the poem, which was later called "The Defense of Fort McHenry" (Hildebrand 2014, 254). Issued in Baltimore on a broadsheet the morning after Key's return to shore, these lyrics also found their way into print in newspapers over the following days. They were set to a tune called "To Anacreon in Heaven," which was composed in the late 1700s by John Stafford Smith. Key-Smith (1930, 272) claims that there was an objection to the music because of its origin¹; however, the music was revised and Americanised when it became the music of "The Star-Spangled Banner". With the composition, Key not only christened the flag "The Star-Spangled Banner" but immortalized America as the "Land of the free and the home of the brave" (Key-Smith 1930, 271). Although the poem has four stanzas, only the first one is commonly sung today:

O say can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight
O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there,
O say does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave? (Key 1814)

¹ The song was linked to the Anacreontic Society, which was an amateur musician's and singer's club named after the Greek poet Anacreon.

"The Star-Spangled Banner" was not adopted as the official anthem of the United States until 1931, though by then it was already popular and had been used by several American institutions. Abril (2007, 72) explains that even The National Association for Music Education voiced opposition to the song's becoming official, as they felt it was too warlike in spirit; secondly, it was the product of a single historical event; and finally, it was difficult for school children to sing. As Abril (2007, 72) points out, critiques primarily focused on its questionable origins (a violent drinking song), challenging vocal range, and lack of poetic merit. On the other hand, many were in favour of its being recognised as the first national anthem of the United States, and in 1931, the SSB was finally made official by an act of Congress and the signature of President Hoover.

"Das Deutschlandlied," also known as "The Song of the Germans," has been the national anthem of Germany since 1922. The text was written in 1841 by the democratic nationalist poet August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798-1874), who sought to popularise the idea of a unified Germany:2 the poem's three stanzas conveyed his longing for a united Germany based on liberal principles (Feinstein 2000, 507). The music to "Das Deutschlandlied" was composed in 1797 by Joseph Haydn and was the Hapsburg answer to revolutionary France's "La Marseillaise" (507). Fallersleben selected Haydn's tune himself, for he found it to be musically the best of the well-known German national melodies. The song became popular by the First World War and was used to identify soldiers' location in the smoke of battle (508). It was announced as the first national song for united Germany by the first president of the Weimar Republic; however, the second and the third stanzas were omitted, as they did not exemplify Nazi values. The second stanza caricatures German loyalty, women, wine, and singing, which was not an appropriate description of a virtuous woman and a loyal man. The third stanza is about justice, unity, and freedom, which did not send out the message the Third Reich leadership wanted to convey. The first stanza became, from that time on,

² While a fully unified Germany remained elusive before 1871, several significant attempts and developments paved the way for Germany's unification. The German Empire occurred in 1871 after Prussia's victory in the Franco-Prussian War. Most of the German-speaking states of Europe united under the crown of Prussia to form the German Empire. The empire was forged not as the result of the outpouring of nationalist feeling from the masses but through traditional cabinet diplomacy and agreement by the leaders of the states in the North German Confederation, led by Prussia, which remained the dominant force in the nation until the empire's demise at the end of the war in 1918 (Britannica 2024).

closely associated with the Nazi regime. During the Second World War, "Das Deutschlandlied" served as a signal song in battle, and after Germany had been defeated, the Allied Control Council banned it along with other Nazi songs (509). After the Second World War, there were attempts to erase the past and to establish a new anthem, but some tried to reintroduce "Das Deutschlandlied." West Germany finally adopted the anthem in the early 1950s, while the anthem in East Germany was "Auferstanden aus Ruinen" ("Risen from Ruins") from 1949 to 1990 (Mdr.de 2020). After the German reunification in 1990, the third stanza of the already known "Das Deutschlandlied" was confirmed as the national anthem.

Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit für das deutsche Vaterland!
Danach lasst uns alle streben brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!
Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit sind des Glückes Unterpfand;
Blüh im Glanze dieses Glückes,
blühe, deutsches Vaterland! (Hoffmann von Fallersleben 1841)

Once students have learned the crucial facts, their attention should be drawn to elements of propaganda hidden in the words of the lyrics. We must first explain the concept of propaganda if we want the task to be performed successfully. Mull and Wallin (2013, 2) explain that "propaganda" finds its root in the Latin word "propagare," which was used to describe the process of aiding plant reproduction by using cuttings from the plant, and it changed its meaning in the 17th century when the Roman Catholic Church established the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (the Congregation for Propagating the Faith). During the French Revolution, the term gained connotations more political than religious, and by the mid-19th century, "propaganda" bore the political connotation it carries today. Velasco-Pufleau (2014, 2) points out that the development of modern propaganda methods was not exclusive to authoritarian regimes but also used by liberal democracies. He claims that modern propaganda developed in times of war to legitimise the military effort as a means for imposing a particular social order afterwards. He later concludes that "propaganda should be thought of as a dispositif that involves one or several strategies of domination which seek not only to influence but also to cause identification with and conscious support for a power that is perceived as legitimate" (Velasco-Pufleau 2014, 2). Similarly, The Cambridge Dictionary explains "propaganda" as information,

ideas, opinions, or images, often only giving one part of an argument, that are broadcast, published, or in some other way spread with the intention of influencing people's opinions. We should also consider that nowadays, propaganda mainly has a pejorative connotation.

By examining anthems, students can search for ideas and messages beyond mere words and become aware that certain words and phrases, especially when sung or accompanied by music, trigger patriotic and nationalistic emotions in people and express explicit and implicit values of a particular nation. The following questions may serve as a basis for creative and, at the same time, in-depth study of the anthems, which may open spaces for students' better understanding of them. Through the process of answering them, they gradually arrive at specific insights that illuminate and unravel many elements of propaganda in the lyrics. Each question should be answered for each anthem separately; however, they may be compared later.

- What is the tone of the anthem? Is it/Does it resemble a hymn, a prayer, a march, an ode, or something else?
- Who/what is praised or prayed for in the lyrics?
- Why are certain words or phrases repeated?
- Does the anthem focus on the past, the present, or the future? What does the time sphere imply?
- In what way and why are some words connected to spirituality and religion?
- How is loyalty towards tradition, the monarchy, or the state expressed in the anthem?
- What words or phrases promote solidarity and a nation's unity the most? What words or phrases, in your opinion, heighten the sense of patriotism, national commitment and pride?
- What values are glorified in the anthem?

At the comparison stage, students can also be asked the following:

– Which lyrics are, in your opinion, the most vivid? Which of the anthems triggers your imagination the most?

The teacher should point out basic ideas regarding propaganda. To begin with, students should focus only on the stanzas officially adopted as part of the national anthems; later, the focus can be extended to other existing stanzas. As stated by Erden (2019, 45), who wrote a comparative analysis of "God Save the Queen," this anthem seems like a serene prayer through which the safety of the Queen is wished. The same can be said for the newest version of the anthem, where the word "Queen" is replaced by "King." According to the lyrics, it can be claimed that God is being asked to help the King remain healthy, glorious, happy, and victorious and reign for a long time. "The Star-Spangled Banner," on the other hand, cannot be perceived as a prayer but rather as an ode, since it is commonly known that the lyrics were set to the famous British tune called "The Anacreontic Song." However, the song mentioned is originally a drinking song dedicated to wine, and even if the lyrics of "The Star-Spangled Banner" display a historical battlefield scene ("/ ... / through the perilous fight / O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming? / And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air" (Key 1841, 3-5)) and try to evoke citizens' patriotic feelings connected with the American flag ("Whose broad stripes and bright stars / ... / Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there, / O say does that star-spangled banner yet wave" (3, 6–7)), it is the nature and origins of the melody that make it an ode. Given the melody, "Das Deutschlandlied" may, in the first place, resemble a march, which can also be supported by two facts: firstly, the hymn was conceived in response to "La Marseillaise" of Napoleonic France and was intended to raise national morale at a time of conflict with France (Friehs n.d.); and secondly, the song was made a signal song in combat by the First World War (Feinstein 2000, 508). Feinstein (2000, 508) acknowledges that the Germans embraced the romantic-heroic vision of German youth singing "Das Deutschlandlied" while sacrificing their lives for Germany. Alternatively, it could be argued that the anthem resembles an ode (to the nation or the country) since it starts with "Unity and justice and freedom / For the German fatherland!3" (1-2). Considering all stanzas, especially the second one, the poem also has characteristics of a drinking song, since the following lines are repeated twice: "German women, German loyalty, / German wine and German song" (Hoffmann von Fallersleben 1841, 9-10; 15-16). Furthermore, it can also be interpreted as a form of toast, a traditional expression of goodwill often accompanied by a drink. It typically honours individuals, groups, occasions, achievements, sentiments, ideas and concepts, so the

³ There are many different translations of the German anthem into English; this one is adapted from the website Classic FM (2021).

poem's celebration of German women, loyalty, wine, and song aligns with the festive atmosphere characteristic of toasts.

Students would presumably have no difficulty finding out who and what is praised in a particular anthem. In the British one, everything is centred on the reigning monarch. As Erden (2019, 48–49) implies, "The Star-Spangled Banner" elevates the flag of the nation, which is so valued that it turns into a personified object, while in the German anthem, the focus is on the fatherland. A visual presentation is a great way to show students which words and phrases are repeated in anthems. Examples below highlight repetition, clearly defining the most significant parts of stanzas used as official anthems. "God" is repeated four times and represents religion or the almighty creator, who can protect the King; "King," on the other hand, occurs five times (if we count pronouns, then the King is referred to even more than that) and represents the traditional monarchy and its values.

God save our gracious King!
LONG live our noble King!
God save the King!
Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
LONG to reign over us,
God save the King!

Thy choicest gifts in store

On <u>him</u> be pleased to pour,

LONG may <u>he reign</u>.

May <u>he</u> defend our laws,

And ever give us cause,

To sing with heart and voice, **God** save the *King!* (The Royal Household n.d.; my emphasis)

In "The Star-Spangled Banner," there are only two examples of repetition: "O Say" occurs twice and "flag" is repeated as its synonym "banner", which indicates that the national flag and the message it carries are given the utmost importance. In the German anthem, particular words and formulations are repeated twice and draw

attention to how Germany should be seen, as a land of unity, justice, and freedom, and as such, it should continue to flourish.

Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit

Für das deutsche Vaterland!

Danach lasst uns alle streben

Brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!

Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit
Sind des GLÜCKES Unterpfand;
Blüh' im Glanze dieses GLÜCKES,

Blühe, deutsches Vaterland! (Hoffmann von Fallersleben 1841; my emphasis)

Unity and justice and freedom

For the German fatherland!
Towards these let us all strive
Brotherly with heart and hand!
Unity and justice and freedom
Are the foundation of HAPPINESS;
Flourish in the radiance of this
HAPPINESS,
Flourish, German fatherland! (Classic FM 2021; my emphasis)

"God Save the King" is imbued with religious concepts, which could be, according to Erden (2019, 46), considered crucial factors that unite members of a specific society. God as creator is, in fact, one of the most repeated concepts in the anthem; therefore, it could be stated that the association of the monarchy with religious motifs both enhances the credibility of the system and amalgamates the members of the society through shared sacred beliefs (Erden 2019, 46). Although no specific religious concepts can be found in the first stanza of "The Star-Spangled Banner," they are nevertheless noticeable in the last stanza of the poem: "Blest with vict'ry and peace may the heav'n rescued land / Praise the power that hath made and preserv'd us a nation!" (Key 1841, 27–28) and "And this be our motto - 'In God is our trust," (Key 1841, 30) where the divine power is praised and given credit for the preservation of the nation, which should stay loyal to its creator. The German anthem does not refer to any divine power or spirituality, although the first lines of the royal song composed by Haydn for the birthday of Holy Roman Emperor Francis II read as follows (Britannica 2022): "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser, Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!" ("God preserve Francis the Emperor, Our good Emperor Francis!").

The anthems show devotion and loyalty to tradition and the monarchy ("God Save the King"), to the flag, which represents the nation and the nation's greatness ("The Star-Spangled Banner"), and to the country ("Das Deutschlandlied"). Numerous phrases, when written in a table and compared with the lines from other anthems,

indicate that solidarity and national unity are essential for a nation's existence, and what is more, they increase the sense of patriotism.

Table 1: An example of cross-anthem comparison of nationalistic themes

Which words or phrases boost solidarity and national unity the most? Which words or phrases, in your opinion, heighten the sense of patriotism, national commitment and pride?				
"God Save the King"	"The Star-Spangled Banner"	"Das Deutschlandlied"		
"Long to reign over us" (6) "Long may she reign" (10) "May she defend our laws" (11) "And ever give us cause" (12)	"What so proudly we hailed" (2) "O'er the ramparts we watched" (4) "our flag was still there" (6) "the land of the free and the home of the brave" (8)	"Unity and justice and freedom" (1, 5) "Towards these let us all strive" (3) "Brotherly with heart and hand" (4) "Flourish, German fatherland" (8)		

Students may come up with different opinions and refer to different lines in the lyrics; however, there can be no wrong answers, since the anthems generally share common ideas and concepts based on similar values that a nation appreciates and cherishes. When discussing values, we should refer to personal values that determine students' lives, behaviour, and work. A follow-up discussion can touch on new challenges by which the era of significant technological advance, materialism, machine-based work, growing individualism, and the development of artificial intelligence is confronted.

The questions in the above-described task may also be used to examine the Slovene national anthem, which may be interesting from two aspects: we can explore the differences between the translated poem and the original and identify the preserved propagandistic ideas.

A TOAST

The vintage, friends, is over,
And here sweet wine makes, once again,
Sad eyes and hearts recover,
Puts fire into every vein.
Drowns dull care
Everywhere
And summons hope out of despair.

To whom with acclamation And song shall we our first toast give? God save our land and nation To you, our pride past measure, Our girls! Your beauty, charm and grace! There surely is no treasure To equal maidens of such race. Sons you'll bear, Who will dare Defy our foe no matter where.

Our hope now, our to-morrow – The youths - we toast and toast with joy. No poisonous blight or sorrow Your love of homeland shall destroy. With us indeed And all Slovenes where'er they live, Who own the same Blood and name, And who one glorious Mother claim.

Let thunder out of heaven
Strike down and smite our wanton foel
Now, as it once had thriven,
May our dear realm in freedom grow.
May fall the last
Chains of the past
Which bind us still and hold us fast!

Let peace, glad conciliation, Come back to us throughout the land! Towards their destination Let Slavs henceforth go hand-in-hand! Thus again Will honour reign To justice pledged in our domain. You're called to heed
Its summons in this hour of need.
God's blessing on all nations,
Who long and work for that bright day,
When o'er earth's habitations
No war, no strife shall hold its sway;
Who long to see
That all men free
No more shall foes, but neighbours be.

At last to our reunion —
To us the toast! Let it resound,
Since in this gay communion
By thoughts of brotherhood we're bound
May joyful cheer
Ne'er disappear
From all good hearts now gathered here.
(Trans. Lavrin 1954)

"Zdravljica," written by France Prešeren (1800–1849), arose in turbulent times, during the Spring of Nations in 1848, when many European nations envisioned a better future and struggled to achieve "the fulfilment of national goals" (National and University Library, n.d.). At this point, knowledge of history can be successfully incorporated into the lesson, and thus, the anthem may be better understood and interpreted. It has been stated that "Zdravljica" carries a deep humanistic message about the core of the idea of a connected and peaceful Europe (National and University Library, n.d.); it propagated and still propagates values which are essential not only to Slovenia but also other (European) countries and nations "who long and work for that bright day" (transl. Lavrin, 44). It expresses the idea of a world without war and strife and sends a message about all people's equality. It may be claimed that the Slovene anthem can be used universally and internationally since it does not refer to any specific country by its name; it mentions neither state nor monarchy and does not depict any specific nation's history or leaders.

Students in Slovenia who already have some knowledge of propaganda in "Zdravljica" from Slovene and history classes can easily find answers to the questions given. The often-censored poem bears its meaning in the title itself, which suggests that the poem is a toast to the homeland and its loyal nation. It praises the land, the Slovenes, Slovene women ("Our girls! Your beauty, charm and grace! / Here surely is no treasure / To equal maidens of such race" (trans. Lavrin, 30–32)),

and Slovene men ("Our hope now, our to-morrow - / Our youth - we toast and toast with joy. / No poisonous blight or sorrow / Your love of homeland shall destroy" (36-39)). In the seventh stanza of the official national anthem, there are no specific repetitions in the Slovene or the translated version, although the same ideas can be sensed many times. Comparing the original stanzas to the translation, we can find some repetition conveying the essence of a toast: to drink in honour of somebody or something, wishing them all the best. Thus, the Slovene version contains some repetitions of "Bog živi" and "žive" ("Bog našo nam deželo, / Bog živi ves slovenski svet" (10–11); "Bog žívi vas Slovenke" (29); "Živé naj vsi naródi" (43); "dókaj dni / naj **živí** / vsak, kar nas dobrih je ljudi!" (54–56); my emphasis), while Lavrin does not always use this technique, but reformulates the same idea with other words. There are two similar phrases in which God is repeated twice ("God save our land and nation / And all Slovenes where'er they live" (10-11); "God's blessing on all nations" (43), my emphasis). The mention of God makes us realise that we may speak of religious elements in the anthem. They express the poet's fervent wish for the nation's well-being, which can also be interpreted as a prayer for the welfare of the Slovene people.

After the students have become familiar with the content of all anthems in detail, they can dwell on the initial questions about propaganda. Many things will be more apparent to them by this point since they have learnt the facts about the anthems' origins, development, meaning, and many more. Now, they can try to find answers to more specific propaganda-related questions like the following: Why is propaganda included in anthems? How can it serve the interests of the authorities? How do subtle messages of propaganda influence the people of a particular nation? What socio-historical factors contributed to the concealment of propaganda in the lyrics? Is the message clear or hidden behind metaphors, euphemisms, pleonasm, etc.? What are some examples of "positive" and "negative" propaganda? What visions are highlighted in the lyrics? How do the words utilise any emotional appeal? How can the people of a particular nation distinguish between "positive" and "negative" propaganda, and resist the latter? Can you think of any other text type in which propaganda is used extensively? These and many other questions can lead to a fruitful discussion about how propaganda is present in anthems and how it influences a particular nation.

2.2 Remakes

To make classes more attractive and thought-provoking, some controversial examples of remade anthems or songs inspired by anthems can be shown to students. One of the most contentious ones is "God Save the Queen" (the title is taken from the first words of the British anthem) by the 1970s English punk rock band the Sex Pistols. The song, originally called "No Future." was released in 1977 and coincided with Queen Elizabeth II's Silver Jubilee (History.com 2010). One of the group's members, vocalist Johnny Rotten, said that the song made the Sex Pistols the most reviled and revered figures in England in the spring of 1977, claiming that "there are not many songs written over baked beans at the breakfast table that went on to divide a nation and force a change in popular culture" (History.com 2010). He further explained that the lyrics expressed his "point of view on the Monarchy in general and on anybody that begs your obligation with no thought" (Grow 2017). Although we cannot characterise it as deliberate propaganda, it was provocative and problematic, as evidenced by the fact that it earned a total ban on radio airplay from the BBC and was also rejected by the major retailers.

First, students should be shown the sleeve of the disc featuring a defaced version of Queen Elizabeth II's photo, which will probably lead to a heated discussion about the story behind the image. The original cover features a stark, minimalist design with a black band covering the Queen's eyes and mouth. However, later reissues and versions often incorporated additional elements, such as the Union Jack flag and the Sex Pistols logo, to reflect the album's rebellious and provocative image. Then, the video can be presented to them, and students should listen to the lyrics carefully.

God save the Queen
The fascist regime
It made you a moron
Potential H-bomb
God save the Queen
She ain't no human being
There is no future
In England's dreaming

Don't be told what you want to want to And don't be told what you want to need There's no future, no future When there's no future, how can there be sin?

We're the flowers in the dustbin

We're the poison in your human machine

We're the future, your future

God save the Queen
We mean it, man

We love our Queen

God saves

God save the Queen We mean it, man And there is no future No future for you

In England's dreaming

God save the Queen We mean it, man We love our Queen

No future

God saves

No future for you
No future

God save the Queen 'Cause tourists are money

No future

No future

And our figurehead
Is not what she seems
Oh, God save history

No future for me No future No future

God save your mad parade Oh, Lord, God have mercy No future for you No future

All crimes are paid

No future for you (Lydon et al. 1977)

After listening, they should be encouraged to explore the history of Great Britain in the 1970s and find out what this "anti-royal song" or "anti-anthem," as called by several authors, refers to in terms of British politics and establishment. They can be asked what some specific lines try to convey; they should guess what the mention of a fascist regime means, who is implied by the name "moron," and what nuclear weapons relate to ("/ .../ The fascist regime / They made you a moron / A potential H bomb" (Lydon et al. 1977, 2–4)); for whom there is no future ("And there's no future / And England's dreaming" (7–8)); how tourism influenced and still influences the monarchy and what is meant by the figurehead ("Cause tourists are money / And our figurehead / Is not what she seems" (19–21)).

The song cannot be primarily considered traditional propaganda but rather a critique of the British establishment and the socio-political climate of the time. According to Green (2022), Rotten once said that "you don't write a song like 'God Save the Queen' because you hate the English race, you write a song like that because you love them, and you're fed up of seeing them mistreated." However, when listening to it, students may find that the lyrics are filled with anger, frustration, and disillusionment, expressing discontent with the British monarchy and all the problems like unemployment, economic hardships, political corruption, poverty, etc. the society was facing at that time, and can be as such considered propagandistic in nature. It contains some basic examples of propaganda, as it challenges authority, protests the unquestioning loyalty to the monarchy by suggesting that the Queen

does not deserve any respect and offers a cynical view of the reigning monarch ("God save the queen / She's not a human being" (Lydon et al. 1977, 5–6)). It is a subversion of traditional nationalistic sentiments associated with the national anthem and is aimed at promoting nonconformity and resistance ("Don't be told what you want / Don't be told what you need" (9–10)).

Ultimately, the Sex Pistols' "God Save the Queen" is not merely a song; it is a rebellious manifesto which challenges the then-regime and, at the same time, encourages critical thinking and seeks a better life in the future. However, this "antisong" is a strong expression of disagreement or rebellion, also against the propaganda of the hymn lyrics, and is still considered one of the most offensive and controversial music pieces of all time.

Another example of a changed, disguised, or re-formed anthem is "The Star-Spangled Banner," which was brilliantly performed by Jimi Hendrix at the Woodstock Music Festival in 1969. Students usually find the famous three-day musical festival alluring, inspiring and iconic, as it brought together many worldfamous musicians and gave a new meaning to pop culture history. In class, we can use many videos and documentaries about Woodstock to give students a better picture of the event, which was supposed to demonstrate love, unity, and peace. The festival brought together young people from all over America who opposed the Vietnam War and gave a boost to the "hippie" culture, which strongly advocated anti-war views. Again, not only music but history as well may be successfully incorporated into such a class. Although Jimi Hendrix's performance at Woodstock sparked controversy, it was "a turning point in the history of the counter-culture movement" (Pernu 2021). By his interpretation on the guitar, he produced the "sounds of the Vietnam War" mixed with the American anthem's melody. The wellknown musical theme from the anthem is, in places, almost violently interrupted by rough, disturbing sounds. When listening to Hendrix's "The Star-Spangled Banner," students may be asked what "sounds of the war" they can hear or sense, and the recording or the video may be stopped at certain places to give students time to ponder or write down what they hear. There will likely be many answers to this question: students can hear machine guns, ambulance sirens, combat, chaos, bombs dropping, planes crashing, explosions, screaming, agony, and more. Students should illustrate their findings with words and compare them. Through this activity and further debate, they not only become aware of what Hendrix and his contemporaries

were protesting, but they also recognise and develop an awareness of the world, what changes it has undergone, how individuals can express themselves, and last but not least, they can realise what significance a short three-minute performance can achieve in the world. This is best shown by Pernu's words (Pernu 2021) describing this new version of the anthem as "a work that evoked the chaos of the times in a manner which was frightening, apocalyptic, and, at the same time, exceedingly freeing and optimistic" and concludes that "[i]ts stunning interpretation of that particular era rendered it timeless enough to be as relevant today as it was then."

By exploring the hidden elements of propaganda, students can conclude that Hendrix's rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner" served as an anti-war protest, challenging the establishment and questioning the meaning of the Vietnam War. The national anthem, which should convey a sense of unity and patriotism, was deliberately deconstructed, thus suggesting that the nation's ideals and actions were being compromised. Screeching and dissonance performed on the guitar represented the chaos and conflict of the time, and while the anthem should celebrate freedom, bravery and honour, its destructive tones symbolised the reality of war and death. Hendrix's interpretation went beyond a typical musical performance; it was a daring and provocative declaration that challenged conventions and resonated beyond the notes he played.

Another similar masterful blend of music and hidden propaganda may be Whitney Houston's rendition of the American national anthem at the Super Bowl in 1991, performed during the Gulf War. It carried a powerful message and subtle propaganda by conveying a sense of national pride and evoking a feeling of shared identity. By listening closely, students can discern similarities beyond the surface. They can compare Houston's technically flawless interpretation to Hendrix's experimental and unconventional performance, which share some common threads, particularly subtle messages of propaganda hidden beneath the surface of an artful musical piece.

3 Some Ideas for Further Teaching and Learning through National Anthems

3.1 Vocabulary Acquisition

In the following section, we will provide a few examples of teaching and learning vocabulary based on the lyrics in national anthems. Since the lyrics of "God Save the King" are not difficult to understand by an average learner, we propose a simple word formation task by which students (in this case, the task is appropriate for intermediate-level students, as it is rather unchallenging for higher levels) could revise the formation of adjectives based on nouns given in the brackets.

God save our	King! (GRACE)
Long live our	King! (NOBILITY)
God save the King!	
Send him	_, (VICTORY)
Happy and	, (GLORY)
Long to reign over us,	
God save the King.	

Furthermore, students should be encouraged to find more adjectives ending in -ous and nouns that correspond to them (e.g., adventure – adventurous, humour – humorous, glamour – glamorous, etc.). A more advanced activity could refer to the second stanza beginning with "Thy choicest gifts in store" (The Royal Household n.d., 8), which touches on using archaic forms of specific pronouns and implies that God should give him (the King) the best of everything. More grammar-oriented teachers could use the same stanza to introduce or explain the subjunctive mood (which is also found in the first stanza) by examining and pointing out the lines "Long may he reign. / May he defend our laws, / And ever give us cause / ... / God save the King" (9–11).

EFL learners can be encouraged to expand their vocabulary by exploring "The Star-Spangled Banner," which consists of four stanzas vividly describing the American flag flying over Fort McHenry and the American victory over British forces and thus providing a wide range of somewhat unusual or atypical vocabulary. Unsurprisingly, the poem is also a tough nut to crack for the American population, since even many

American citizens struggle to remember words. It is often heard, usually as a fun fact, that speakers with Spanish origins might believe the anthem begins with "José, can you see" instead of "O say, can you see." The table below lists only a few examples of how students can acquire new words and their meanings. We propose three ways: searching for the word in the anthem based on its explanation or Slovene equivalent, providing an English explanation for a specific word, or simply translating or just trying to translate it into Slovene. The task may be extended further by asking students to use the newly learned words in meaningful sentences or a new context.

Words from the anthem

Explanation (Cambridge Dictionary n.d.)

Slovene translation

rampart (n)

glare (n)

spangled (adj)

spangled (adj)

Slovene translation

obzidje, okop

spangled (adj)

decorated with small pieces of shiny metal or plastic, or wearing clothes decorated in this way

slovene translation

obzidje, okop

sij

okrašen

Table 2: An example of vocabulary explanation

Considering that most Slovene students learn German as their second foreign language in school (some already in primary school, then in grammar school and most technical programmes), "Das Deutschlandlied" is an excellent tool to connect both foreign languages, English and German. Students can try their hand at translating words, phrases, or even whole lines from German into English, thus revising and expanding their English vocabulary. Collected (and presumably various) translations can serve as a basis for comparison and further lexical and semantic analysis of the text. The table shows examples of translated words and phrases; however, many more can appear during schoolwork.

Table 3: An example of	German-to-English translation to	r vocabulary expansion

German	English
Einigkeit	unity, agreement, accord, concord
Recht	law, justice, right
Freiheit	freedom, liberty
Unterpfand	foundation, pledge, edifice
blüh	flourish, bloom, prosper, blossom, thrive, boom
im Glanze	in the radiance, in the splendour, in the lustre, in the abundance
Glück	happiness, success, prosperity, luck, joy, bliss

A similar activity, based on vocabulary, can be done with the Slovene national anthem, the seventh stanza of "Zdravljica" ("A Toast"). Students may be asked to compare the Slovene lyrics with the translation and then discuss their differences. As seen below, there are some significant changes in Lavrin's translation, which can be examined and analysed.

Živé naj vsi naródi, ki hrepené dočakať dan, da koder sonce hodi, prepir iz svéta bo pregnan, da rojak prost bo vsak, ne vrag, le sosed bo mejak! (Prešeren 1844)

God's blessing on all nations,
Who long and work for that bright day,
When o'er earth's habitations
No war, no strife shall hold its sway;
Who long to see
That all men free
No more shall foes, but neighbours be. (Trans.
Lavrin 1954)

Hladnik (2000) uses in his lectures another translation of "A Toast" by Tom M. S. Priestly, a Canadian professor of Slavic Linguistics and Henry R. Cooper, a professor of Slavic Languages, which contains an entirely different vocabulary compared to Lavrin's version. At an advanced level, students might be interested in comparing both English translations as whole texts of "A Toast" to explore how faithful translators are to the original.

Let's drink that every nation
Will live to see the day,
When 'neath the sun's rotation
Dissent is banished from the earth,
All will be
Kinfolk free
With neighbors none in enmity. (Trans. Priestly & Cooper)

It is interesting to see that the first lines of the seventh stanza are quite different from each other ("Živé naj vsi naródi"; "God's blessing on all nations"; "Let's drink that every nation"). "Vrag" ("devil") is not mentioned in either of them; Lavrin uses the word "foe" while Priestly and Cooper skilfully wrap the meaning into the phrase "neighbors none in enmity." The discussion can go on forever, and, in this way, students can expand their vocabulary knowledge and, at the same time, strengthen their speaking skills. To extend the class and enrich students' knowledge even

further, we can introduce the German translations of "A Toast" titled "Trinklied" by Luiza Pesjak (1865) or one by Klaus Detlef Olof (1995).

3.2 Activities for broadening student horizons

Richards (1969, 161) claims that "[p]leasure for its own sake is an important part of language learning, a fact which is often overlooked by the teacher in his quest for teaching points, or by the course designer focussing on presentation or repetition." Songs, including anthems, provide excellent conditions for acquiring foreign languages and may also be taught in connection with other subjects. Therefore, it is advisable to take up cross-curricular activities or collaboration between language and content teachers, as CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) broadens students' horizons, supports their critical thinking, encourages them to participate in classes actively, and, above all, allows them to learn a language by learning the contents of various other subjects. By comparing the English syllabus with the syllabi of other subjects in school, we can discover numerous overlapping themes and topics which enable us to create various collaborative teaching practices, from discussions and group work to projects and team teaching. Thus, we can successfully incorporate cross-disciplinary themes into the English language syllabus. English can be combined with other subjects in primary or secondary school, and the curriculum allows teachers to be creative and freely choose their ways of teaching. When using anthems as a pedagogical tool, language can be combined with subjects such as History, Sociology, Geography, Music, and other (foreign) languages. To familiarise students with the historical and social background of anthems, we suggest utilising a simple list of intriguing or amusing facts about the anthems and making up a stimulating and refreshing task for students. Below is shown an example of such a task, which may be expanded with many other facts that can be placed in a broader socio-historical context.

Task: Which of the three anthems ("God Save the King," "The Star-Spangled Banner," and "Das Deutschlandlied") do the following sentences refer to?

- a) In 2012, the national soccer team refused to sing the national anthem before the UEFA Euro semifinal match against Italy (Reuters Staff 2012).
- b) In March 2005, a government-sponsored program, the National Anthem Project, was launched after a poll showed that many adults knew neither the

- lyrics nor the history of the anthem. The campaign, sponsored by Jeep, included a travelling road show of carnival-like tents, where visitors could learn or perform the anthem (Abril 2007, 81).
- c) The culture minister suggested playing the national anthem on the radio more often, although the BBC already plays it at the end of the programming on Radio 4 (Grierson 2022).
- d) The melody was composed by the famous Austrian classical composer Joseph Haydn, a contemporary of Mozart and Beethoven, who is often referred to as "The Father of the Symphony."
- e) The New York Times reported that two sopranos sang the air to refute the argument that it is pitched too high for popular singing (Abril 2007, 72).
- f) The melody with various textual versions served as the Austrian national anthem until 1918 and between 1930 and 1938 (Friehs n.d.).

4 Conclusion

National anthems offer a diverse range of possibilities for classroom use. Through their exploration, we can delve into various historical, cultural, and political topics, which help to unveil elements of (hidden) propaganda. With appropriate support, activities and questions, the teacher can guide students to pay attention to the content and reflect on the messages conveyed in the lyrics. Remakes of national anthems may be particularly intriguing, as they often express disagreement with the status quo, rebellion, or even anger in a unique way. Reading, listening to and analysing anthems in the classroom in this way sparks crucial questions about patriotism, diversity, and social justice. It makes an essential contribution to raising young people's awareness in today's world, where they are increasingly exposed to various forms of propaganda because of the ubiquity of the media in our lives. This approach helps them identify (hidden) propaganda around them, think critically about it and respond appropriately. Furthermore, national anthems serve as a springboard for fruitful and engaging discussions and are an invaluable resource for acquiring new knowledge. They should be incorporated into the EFL syllabus as a rich avenue for comprehensive learning.

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THE POWER OF WORDS IN DISNEY'S SONGS

TJAŠA MOHAR, MARTINA GRAMC

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Maribor, Slovenia tjasa.mohar@um.si, martina.gramc@student.um.si

Popular media, especially music and movies, can play a significant role in shaping people's beliefs and attitudes. Animated movies produced by the Walt Disney Company, which blend animation and music, serve as particularly powerful tools for conveying values and ideologies, since their targeted audience consists of young viewers, who are highly impressionable and can easily internalize Disney's worldviews, which are often criticized. This chapter examines how ideological messages are interwoven into the song lyrics in a selection of Disney's animated movies. By analysing the song lyrics, we aim to disclose the various ideological subtexts that they contain and define why they are problematic. The analytical part is divided into three sections: the first section investigates examples of song lyrics that promote American values; the second takes a closer look at gender stereotyping and promotion of romantic love, while the third discloses racial political incorrectness.

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Introduction

The term propaganda originates from the early 17th century, as Sheryl Tuttle Ross (2002, 16) explains, when it was used to denote the spreading of the Christian faith through "persuasion, preaching, or education" (2002, 17). The term became widely used only in the early 20th century, "with the development of various mass media," which allowed "access to an ever-increasing audience for mass persuasion" (Tuttle Ross 2002, 17). With its widespread use, the word propaganda received a negative connotation, for as Bruce Lannes Smith (2024, n.p.) explains, it has become associated with "the more or less systematic effort to manipulate other people's beliefs, attitudes, or actions by means of symbols," such as words, gestures, monuments, music, etc.

Works of art, particularly forms of popular art, 1 such as various kinds of music and movies, often have the power to influence people's beliefs and attitudes, for they are consumed by a great number of people primarily for entertainment. Ideological messages conveyed through popular art forms tend to be more difficult to detect and identify in comparison to those in overtly ideological texts; however, they can have an even greater impact. Tuttle Ross refers to art products used for propaganda as "propagandistic art" (2002, 25), and claims (2002, 18) that a work of popular art is considered as propaganda if it fulfils the following conditions: 1) it conveys an epistemically defective message; 2) this message is used with the intention to persuade; 3) it is targeted at a socially significant group of people, and 4) it is issued on behalf of a political institution, organization or cause.

Many animated movies, as products of popular art intended primarily for children, can also be considered propagandistic art as defined by Tuttle Ross. The Walt Disney Company, as one of the leading producers of animated movies, has often been criticised for transmitting problematic ideological messages, and it is no secret that their movies have an enormous influence on children globally—and not only on children, on adults as well. Henry A. Giroux and Grace Pollock claim that in the 21st century, Disney "represents the new face of liberal power" that can shape "the identities, desires and subjectivities of millions of people across the globe" (2010,

¹ According to the Editors of *Britannica*, the term "popular art" refers to any music, literature, theatre or other art form (motion pictures included, unless they fall under the category of fine art or elite art), "intended to be received and appreciated by ordinary people in a literate, technologically advanced society dominated by urban culture" (2023).

XV). Similarly, Julie C. Garlen and Jennifer A. Sandlin define the Walt Disney Company as "a major cultural force that shapes everyday life practices and identity formations through its representations of family values, gender, sexuality, race, class, ethnicity, 'Americanness', childhood, pleasure" (2016, 1–2) etc. Additionally, they claim that Disney's texts are "powerfully seductive narratives of fantasy, hope, love, and escape" and as such they represent a "cultural ubiquity that is unparalleled in popular culture" (Garlen and Sandlin 2016, 14). Annelee R. Ward agrees that Disney is a very important part of contemporary culture, which influences people's "perspectives of morality either explicitly or implicitly" (2002, 9).

Disney's powerful influence on children as the audience, however, seems particularly problematic, for, as Ward (2002, 1) acknowledges, its animated movies often provide the very first narratives from which children learn about the world and from which they get messages about how to live and what is right. Andreas Müller-Hartmann (2007, 399) argues that part of the danger of Disney's influence on children lies in the fact that their animated movies claim to offer "innocent childhood fun and pure entertainment" (2007, 399), which supposedly makes them safe for children to watch without parental monitoring, despite the "ideological subtexts" (2007, 399) that they contain. Nowadays, society has become increasingly sensitive to ideological messages and intolerant towards any kind of political incorrectness.² Many Disney animated movies, to which millions of children across the world have been exposed through decades, are today subject to scrutiny because of ideological subtexts they transfer, such as messages of "American dominance" and of "ethnic and gender stereotyping" (Müller-Hartmann 2007, 399).

Music is an integral part of the aesthetics of Disney's animated movies. As Victor Kennedy explains, music has often been used as propaganda and protest, the most well-known examples being songs containing pro-and anti-war themes, "but just about any topic is fair game" (2024, 257). Müller-Hartmann (2007) notes that music in Disney's animated movies has great power, for it speaks to children's emotions, and together with the cute animations, it gains access to children's sub-conscious. According to Tuttle Ross (2002, 21), the effectiveness and potential danger of propaganda lies precisely in its appeal to emotions. Ward (2002, 4) claims that Disney is well aware of the fact that music as well as visuals add to the potential power of a

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² There does exist, however, a list of cartoons, referred to as the Censored Eleven and consisting of Looney Tunes and Merry Melodies cartoons that have been banned since 1968 for being overly offensive because they depict racial stereotypes; among them is also a Bugs Bunny cartoon from 1941 (Gillett 2021).

movie, while Tracy Mollet (2013, 121) reports that Disney was one of the first producers to use song to tell its stories, and its first animated feature, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), used the best sound technology available at the time. Mollet adds that music in movies helps to "build tension" and create "sentiment at pivotal story points" (2013, 121), while Henry A. Giroux acknowledges Disney's "brilliant use" of musical scores, as well as the talents of its songwriters and composers, such as Howard Ashman and Alan Menken, ³ "whose skilful arrangements provide an emotional glue of the animation experience" (1995, n.p.).

This chapter takes a closer look at a selection of songs from several Disney animated movies that were released in the 20th and in the beginning of the 21st centuries. By analysing the lyrics in these songs, we aim to disclose the various ideological subtexts that they contain and define why they are problematic. The analytical part of the chapter is divided into three sections: the first section investigates examples of song lyrics that promote American values; the second takes a closer look at gender stereotyping and promotion of romantic love in the selected song lyrics, while the third section deals with the issues of political incorrectness that can be found in the song lyrics.

Promoting American Values

Many Disney animated movies are based on fairy tales that originate from folk tales that were written down by the Brothers Grimm and other collectors. However, Disney introduced many changes in its interpretations of these fairy tales. Simon J. Bronner notes that the tales known worldwide as "Grimm's tales" have "a special American impact" (1998, 187) because they have been recontextualized into mass culture by Hollywood. Bronner argues that Disney Americanized fairy tale figures for popular consumption, turning them into "stylized vehicles for popular entertainment of romance, music, and comedy rendered gleefully through cineramic animation" (1998, 187). Similarly, Ward (2002, 2) points out that generations of children are familiar only with Disney fairy tales, while the original stories are forgotten or ignored. What she finds particularly problematic is that "Disney rewrites the original tales for its particular version of American values" (2002, 2). We

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³ Howard Ashman wrote lyrics and Alan Menken wrote music for Disney's *The Little Mermaid* and *Beauty and the Beast*, and after Ashman's death in 1991, Menken teamed up with other lyricists and wrote scores for *Pocabontas*, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame, Enchanted, Tangled* and others (Green 2024).

will examine a selection of song lyrics from Disney's interpretations of several fairy tales to define in what way they help promote American values as well.

Let us begin with Disney's oldest full-length animated feature based on a fairy tale, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, which was released in 1937 and achieved, as Mollet reports, "a high level of popularity and critical acclaim" (2013, 109). Jack Zipes notes that Disney completely changed the original fairy tale to transform it "into something peculiarly American" (1994, 87), and the movie's song lyrics contribute to this Americanization. The simple lyrics of the dwarfs' song "Heigh-Ho," for instance, promote hard work as a (quick) means to prosperity:

We dig dig dig dig dig dig
In our mine the whole day through
To dig dig dig dig dig dig
Is what we like to do
It ain't no trick to get rich quick
If you dig dig dig with a shovel or a pick
In a mine! In a mine! ("Heigh-Ho")

That hard work leads to success and prosperity is the essential idea of the American Dream, which, as Jennifer Murtoff explains, consists of the belief that the USA is a "land of opportunity," allowing the possibility of "upward mobility, freedom, and equality for people of all classes who work hard and have the will to succeed" (2024, n.p.). However, Mollet notes that the American Dream of success was seriously jeopardized by the Great Depression of the 1930s, and that the purpose of Disney's 1937 *Snow White* was to relay "new ideas about the American Dream," infusing "hope and positivity into a society struggling with the Depression" (2013, 111). For this purpose, the dwarfs were transformed by Disney to represent "the common man of America," as well as "the community spirit" that was promoted by Roosevelt's New Deal⁴ (Mollet 2013, 118).

When Snow White is left alone in the forest, after the huntsman mercifully lets her go instead of killing her, she stumbles upon an empty and untidy house and decides to clean it. While she is cleaning it, she sings the song "Whistle While You Work." The lyrics of the song promote the idea that work is something pleasant, particularly

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⁴ The New Deal was a program of US President Roosevelt's Administration (1933–1939), the purpose of which was to bring about economic relief to the ravages of the Great Depression by introducing reforms in various sectors that increased the scope of activities of the federal government (*Britannica* 2024).

if everybody works together. With the help of forest animals, Snow White manages to clean the dwarfs' house in no time, singing that "it won't take long when there's a song / to help you set the pace" ("Whistle While You Work"). As Mollet (2013, 121) points out, this song, like the dwarfs' "Heigh-Ho" song, echoes the community spirit promoted by Roosevelt's politics, and both these work songs played a crucial part in Disney's promotion of collective work. Bronner additionally observes that Disney's Snow White needs to do more menial work than the one in the original fairy tale before marrying the prince, which helps support the idea of "rags to riches rise" (1998, 209), which is an important part of the American Dream.

Another song from *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* encouraging a positive attitude to life is "With a Smile and a Song." After Snow White finds herself all alone in the forest, she asks the birds what they do when things go wrong. The birds whistle that they sing a song, so Snow White starts singing, too: "With a smile and a song / Life is just like a bright sunny day / Your cares fade away / And your heart is young" ("With a Smile and a Song"). As Mollet suggests, this song exemplifies "the spirit of optimism and hope the American people had to keep in their hearts in order to prosper" (2013, 121). The character of Snow White thus personifies the spirit of "good nature and good will" that was promoted in the 1930s USA (Mollet 2013, 121).

Like Snow White, Cinderella, the protagonist of the eponymous 1950 Disney animated film, also deals with her hardships with optimism. Waking up from a lovely dream to a not-so-lovely reality at the beginning of the movie, she tells us in a song that "In dreams you lose your heartaches / Whatever you wish for, you keep," and that if you "have faith in your dreams / Your rainbow will come smiling through" ("A Dream Is a Wish"). Like Snow White, Cinderella is also close to and liked by animals. In "The Work Song," the animals observe how exigent Cinderella's stepmother and her stepsisters are towards Cinderella, suggesting that Cinderella is hard working.

Cinderelly, Cinderelly
Night and day it's Cinderelly
Make the fire, fix the breakfast
Wash the dishes, do the moppin'
And the sweepin' and the dustin'
They always keep her hoppin'.

("The Work Song").

Besides being hard working, Cinderella is of course also beautiful and good natured, as the song "Cinderella" from the beginning of the movie tells us:

Cinderella
You're as lovely as your name
Cinderella
You're a sun set in a frame

Though you're dressed in rags, you wear an air of queenly grace Anyone can see a throne would be your proper place.

("Cinderella")

Despite her hardships, Cinderella remains gentle and kind, so she deserves to be rewarded by marrying a prince and acquiring wealth. The rags-to-riches story is already there in the classic European fairy tale; however, as Bronner notes, with Disney's *Cinderella*, "the attraction of wealth and status as prevalent Hollywood themes came to the fore" (1998, 211). This animated movie is also an example of what Bronner (1998, 211) refers to as Disney's globalization of the theme of material wealth bringing happiness, acquiring material wealth being an important American value.

A more recent example of a Disney animated movie based on a fairy tale that also promotes the idea of hard work leading to prosperity and happiness is *The Princess and the Frog* (2009). The movie is loosely based on the folk tale "The Frog Prince" and is partly also based on the novel *The Frog Princess* by American author E. D. Baker, a parody of the original fairy tale. Disney changed the folk tale considerably and Americanized it by giving it a distinct American setting (New Orleans in the 1920s) and by making it a "rags-to-riches" story, for Tiana is not a princess but a poor working class young woman. It is also interesting that she is not fair-skinned and fair-eyed, like older Disney princesses were, but is of African American descent. She might be poor, but she has a clear goal in life: to open her own restaurant, although her prospects for that seem very slim. However, Tiana strongly believes that with hard work she can make her (American) dream come true, as she says in the song "Almost There":

I remember Daddy told me 'Fairytales can come true You gotta make 'em happen It all depends on you' So I work real hard each and every day Now things for sure are going my way
Just doing what I do
Look out, boys
I'm coming through. ("Almost There")

As in the original fairy tale, Tiana kisses a frog who claims to be a prince—but not to marry him afterwards, like the princess in the original story, but because he has promised her to help finance her restaurant. She has no wish or aspiration to marry him, nor does she believe in love—at that point, that is. She is firmly convinced that to have her own restaurant is the only thing that will make her happy. However, towards the end of the movie, Tiana, who after the kiss turns into a frog herself, and the prince who remains a frog, realise that they have fallen in love, and the movie ends with them turning back into humans, and after marrying, they run their own restaurant together—which represents material wealth for Tiana as a modern Cinderella.

Promoting Stereotypical Gender Roles and Idealizing Romantic Love

Disney is often criticized for presenting stereotypical gender roles and idealizing romantic love, for, as Giroux notes, "the construction of gender identity for girls and women represents one of the most controversial issues" (1995 n.p.) in Disney's animated movies. In 2012, two professors from the University of Mississippi, Joyce Olewski Inman and Kelli M. Sellers, designed a first-year composition course titled "The Disney Dilemma," the aim of which was to make students consider the ways in which Disney had "shaped their ideas about gender, race, education" (2012, 39) and similar topics. The students first had to write an essay on how Disney had influenced their understanding of gender, and as the two scholars report, the essays confirmed the existence of the "Disney princess culture," which serves as a "master narrative that shapes our culture's understandings of gender roles and expectations of girlhood" (Olewski Inman and Sellers 2012, 40). They further note that Disney "promotes an idealized princess character" that is defined by "moral virtue and physical beauty and whose success and happiness are linked to securing a husband and finding contentment in the heteronormative domestic realm" (Olewski Inman and Sellers 2012, 41). As we will see, the idea of romantic love bringing happiness to beautiful and good-natured damsels in distress is also transmitted through Disney's song lyrics.

Snow White, the very first Disney princess—who has been degraded to a servant by her wicked stepmother in Disney's movie—has a sole objective in life, which is "For the one [she] loves / To find [her]", as she says in the song "I'm Wishing" from the beginning of the movie. A prince who passes by hears her song and immediately answers it with his own song, "One Song," in which he declares his love for Snow White: "One song / My heart keeps singing / Of one love / Only for you."

Bronner notes that the prince's "courtship song" serves to highlight "the romantic interest" (1998, 209) in the movie. Shortly after Snow White hears the prince's song, she is chased away by her stepmother; however, she does not lose hope that her prince will find her and that they then will live together happily ever after, as she says in the next song:

Someday my prince will come Someday we'll meet again And away to his castle we'll go To be happy forever I know.

("Someday My Prince Will Come")

Cinderella from the 1950 animated movie is another classic Disney princess, waiting for her prince to come and make her happy. The opening song "Cinderella," sung by a chorus, tells us that though she is "dressed in rags," Cinderella wears "an air of queenly grace," and "anyone can see a throne would be [her] proper place" ("Cinderella"). This song also announces that if she gives her heart a chance, it will lead her "to the kingdom of romance," where she will see her "dreams unfold" ("Cinderella"). This indeed happens before long; at the royal ball, Cinderella dances with the prince, and as they are dancing, they sing the song "So This Is Love" in their minds. In the song, Cinderella says that love is "what makes life divine," then they both claim to possess "the key to all heaven," and agree that love is "the miracle that I've been dreaming of" ("So This Is Love"). There are a few obstacles that need to be overcome, but love wins over evil, and Cinderella soon finds herself married to the prince and living happily ever after.

The Sleeping Beauty (1959) also features a typical Disney princess, Aurora (or Briar Rose, as the three fairies call her to conceal her real identity), who, like the earlier two Disney princesses, reinforces "domesticated stereotypical gender roles for women" (Olewski Inman and Sellers 2012, 44). Disney made some changes to the plot to emphasize Aurora's Disney princess features. Unlike the original fairy tale,

Aurora is taken away to the woods by three fairies to be kept safe until the day of her 16th birthday is over. On that day, Aurora meets a prince in the woods (the one she has been betrothed to since her birth but does not know it). Prior to meeting him, she sings the song "I Wonder," in which she—like Snow White—wishes for her prince to find her:

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I wonder, I wonder
I wonder if my heart keeps singing
Will my song go winging
To someone, who'll find me
And bring back a love song to me? ("I Wonder")
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Aurora then starts singing the song "Once Upon a Dream" and waltzing with an imaginary prince (represented by an owl covered with the prince's cloak that it stole from him):

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I know you
I walked with you once upon a dream
I know you
The gleam in your eyes is so familiar a gleam
Yet I know it's true
That visions are seldom all they seem

But if I know you
I know what you'll do
You'll love me at once
The way you did once upon a dream. ("Once Upon a Dream")
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When the prince hears Aurora's singing, he takes the place of the imagined lover, and after a brief exchange of words with her, he repeats the first stanza of the song. Then they waltz to the choir singing the second stanza and their destiny is sealed. After conquering some obstacles, Aurora will marry her prince, and her happiness will be secured.

It needs to be noted that these early Disney princesses were created before the second wave of feminism of the 1970s. A more recent female protagonist, Belle from *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), is in many ways still a typical Disney princess: she is beautiful and good-natured, and she is dreaming of finding her prince; she does, however, appear to be a stronger, less dependent heroine than the previous Disney

princesses. In the song "Belle" from the beginning of the movie, we learn that she stands out from the rest of the village people:

Her looks have got no parallel
But behind that fair façade
I'm afraid she's rather odd
Very different from the rest of us
She's nothing like the rest of us
Yes, different from the rest of us is Belle. ("Belle")

The villagers also observe that Belle has always "her nose stuck in a book" ("Belle"). She reads about heroines who meet their princes, and she longs for an "adventure in the great wide somewhere," and "to have someone understand," as she says in the song "Belle (Reprise)." That is why she prefers the Beast—once she discovers his tender, understanding and loving heart that is captured in a fierce animal body; admitting that "he's no Prince Charming," she still discovers "There's something in him," as she sings in the song "Something There"—to Gaston, the local macho man, who is supposed to be "everyone's favourite guy" (as his friend Lefou says in the song "Gaston"). Gaston is a typical self-centred provincial man, who believes that he deserves Belle and is convinced that she will marry him. By rejecting Gaston's offer of marriage and by defending her father, whom the village people want to put in a lunatic asylum, Belle showcases bravery and independence. Realizing that she loves the Beast, she goes to his rescue when the village people want to kill him. Although some critics see Belle as a "Disney feminist" (Jeffords in Mollet 2019, n.p.), Giroux and Pollock argue that she is similar to other modern Disney heroines, such as Jasmine from Aladdin and Ariel from The Little Mermaid, in that her strength is visible only in childish wilful acts that become insignificant when she finds her true love (in Olewski Inman and Sellers 2012, 43). Indeed, Belle is just as happy to find her true love as the early Disney princesses were, and the love story between her and the Beast (who turns back to a handsome prince at the end) is a "Tale as old as time," as the lyrics of the theme song "Beauty and the Beast" inform us.

Non-Gender-Related Political Incorrectness

Several Disney animated movies have been accused of political incorrectness related to race issues. Christina Berchini (2016) exposes racialized representations in movies such as *The Jungle Book* and *The Lion King*. Giroux (1995) also points out that racist stereotyping appears in both these movies, as well as in others, such as *Aladdin*. What

Giroux finds problematic is that these movies universalize whiteness "through the privileged representation of middle-class social relations, values, and linguistic practices" (1995, n.p.). He further claims that cultural differences in these movies "are expressed through a 'naturalized' racial hierarchy, one that is antithetical to a viable democratic society" (1995, n.p.); therefore, what children learn about race from watching such movies is highly worrying.

Disney's The Jungle Book (1967) is based on Rudyard Kipling's collection of stories with the same title (1895). Kipling is nowadays remembered in particular "for his celebration of British imperialism" (Steward 2024, n.p.). Many of his imperialist and nationalist ideas can be found in The Jungle Book stories. As Sue Welsh argues, a classic way of reading these stories is as "an allegory for the position of the white colonialist born and raised in India" (2019, n.p.), for the boy Mowgli becomes master of the animals in the jungle, just like the British come to rule in India.⁵ Disney's interpretation of The Jungle Book, however, introduces a new kind of racism that is not present in Kipling's work. The most problematic in terms of political correctness is Disney's depiction of the apes. According to Cory Lund (2017), "these monkeys are plainly coded as black characters in an extremely harmful way" (2017, n.p.), not only by their physical features but also by their voices that are "forced into a gravelly, exaggerated register" (2017, n.p.), representing unintelligent African American people. The king of the monkeys, the orangutan King Louie, was added by Disney, for such a character does not exist in Kipling's stories. King Louie's song "I Wanna Be Like You" that he sings to Mowgli is among the most overtly racist Disney songs for its clear message that black people are beneath white people and aspire to be like them.

Now I'm the king of the swingers Oh, the jungle VIP I've reached the top and had to stop And that's what's botherin' me.

("I Wanna Be Like You)"

Metcalf argues that in these first lines of the song, King Louie clearly states that he "he has gotten as far as he can go as a monkey; that is to say, being black" (in Barlett 2024, 7). In the next stanza and in the refrain that follows, King Louie continues by

⁵ In 1999, Disney released the animated movie *Tarzan* based on E. R. Burroughs' 1912 story *Tarzan of the Apes*, which also has a strong message of racial superiority of white people: Tarzan becomes King of the Jungle on account of his whiteness, just like Mowgli does in India.

telling Mowgli that he wants to be human like him to progress further, which in Metcalf's interpretation would mean that he wants to be like white people:

I wanna be a man, mancub And stroll right into town And be just like the other men I'm tired of monkeyin' around!

Oh, oobee doo
I wanna be like you
I wanna walk like you
Talk like you, too
You'll see it's true
An ape like me
Can learn to be human too.

("I Wanna Be Like You")

The whole performance of this song reminds one of an African American singer's performance—the character's name itself being, as Metcalf points out, "a clear reference to Louis Armstrong" (in Barlett 2024, 6). Additionally, Christina Barlett (2024, 7) points to the fact that Disney used jazz music for King Louie's song instead of R & B or rock and roll music—which were more popular at the time of the movie—with a specific purpose: it sonically represents "both the blackness and the wildness of the monkeys," and as such it was Disney's "default choice for depicting social 'Others' and the uncivilized" (2024, 7). Particularly problematic in this context are the lines "An ape like me / Can learn to be human too" ("I Wanna Be Like You"), which suggest that a black person is less human than a white person. That Disney at some point realized how problematic this song is is suggested by the fact that in the 2016 version of the movie, King Louis is no longer a comic character, and some lyrics in the song "I Wanna Be Like You" are changed. For instance, the line "An ape like me" has been replaced by "Someone like me" ("I Wanna Be Like You", 2016"), and "Can learn to be human too" has been replaced by "Can learn to be like someone like you too" ("I Wanna Be Like You", 2016).

The much-loved Disney's *The Lion King*, released in 1994 and featuring only animals, is also problematic in terms of politically incorrect messages that it delivers, although they are not as direct as in *The Jungle Book*. The movie opens with Simba's birth. When his father, king Mufasa, proudly shows him to his subjects, the song "Circle of Life" is playing. The song's opening lyrics tell us that "From the day we arrive on the planet," we become part of the world, where "[t]he sun rolling high / Through

the sapphire sky / Keeps great and small on the endless round" ("Circle of Life"). This is followed by the refrain:

It's the circle of life
And it moves us all
Through despair and hope
Through faith and love
'Til we find our place
On the path unwinding
In the circle
The circle of life. ("The Circle of Life")

John Morton explains that the metaphor of "the circle of life" is loosely appropriated from "contemporary ecological consciousness of nature" (1996, 312), where all beings are interconnected. However, Morton further notes that it is also a "social metaphor for law, order and enlightened hierarchy" (1996, 312), and Mufasa's kingdom and his subjects are "an allegorical representation of legitimate order" (1996, 313), where "those at the top of the food chain also nourish those nearer the bottom" (1996, 313). Lee Artz agrees that "the circle of life scene" at the beginning of the movie clearly presents the established "social order and its validity" (2003, 10). Yehuda Siegel, on the other hand, points out that in the "natural fixed social order," which she calls a "feudal social order" (2021, n.p.), into which Simba is baptized while the song is playing, "there is no chance of upward mobility" (2021, n. p.) for those who are not at the top; therefore, the song clearly propagates the established social order that allows no changes.

Simba, of course, is at the top of this order. As a cub, he learns from his father that one day, he will become the ruler of Pride Lands. He welcomes the idea and immediately imagines himself in his future role, singing the song "I Just Can't Wait to Be King." In the song, he says he will surely be "a mighty king," "the main event / Like no king was before," and he is already "brushing up on looking down" in his preparations for this role, fully aware that "Everywhere you look I'm / Standing in the spotlight" ("I Just Can't Wait to Be King"). While the audience finds the cute little lion and his aspirations funny and adoring, there is no doubt that Simba is training to be on top of the world of strict hierarchy and authority.

The distinction between the ruling class and their subjects in the movie is also visible in the language of the characters. Giroux (1995) notes that the language in the movie is racially coded, for Mufasa and other members of the royal family speak—as well as sing—"with posh British accents," while the hyenas speak and sing "in racially coded accents that take on the nuances of the discourse of a decidedly urban, black and Latino youth" (1995, n.p.). According to Giroux, racism in The Lion King—as well as is several other Disney movies—is visible in both the "presence of racist representations and the absence of complex representations of African-Americans and other people of color" (1995, n.p.), and through this, Disney teaches children that "cultural differences that do not bear the imprint of white, middle-class ethnicity are deviant, inferior, unintelligent, and a threat to be overcome" (1995, n.p.). Indeed, the hyenas in the movie represent a threat to the established social order because of their tendency towards "anti-social behaviour" (Artz 2003, 13), particularly since they bond with Mufasa's treacherous brother Scar, who is plotting to overthrow Mufasa's order, which he reveals in his song "Be Prepared." In this song, he promises hyenas a better life and "a shining new era" ("Be Prepared") if they help him in his plan. When the hyenas ask him what is in there for them, Scar tells them:

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I know it sounds sordid
But you'll be rewarded
When at last I am given my dues
And injustice deliciously squared
Be prepared! ("Be Prepared")
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Although Scar promises rewards to the hyenas, who are at the bottom of the social scale, when he is king, he also clearly states that in this new social order, they will not be equal to him:

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The future is littered with prizes

And though I'm the main addressee

The point that I must emphasize is

You won't get a sniff without me! ("Be Prepared")
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Some see Scar's ideas as "progressive politics" (Siegel 2021); however, it is clear that he wants to be at the top, probably because he does not stand the idea of being merely the king's brother. Once he becomes king after Mufasa's death, his new order turns out to be much worse than Mufasa's, leading only to anarchy and starvation. Eventually, Simba returns as a grown-up lion to save Pride Lands, and the hyenas

who helped Scar come to the throne turn against him when he is defeated by Simba. Simba restores the old order of assumed power structures and re-establishes the circle of life, with himself at the top. The movie ends the way it begins, with a strong message in favour of the establishment, that is of those who have the power.

Disney's Pocahontas came out the same year as The Lion King and is based on a real character, a young Native American woman. As David A. Price (2024) informs us, Pocahontas was born in 1596 near what is now Jamestown, Virginia, the daughter of the chief of the Powhatan empire; she became friends with the English settlers at the Jamestown colony in Virginia at the age of 10 or 11, and she has the merit of fostering peace between the British and Native Americans. Disney's movie altered several historical facts. As Ward reports, it changed the girl's "age, looks and accomplishments from the few historical facts that we do have to a romanticized beauty" (2002, 2). These modifications enabled Disney to change the encounter between Pocahontas and the leader of the settlers, John Smith, into a love story. This love story is in the centre of the movie and helps propagate several ideas. For one, it presents the colonial leader John Smith in a positive light. Smith stands out among the English settlers in the movie, for he is handsome, strong, brave, and experienced. He is not after gold, like the other Englishmen sailing out to the new world, but seeks to tame the new land as part of an adventure, as he says in the song "Mine, Mine, Mine":

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Hundreds of dangers await
And I don't plan to miss one
In a land I can claim
A land I can tame
The greatest adventure is mine! ("Mine, Mine, Mine, Mine)")
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Governor Ratcliffe and the other settlers sing different lyrics to the same tune, for they are tempted by the gold they believe they will find in this new land. Ratcliffe orders his men to:

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Mine, boys, mine
Mine me that gold
Beautiful gold
Make this island
My land! ("Mine, Mine, Mine")
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Ratcliff and his men also believe that the Native Americans who inhabit the new world are "savages," "barely even human," as they say in the song "Savages, Savages, Savages:"

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(Ratcliff)
What can you expect
From filthy little heathens?
Their whole disgusting race is like a curse
Their skin's a hellish red
They're only good when dead
They're vermin, as I said
And worse.

(English settlers)
They're savages! Savages!

(Ratcliff)
Barely even human.

(English settlers)
Savages! Savages! ("Savages, Savages, Savages")
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This song is extremely racist, for it refers to Native Americans as "filthy little heathens," "a disgusting race," and "vermin." It presents them as inferior to white Europeans, who in their turn believe they are superior because of their advanced culture. In the view of the settlers, this justifies their plan to confiscate the Native Americans' land and take possession of its riches. John Smith, however, does not share this degrading opinion about Native Americans, for his encounter with Pocahontas makes him realize that the term "savage" is problematic and that it does not (fully) apply to Pocahontas.

In the song "Colors of the Wind," which Pocahontas sings to Smith, she challenges his idea of who a savage is: "If the savage one is me / How can there be so much that you don't know?" ("Colors of the Wind"). She also questions his white colonizer's ways:

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You think you own whatever land you land on
The Earth is just a dead thing you can claim
/.../
You think the only people who are people
Are the people who look and think like you. ("Colors of the Wind")
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In the following lines, Pocahontas challenges Smith's knowledge of the world by evoking her own knowledge of nature:

Have you ever heard the wolf cry to the blue corn moon Or asked the grinning bobcat why he grinned? Can you sing with all the voices of the mountains? Can you paint with all the colors of the wind? Can you paint with all the colors of the wind?

("Colors of the Wind")

Throughout the song, Pocahontas juxtaposes John Smith's worldly knowledge and experience to her knowledge of nature, an area in which he seems ignorant. She also stresses her connectedness with nature, saying that "the rainstorm and the river" are her brothers, and "the heron and the otter" are her friends, and that they are "all connected to each other / In a circle, in a hoop that never ends" ("Colors of the Wind"). This song is problematic, however, for it promotes the idea that Native Americans are much closer to nature than white people, who are more cultured. Additionally, by presenting Pocahontas as kind and good-natured, the song helps promote the idea of her being a "noble" savage. As Sophie Gilbert mentions in an article published in The Atlantic, the Powhatan Nation and other Native American groups are critical of Disney's Pocahontas for turning Pocahontas into a trope of "the Good Indian," particularly by showing that Pocahontas "offers her own life to help save a white settler" (2015, n. p.). As the movie presents it, Smith is taken prisoner by the Indian tribe (because they believe he shot an Indian), and Pocahontas is the one who saves him from execution. As Gilbert (2015) reports, the Powhatan Nation believe that Disney should not base the movie on this event, which probably did not even happen. Additionally, Charles Grymes argues that the movie presents an embellished version of the history of the colonialization of Virginia by offering "a sanitized version of the harsh, conflict-ridden interaction between Native Americans and English colonists settling in Virginia" (n.d., n.p.). By putting the love story in the centre of the movie, Disney diverted attention away from the conflicts and thus embellished its version of history to enable as little judgement as possible.

Disney's portrayal of a peaceful coexistence between the Native Americans and the English settlers continues in *Pocahontas II*, released four years after the first movie, with the subtitle *Journey to a New World*. After Pocahontas saves Smith's life in the first movie, the Indian chief agrees to peace, but this does not suit Ratcliffe, who shoots at Smith. Smith is wounded and needs to be sent back to England. He begs

Pocahontas to go with him, but she chooses to stay in her homeland as the movie ends. At the beginning of the second movie, the Native Americans and the settlers live in peace. Pocahontas believes John Smith is dead, because she has had no news of him. When a new group of settlers arrives, led by John Rolfe, the latter invites the chief of Indians to come to England to meet the king. As he refuses the offer, Pocahontas volunteers to go instead. More conflict follows, caused by Ratcliffe, who has lied to the king that there is gold in Virginia to be able to fight with the Native Americans. However, at the end of the movie Pocahontas' mission is successful, as she manages to prevent war, and together with John Rolfe she returns to Virginia.

The song "Between Two Worlds" that Pocahontas and John Rolfe sing at the end of the movie has a powerful message: their love will help conquer all the differences between the two worlds, that of Pocahontas and that of Rolfe and the white settlers, and both sides will live in harmony—despite the fact that the white settlers came uninvited and occupied the land where Native Americans had lived before. Pocahontas says that "We will take the past and learn how to begin / And we'll build a bridge of love / Between two worlds" (Between Two Worlds"), to which John Rolfe responds: "I know that we can find a home for you and I /And we'll build a bridge of love / Between two worlds" ("Between Two Worlds").

It is noteworthy that both *Pocahontas* movies offer an embellished version of Pocahontas' life, while in reality it was much less fortunate. According to Price (2024), the historical facts are that after John Smith left for England, Pocahontas was kidnapped; she lived in captivity in Jamestown for some time and was converted to Christianity and baptized Rebecca; and later she married John Rolfe, which brought peace between the Native Americans and the settlers. Two years later, in 1616, Pocahontas went to England with her husband and a year-old son, where she was paraded around and used by The Virginia Company as a "device to publicize the colony and to win support from King James I and investors" (Price 2024, n.p.), and she died a year later of a disease, while preparing to return to America. Even more worrying than the altered history in the movie is the fact, as Cornel Pewewardy (n.d., n. p.) points out, that most American children first learn about Native Americans from animated movies like *Pocahontas*. Pewewardy (n.d., n.p.) harshly criticizes the overt racism in the movie that "implies a value judgement of white superiority" as well as the extremely negative effect that this has on children of Native American descent who attend American schools and are called "savages" by their classmates, imitating the white settlers in the movie.

Conclusion

Disney's animated movies are packed with ideological subtexts; it is therefore not surprising that they have caught the attention of many scholars, critics, and journalists. This paper takes a different approach to investigating the subject, however. Based on the assumption that music and songs represent powerful weapons of propaganda, we look at song lyrics in a selection of Disney's animated movies to reveal how they help transmit ideological messages in these movies. The song lyrics are divided into three categories: those promoting American values, those promoting stereotypical gender roles and idealizing romantic love, and those transmitting politically incorrect messages about racial issues. Analysis confirms that song lyrics play an important role in transmitting or in reinforcing the ideological messages of movies. It reveals that in older Disney movies, ideological messages transmitted through song lyrics are more direct (for instance, the promotion of hard work and community spirit in two "work songs" from the oldest full-length feature Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs; or the severely racist song "I Wanna Be Like You" from the 1968 The Jungle Book), while in more recent movies, ideological messages in song lyrics tend to be less direct and more subtle, in line with how Disney's movies are changing with time, and (or in particular) owing to the society's increasing intolerance of political incorrectness. If in the past Disney overtly promoted stereotypical gender roles (Snow White, Cinderella, and Aurora from The Sleeping Beauty all sing about hoping for their prince to come and make them happy), contemporary Disney princesses tend to be less submissive and less concentrated on romantic love (Tiana from The Princess and the Frog, for instance, sings about her wish to open a restaurant), and in the 2016 Disney version of The Jungle Books there is no longer such a direct connection between the apes and African Americans, as some problematic lines in the song "I Wanna Be Like You" have been replaced. However, even if Disney is trying to be more politically correct in their contemporary animated movies, older movies still circulate among millions of children who are not yet able to apply critical analysis when watching these movies for pleasure and entertainment. The question, therefore, remains whether animated movies like *Pocahontas* should be banned or edited for calling Native Americans "savages."

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PRIMERJALNA ANALIZA VPLIVOV FESTIVALA SANREMO IN EVROVIZIJE NA ZABAVNO GLASBO

KRISTIAN KOLAR

Univerza v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta, Maribor, Slovenija kristian.kolar@student.um.si

Namen prispevka je primerjati vpliv festivala Sanremo in Pesmi Evrovizije (ESC) na nastajajočo jugoslovansko popularno glasbo ter njuno vlogo pri oblikovanju jugoslovanske kulturne diplomacije. Glasbeni festival v Sanremu je od leta 1951 predstavljal simbol potrebe po zabavi, ki je nastala kot odgovor na kolektivno travmo po katastrofah druge svetovne vojne. Rast popularnosti festivala v Evropi je švicarskega novinarja Marcela Bezençona spodbudila, da je leta 1955 ustanovil evropsko različico Sanrema, ki je prerasla v ESC. Ta dva glasbena dogodka sta pomembno vplivala na razvoj evropske popularne glasbe, saj sta formirala ogrodje prevladujoče evropske glasbene kulture. Po razkolu med Titom in Stalinom leta 1948 se je jugoslovanska kulturna politika radikalno spremenila in ustvarila potrebo po posebni kulturni usmeritvi kot odziv na prekinjene diplomatske odnose države tako z vzhodnim kot zahodnim blokom. Posledica tega je bila edinstvena kulturna politika, v kateri so bili zahodni vplivi podrobno analizirani in dovoljeni šele po temeljiti analizi. To je veljalo tudi za zahodno glasbo, ki je začela provocirati socialistična načela idealizma in skromnosti. Jugoslovanska zabavna glasba, ki naj bi prvotno utelešala ta načela, se je oblikovala v smeri vplivov Sanrema in v manjši meri tudi ESC.

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zabavna glazba

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF IMPACTS OF THE SANREMO FESTIVAL AND THE EUROSONG CONTEST ON POPULAR MUSIC

Kristian Kolar

University of Mariboru, Faculty of Arts, Maribor, Slovenia kristian.kolar@student.um.si

Since 1951, the Sanremo Music Festival has symbolized the pressing demand for entertainment that was a response to the collective trauma following World War II. Its success prompted Swiss journalist Marcel Bezençon to conceive a European version of the festival, which resulted in the founding of the Eurovision Song Contest (ESC). Together, these festivals have indelibly impacted the evolution of European popular music, introducing Europe to an array of musical and lyrical innovations, as well as to the advent of the US rock and roll. In Yugoslavia, the 1948 split between Tito and Stalin prompted new approaches to cultural policy. This resulted in a unique cultural policy in which Western influences were categorized as either acceptable or unacceptable, depending on whether they challenged the idealistic socialist principles. Yugoslavian pop music (zabavna glazba) subsequently evolved under the influence of Sanremo and – to a lesser extent – the ESC. The paper examines the influence of Sanremo and the ESC on the emerging genre of zabavna glazba as well as on the shaping of Yugoslav cultural diplomacy.



Uvod in metodologija

Namen prispevka je raziskati festivala Sanremo in ESC kot ločena vpliva na jugoslovansko glasbeno sceno ter primerjati njune vplive na kulturne in glasbene trende v Jugoslaviji. Pri analizi se bo prispevek dotaknil tudi konceptualnih razlik med festivaloma, ki so posledično vplivale tudi na različno dojemanje njune zapuščine. V prispevku bomo poskušali dokazati, da je Sanremo kljub manjšemu obsegu pustil bistveno trajnejši vpliv na jugoslovansko kulturo, glasbo in kolektivni spomin jugoslovanskega prebivalstva kot ESC.

Festivala Sanremo in Evrovizija sta z akademskega vidika dobro raziskana. Sanremo glede na trenutne raziskavae velja za festival, na katerem se je oblikoval italijanski pop (Agostini 2007 in 2013), nedavne raziskave (Amore 2021; Conti 2017) pa so Sanremo definirale tudi kot italijanski kulturni konstrukt. Po razmeroma dolgem obdobju akademskega zanemarjanja je tudi Evrovizija postala zanimiva za raziskovanje. To je v veliki meri zasluga opusa Deana Vuletića, ki je leta 2019 objavil monografijo *Postwar Europe and Eurovision Song Contest.* Gre za eno prvih del, ki je ESC opredelilo kot stičišče različnih političnih, kulturnih, družbenih in ekonomskih pojavov sodelujočih držav.

Posebnosti kulturne politike Jugoslavije skozi obdobje hladne vojne so zajete v monografiji *Made in Yugoslavia: Studies in Popular Music* (2020). V monografiji avtorji, kot so prej omenjeni Vuletić (2020), Anita Buhin (2020) in Ana Petrov (2020), obravnavajo različna poglavja zgodovine jugoslovanske glasbe. Vpliv italijanskih kulturnih elementov na povojno Jugoslavijo je raziskala Francesca Rolandi (2015).

Uvertura v kulturno politiko in položaj Jugoslavije po drugi svetovni vojni

Po nastanku Kraljevine SHS 1. decembra 1918 je kazalo, da so se sanje o jugoslovanskem unitarizmu začele rušiti z neskončnimi političnimi razpravami, ki so se pojavile ob vprašanjih državne ureditve. Nestabilna politična situacija in strah pred morebitno revolucijo sta komaj dve leti po ustanovitvi Kraljevine SHS, leta 1920, terjala prepoved Komunistične partije Jugoslavije z *Obznano*. Medtem ko je znameniti *Zakon o tisku* iz leta 1925 zagotavljal možnost svobodnega tiska, kjer so novinarji lahko »prosto izražali misli v časopisu, slikah in karikaturah«, to ni bilo nikoli uresničeno (Zakon o tisku 1925, 3). Vprašanje cenzure se je bistveno zaostrilo po uvedbi šestojanuarske diktature kralja Aleksandra I. leta 1929 (gl. Dobrivojević

2005). Novinarji jugoslovanskih časnikov so za pridobitev potnega lista pogosto čakali več mesecev in bili v postopku pridobitve pogosto zavrnjeni. Čeprav je za karikature veljala ostra cenzura, so bile kljub temu pogosto uporabljene kot metoda prefinjene politične kritike, ki je načeloma lahko zaobšla stroge zakone cenzure.

Vrhunec absurda jugoslovanske predvojne cenzure je bila prepoved stripov o Mikiju Mišku leta 1937. Miki Mišek se je v Jugoslaviji pojavil okrog leta 1932 skupaj z drugimi mednarodno znanimi stripi, kot sta Maček Feliks in Tim Taylor. Kot ugotavlja Čalić (2019, 99), so bili stripi le del ameriških in britanskih vplivov, ki so v obdobju med obema vojnama začeli prodirati v Jugoslavijo. V kontroverznem stripu o Mikiju Mišku se je leta 1937 pojavila zgodba o Michaelu, kralju mitskega kraljestva Medioka, ki je bil mladoleten in zato še ni mogel vladati, ter njegovem regentu in stricu vojvodi Varlottu, ki je načrtoval državni udar proti Michaelu. Ker je strip o Michaelu in Varlottu preveč spominjal na tedanji položaj mladoletnega kralja Petra II. Karađorđevića in njegovega strica ter regenta Pavla, je bila franšiza Mikija Miška v Jugoslaviji kmalu prepovedana (*New York Times* 1937, 12).

Po drugi svetovni vojni si je nova jugoslovanska oblast s propagando močno prizadevala dokazati, da v novi državi cenzure ni in da imajo državljani precejšnjo svobodo izražanja (Hofman 2013, 285), čeprav se je institucionalizacija propagande začela kmalu po zaključku vojne. Takoj po drugi svetovni vojni so se v Jugoslaviji po sovjetskem zgledu ustanovile komisije za agitacijo in propagando (agitprop), ki so ščitile novoustanovljeno jugoslovansko javno sfero pred (zaznanimi, predvsem zahodnimi) prevratniškimi vplivi. Kot trdi Aleš Gabrič, je bila glavna vloga agitpropov »ideološki dvig partijskega kadra in politična vzgoja širokih ljudskih množic« (1991, 494).

Ustava iz leta 1946 je v praksi odpravila večstrankarski sistem, politični nasprotniki so se pojavljali na raznih črnih seznamih ali črnih knjigah, obenem pa so nastajali tudi obsežni seznami kulturno neprimernih vsebin. Naslednik sistema, ki je prepovedal Mikija Miška, je torej kljub radikalno drugačni državni ureditvi uporabljal cenzuro na podoben način, predvsem zaradi utrditve oblasti po kontroverznih parlamentarnih volitvah leta 1945.

Povojna Jugoslavija se je pri krepitvi zgodbe narodne enotnosti in identitete močno zanašala na kulturo, ki je (p)ostala pomemben identifikacijski element Jugoslavije, še posebej po kontroverznem razkolu med Titom in Stalinom leta 1948. Jugoslavija je

bila zaradi preteklih napetosti z Zahodom in novonastalih napetosti z Vzhodom primorana čez noč ustvariti lastno in neodvisno kulturno politiko. Ustvarila je ideološko neodvisne kulturne projekte, kakršen je bil odprtje Jugoslovanskega filmskega arhiva v Beogradu leta 1949. Pavličić (2008, 22–23) navaja, da so jugoslovanski intelektualci, kot sta npr. Miroslav Krleža in Petar Šegedin, odprto kritizirali in zavračali sovjetski socrealizem, ki je bil v jugoslovanski kulturni politiki sprva neizčrpen vir inspiracije za jugoslovansko kulturno sceno.

V času oblikovanja lastne kulturne politike so jugoslovanski politiki utrjevali ideal narodne enotnosti in zaostrovali državotvorni kult osebnosti, ki se je oblikoval okoli Josipa Broza – Tita. Eden takšnih načinov je bila ustanovitev prvega festivala jugoslovanskega filma v Pulju leta 1954, s katerim so organizatorji želeli ustvariti ustrezno podlago za mednarodno promocijo Jugoslavije in njene kulture. Puljski filmski festival – in pozneje več drugih festivalov – je po mnenju Jelenkovića (2016, 80) simboliziral poslanstvo jugoslovanskega filma pri utrjevanju ideoloških ciljev.

Filmskemu zgledu je sledila tudi jugoslovanska glasbena produkcija. Že pred pojavom tujih vplivov je imelo šest jugoslovanskih republik izjemno bogato folklorno kulturo. Kljub temu je geografska bližina zahodnega kulturnega kroga, predvsem Avstrije in Italije, pomenila kulturni in glasbeni prodor tamkajšnje (zahodne) glasbe v Jugoslavijo, ki ga le-ta ni mogla preprečiti, čeprav je to poskušala. Zdenko Radelić (2006, 173) navaja primer prepovedi notne zbirke plesnih melodij iz leta 1947 (Tišljar in Silvin 1947); čeprav je šlo za povsem nepolitično kompilacijo plesnih skladb zahodnih skladateljev, kot sta Count Basie in Irving Berlin, so jo oblasti prepovedale zaradi domnevnega »obujanja nemoralnih nagnjenj« pri mladini.

Po razkolu med Titom in Stalinom leta 1948 so večjo grožnjo jugoslovanski kulturni politiki začeli predstavljati vzhodni kulturni vplivi. I Zato se je, čeprav z veliko zadržanostjo, jugoslovanska kulturna politika odločila za sledenje kulturnim vplivom Zahoda. V znak protesta proti vplivu, ki ga je želela imeti Sovjetska zveza, je bil na VI. kongresu Komunistične partije Jugoslavije leta 1952 ukinjen Oddelek za agitacijo in propagando (Agitprop). Z glasbenega vidika je liberalizacijo kulturne scene zaznamovala ustanovitev prvega združenja jazzovskih glasbenikov v Jugoslaviji

Ideološko-geopolitičnemu razkolu med Josipom Brozom Titom in Josifom Stalinom poleti 1948 so botrovala njuna različna stališča glede podpore komunistom v grški državljanski vojni, možnosti jugoslovansko-bolgarske

njuna različna stališča glede podpore komunistom v grški državljanski vojni, možnosti jugoslovansko-bolgarske federacije ipd. Vrhunec spora je bila izključitev Jugoslavije iz Kominforma. Po tem sporu je Jugoslavija odstopila od striktnega sledenja politikam Vzhodnega bloka.

(Udruženje jazz muzičara Beograd) leta 1953. Šlo je za izjemen premik v jugoslovanski kulturni politiki, saj je Jugoslavija po drugi svetovni vojni sprva s Sovjetsko zvezo delila odpor do jazza in ga označila za simbol dekadentnega Zahoda (Atanasovski 2015, 87). Zmago jazza nad cenzuro in partijskimi omejitvami Jugoslavije lahko postavimo v leto 1960, ko je bil ustanovljen prvi jazzovski festival na Bledu, ki se je kasneje razvil v Ljubljana Jazz Festival. V petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja so Jugoslavijo obiskali svetovno znani jazzovski glasbeniki, kot so Dizzy Gillespie, jazzovski orkester Glenna Millerja, Louis Armstrong in Count Basie (Zoranić 2020, 2). Enako je veljalo tudi za druge glasbene zvrsti, vključno s pop glasbo – kot navaja Sabina Mihelj, so bili »časopisi polni občudovanja popularnih pesmi, koncertov in festivalov, ki bi jih prej zavrgli kot ničvredne in pretirano idealistične« (2011, 528).

V filmografiji je prvi večji prodor z vesternizacijo ustvarila komedija *Ljubav i moda* iz leta 1960. Zgodba filma, v katerem študentje mode zbirajo denar za letalski miting, je precej enostavna, zato pa je revolucionarna scenografija v filmu – gledalec lahko namesto domačih avtomobilov znamke Zastava vidi prestižne ople in studebakerje. Prav tako je v filmu prisotna konvencionalna zahodna moda, izstopa pa tudi glasbena podlaga. Pri snemanju glasbe so sodelovali mladi upi jugoslovanske *popularne glasbe*, ki se je v tem času začela formirati. V glasbeni podlagi filma tako nastopijo Ivo Robić, Gabi Novak in Vlastimir Đuza Stojiljković; slednji je odpel kultno pesem »Devojko mala«. Po besedah A. Buhin je *Ljubav i moda* ponujal »eskapistično funkcijo prikazovanja tako želene bližnje prihodnosti« (2019, 107). S kulturno politiko so se paralelno dogajali tudi družbeni premiki, ki so skušali pretrgati povezovanje Jugoslavije z državami vzhodnega bloka. V sklopu tega se je proti koncu petdesetih let 20. stoletja oblikovala potrošniška družba; leta 1956 je bila v Ivancu v Hrvaškem Zagorju odprta prva samopostrežna trgovina, štiri leta kasneje je bil v Beogradu odprt prvi supermarket po vzoru ameriških supermarketov.²

Takšni premiki znotraj družbe niso bili posledica partijske enotnosti, temveč razprav med *trdo linijo* komunistične partije in novejšo generacijo politikov, ki so bili prisiljeni najti kompromis med prihajajočimi zahodnimi vplivi in ideologijo KPJ (Pavičić 2008, 28). Edvard Kardelj, arhitekt jugoslovanske teorije samoupravljanja, je že leta 1954 zatrdil, da se mora KPJ boriti le proti tistim elementom Zahoda, ki kažejo subverzivna nagnjenja proti socializmu. Izrecno pa je omenil, da med te elemente ne

² O začetkih samopostrežnih trgovin v Jugoslaviji gl. Miljan in Mihaljević (2016).

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sodijo jazz, detektivski romani in stripi (Radelić 2006, 173). V vsakdanjem življenju so reforme KPJ, kot so subvencionirano bivanje, kritje prevoznih stroškov ter regres za dopust, pomenile tudi, da so bile počitnice na morju dostopnejše splošnemu prebivalstvu (Duda 2017, 378).

Obiski morja so bili pogosto prežeti z opazovanjem zahodne kulture in glasbenih festivalov, ki jih obravnavam v prispevku. Med Zahodom in Vzhodom se je morala Jugoslavija premakniti na stran ene kulturne sfere, saj ni imela ne dovolj sredstev ne politične moči za ustvarjanje lastne kulturne politike. Usmerila se je proti Zahodu, posledično pa sta na jugoslovansko kulturno politiko vplivala glasbena festivala Sanremo in ESC, ki ju v državah nekdanje Jugoslavije spremljamo še danes.

Pot v neznano in musica leggera - Jugoslavija in Sanremo

Povojne travme druge svetovne vojne so bremenile evropsko prebivalstvo še dolgo potem, ko se je končala. Vendar se je kljub povojnim travmam pojavila potreba po ustvarjanju novega življenja po vojni. Pri tem je imela ključno vlogo popularna kultura; leta 1946 je premiero doživel Mednarodni filmski festival v Cannesu, leta 1951 je bil ustanovljen berlinski filmski festival, štiri leta pozneje pa je v nemškem Kasslu debitirala Documenta, razstava sodobne umetnosti. Leta 1951 je cvetličar Amilcare Rambaldi v duhu novega povojnega življenja v ligurskem mestu Sanremo ustanovil istoimenski glasbeni festival. Rambaldi je v festivalu videl tudi priložnost povečanja turističnega potenciala Sanrema. Festival je zaradi svojega formata, v katerem so se v ligurski idili predstavljali pevci z italijanskimi *kanconami*, požel veliko priljubljenost. Leta 1955 je festival začela predvajati italijanska radiotelevizija RAI. Do leta 1960 je Sanremo postal tako popularen, da ga je italijanska kinematografija prikazala kot prizorišče goljufij in založniških mahinacij v filmu *Sanremo*, *la grande sfida* (gl. Plastino 2013).

Ker je festival potekal v Sanremu, so lahko jugoslovanski poslušalci (zlasti v obalnem delu Jugoslavije) spremljali radijske prenose festivala. Pri opisu vpliva Sanrema na jugoslovansko glasbeno sceno je Francesca Rolandi navedla pričevanje hrvaškega avtorja Maria Kinela, ki je s skupino reških glasbenikov poslušal festival ter si zapisoval besedila in melodije pesmi (2015, 278).³ Pod vplivom Sanrema sta bila tudi

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³ Kinel (1921–1995) je v zgodovini jugoslovanske glasbe znan kot tekstopisec in skladatelj. Napisal je več kot tri tisoč besedil, med drugim uspešnico Iva Robića »Samo jednom se ljubi« iz leta 1956. Njegova pesem »Sniježi« (1940) je delno vključena v priredbo in slovensko božično uspešnico »Bela snežinka«, ki jo je leta 1988 izdala skupina Veter.

srbski pevec Dušan Jakšić in hrvaška pevka Tereza Kesovija. Slednja je svoje najstniške dni preživljala ob poslušanju italijanskih zvezd iz Sanrema. Glavni vpliv nanjo je imela pevka Maria Ilva Biolcati (Milva), ki je na sanremskem festivalu sodelovala kar petnajstkrat. Kesovija je povedala, da je imela Milva nanjo tolikšen vpliv, da se je v poznejši karieri poskušala celo znebiti vpliva njene glasbe in medijske podobe (Buhin 2016, 147). A Sanrema niso poslušali le (bodoči) skladatelji in aranžerji. Leta 2021 je, denimo, upokojeni učitelj iz srbskih Užic Branislav Mladenović povedal, da je užiška mladina pogosto poslušala Sanremo, ki je zaznamoval »njihovo dolgoletno romanco z Italijo, s kancono in z glasbenimi oddajami, ki so se vrtele na kultnem italijanskem TV kanalu RAI« (Kovačević 2021). Sanremo je kot integralni del kulture mladih v Sarajevu v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja opisal tudi bosansko-ameriški avtor Aleksander Hemon v knjigi *My Parents: An Introduction:*

O čem sta se pogovarjala, ne vem, toda moj oče je bil šarmer, mama pa vesela mladenka in skupaj sta šla na ples. Skupina je zagotovo igrala Paula Anko, Adriana Celentana, Đorđa Marjanovića in uspešnice s festivala v Sanremu. (Hemon 2019, 14)

Priljubljenost festivala v Jugoslaviji se je odražala tudi v jugoslovanskem časopisju. Publikacija *Metronom za vas*, ki je izhajala od leta 1954, je, na primer, objavljala note in besedila najbolj priljubljenih pesmi Sanrema (Milojković 2015), naklonjene pa so mu bile tudi jugoslovanske glasbene založbe, kot je *Jugoton*. Uspešnice s festivala 1955 so bile izdane na plošči LP že leta 1957, priredbe pesmi s festivala pa so objavljali tudi jugoslovanski pevci. Tako je med drugim kariero začel tudi eden izmed pionirjev jugoslovanske popularne glasbe Đorđe Marjanović. Objava sanremskih uspešnic je pripomogla k diverzifikaciji jugoslovanske glasbene scene, ki je pred tem temeljila predvsem na relaciji med bogato folkloro jugoslovanskih republik (sevdalinke na območju Bosne in Hercegovine, narodnozabavna glasba v Sloveniji, klapska glasba na Hrvaškem, *starogradska muzika* na območju Srbije in Makedonije ipd.) in klasično glasbo. Prakso objavljanja sanremskih uspešnic, bodisi v originalu bodisi v priredbah, je Jugoton nadaljeval še v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja: leta 1971 je v Jugotonovi kolekciji *Sanremo 71* izšlo vsaj pet singlov avtorjev oz. skupin, kot so Nicola Di Bari, Domenico Modugno ter Ricchi E Poveri.

Postopoma so se tudi v Jugoslaviji začeli ustanavljati festivali zabavne glasbe po vzoru sanremskega. Tak primer je festival Beneška noč, ustanovljen leta 1953 na Mostu na Soči. Ivo Medved, eden izmed organizatorjev festivala, je bil zaradi tega

zaslišan s strani Socialistične zveze delovnega ljudstva (SZDL), in sicer zaradi »buržoaznih tendenc«, saj se je Beneška noč odvijala v času enega izmed vrhuncev jugoslovansko-italijanskega mejnega spora glede Trsta. Beneška noč je bila na Mostu na Soči ponovno organizirana šele 20 let pozneje (Kozorog 2018, 68).

Kljub načelnemu nasprotovanju politike tovrstnim festivalom je bil po vzoru Sanrema leta 1953 v Zagrebu ustanovljen Zagrebški festival, prvi jugoslovanski festival popularne glasbe. Jugoslovanski glasbeni festivali so pogosto iskali ravnovesje med ideološko primernostjo, folkloro, naraščajočimi tujimi vplivi italijanske, nemške, francoske in angleške glasbe ter drugimi vidiki, ki so pripomogli k nastanku jugoslovanske zabavne glasbe. Zagrebškemu festivalu so sledili še festivali v Opatiji (Opatijski festival, 1958), Beogradu (Beogradsko proleće, 1961), na Bledu (Slovenska popevka, 1962) in v Sarajevu (Vaš šlager sezone, 1967). Jelena Arnautović je v študiji zgodovine jugoslovanske popularne glasbe zapisala, da so na festivalih »zgodnje socialistične ideje, kot sta skromnost in kolektivizem, zasenčile popularne pevke, ki so uvedle glamurozne zahodne življenjske sloge kot nove inspiracijske modele za jugoslovanske prebivalce« (2020, 16). Med najbolj znanimi primeri je pesem »Mala djevojčica«, ki sta jo leta 1958 na Opatijskem festivalu v duetu zapela Zdenka Vučković in Ivo Robić. Otroška pesem je napisana iz perspektive mladega očeta, izčrpanega od nenehnih prošenj svoje hčerke, ki si želi, da ji oče »kupi vse« – vključno z avtomobilčkom, plišastim medvedkom in kolesom.

Hrvaški zgodovinar vsakdanjega življenja v Jugoslaviji Igor Duda (2017, 378) je pesem označil za enega prvih znakov odprtosti Jugoslavije do kapitalističnih konceptov, kot je osebno trošenje. Kapitalistični koncepti so se po afirmaciji glasbenih festivalov v Jugoslaviji razširili tudi na izvajalce popularne glasbe – že v šestdesetih letih so bili Đorđe Marjanović, Ivo Robić in Lola Novaković tarča javnih kritik, ker so za svoje nastope zahtevali visoke honorarje (Rolandi, 2014, 173). Jugoslovanski festivali so kmalu zatem začeli spreminjati sistem, ki so ga prevzeli od Sanrema. Najbolj znana sprememba je bila uvedba glasovanja občinstva, ki ga Sanremo sprva ni imel, saj je bil v tem času sistem glasovanja izključno odvisen od žirije. Anita Buhin je uvedbo ljudskega glasovanja interpretirala kot subtilno, a močno konotacijo, saj se je »Jugoslavija predstavljala kot nekakšen duh demokratizacije, ki lebdi nad italijanskim kapitalističnim sistemom, kjer javnost nima pravice do izbire zmagovalca Sanrema, ki je posledično postal tudi italijanski predstavnik na Evroviziji« (2019b, 88–89).

Kot piše sociolog Nikola Božilović, je bila Italija (in z njo Sanremo) kljub napetim diplomatskim odnosom z Jugoslavijo glede tržaškega vprašanja⁴ še vedno najboljši približek Zahodu, vsaj dokler na jugoslovanski trg ni začel prihajati »pravi Zahod«, t.j. ameriški kulturni dosežki na jugoslovanskem trgu. Sanremo je v Jugoslaviji sprva zaslovel v času napetosti v zvezi s tržaškim vprašanjem; conska razdelitev območja okoli današnjih delov vzhodne Italije, Slovenskega primorja in Istre ter status Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja sta bili šele začasni rešitvi, s katerima nista bili zadovoljni ne jugoslovanska ne italijanska stran. To se je odrazilo tudi na glasbenem festivalu v Sanremu leta 1952, ko je Nilla Pizzi zapela pesem »Vola colomba« (Leti, golobica), kjer je bela golobica metafora za mesto Trst, ki naj bi se vrnil. Pesem je kmalu postala simbol italijanskega prizadevanja za osvoboditev Trsta, ponovno pozornost pa je dobila leta 1954, ko je bil Trst z londonskim memorandumom dodeljen Italiji (Tenca Montini 2019, 246). Italijanski zgodovinar Federico Tenca Montini je leta 2021 v intervjuju za hrvaški časnik *Jutarnji list* zatrdil, da pesem aludira tudi na pregovor »Bolje vrabec v roki kot golob na strehi«, v katerem golob predstavlja Trst (Vurušić).5

Obdobje omenjene »kulturne dominacije« Sanrema nad jugoslovansko kulturno sfero je bilo sicer dokaj kratko. Že okrog leta 1960 se je kot nova senzacija v jugoslovanskem javnem prostoru uveljavil ameriški rokenrol, ki se je v Jugoslaviji konkretiziral s prihodom raznih ambicioznih izvajalcev beat in rock glasbe, kot npr. kvartet 4M in Karlo Metikoš, bolj znan po amerikaniziranem psevdonimu Matt Collins (Vučetić 2019, 114).

Hrvaški glasbeni urednik in publicist Siniša Škarica je zapisal, da so bile plošče jugoslovanskih pevcev, ki so prirejali sanremske uspešnice – npr. debitantska plošča Iva Robića »Pjeva Vam Ivo Robić« iz 1956 –, le »začasen nadomestek za mlade, ki so prenehali poslušati Robića in uspešnice Opatijskega festivala, takoj ko so na trg prišli avtorji, kot so Elvis Presley, Hank Marvin s Shadowsi ter Little Richard« (Škarica 2019). A v nekaterih primerih kontrast Sanrema in rokenrola ni pomenil

⁴ Tržaško vprašanje je bilo po drugi svetovni vojni generator diplomatskih tenzij med Italijo in Jugoslavijo. Po drugi svetovni vojni sta tako Italija kot Jugoslavija imeli Trst za del svojega prostora. Zaradi tega je Trst leta 1947 s pariško pogodbo postal del Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja (STO), ki ga je vodila britansko-ameriška (Cona A) in jugoslovanska (Cona B) vojaška uprava. Tržaško vprašanje je rešeno z ratifikacijo osimskih sporazumov leta 1977, po kateri je Cona A (z manjšimi popravki v korist Jugoslavije) pripadla Trstu, Cona B pa Jugoslaviji.

⁵ Pesem je še danes popularna; nekateri komentatorji na YouTubu njeno izvedbo leta 1952 še vedno vidijo kot simbol odpora proti jugoslovanskim zahtevam do Trsta. Eden izmed njih omenja spomin svojih staršev in starih staršev, ki so v času tržaške krize zaskrbljeno spremljali novice o Italijanih v Julijski krajini, ki so živeli pod »Titovo okupacijo« (Tele Ricordi).

medsebojnega izključevanja, saj se je rokenrol šestdesetih let v določeni meri prebil tudi na Sanremo. Sanmarinski pevec Antonio Ciacci (oz. Little Tony) je z italijanskim pevcem Adrianom Celentanom leta 1961 na Sanremu zapel »24.000 baci«. Šlo je za prvo rokenrol pesem v zgodovini Sanrema in glasbeno prelomnico v zgodovini italijanske glasbe, saj je bila to prva italijanska rokenrol uspešnica. V skladu s tradicijo prirejanja sanremskih uspešnic je Emir Altić z Ljubljanskim jazz ansamblom že istega leta priredil pesem pod imenom »Bezbroj poljubaca«.

Nesporno je, da je imel Sanremo posredno vlogo pri ponovni vzpostavitvi okrnjenih diplomatskih odnosov med Jugoslavijo in Sovjetsko zvezo. Ker je bila zabavna glasba že v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja v polnem razmahu, je Jugoslavija začela pošiljati pevce na turneje po Sovjetski zvezi. Pionirji zabavne glasbe, kot sta Lola Novaković in Miki Jevremović, so se odpravili na turneje po Sovjetski zvezi, Đorđe Marjanović pa je celo pridobil status superzvezde. Ana Petrov (2014, 171–172), ki je pisala o tej značilni epizodi jugoslovanskega *soft powerja*, meni, da jugoslovanska zabavna glasba, ki se je močno naslanjala na vplive Sanrema, na sovjetski glasbeni sceni ni bila videna kot ideološki problem, pač pa jo je ta prijazno sprejela s panslovanskim pristopom.

Pesem »Devojko mala« Vlastimirja Đuze Stojiljkovića iz leta 1958 je postala velika uspešnica v Sovjetski zvezi. Pesem je bila večkrat izdana pri sovjetskih založbah, v izvedbi bodisi Marjanovića bodisi Predraga Gojkovića Cuneta. Sovjetski pevec Emil Gorovec, moskovski vokalni kvartet Akkord in ruski pevec Aleksander Serov so pesem priredili v ruščini z naslovom »Маленькая девочка«. Za Serova je priredba pesmi postala stalnica v nastopih v živo (TvorcheskiyDeyatel). Uspeh *izvirne* jugoslovanske kancone tako ni sledil pričakovanjem italijanskih skladateljev, ki so bili po ugotovitvah A. Buhin (2016, 155) skeptični do morebitnega mednarodnega uspeha jugoslovanskih pesmi, češ da je jugoslovanska zabavna glasba preveč otožna za komercialni uspeh.

Italijanski izvajalci na glasbenem festivalu v Sanremu, kot so Rocco Granata, Rita Pavone in Domenico Modugno, so uživali velik uspeh v Jugoslaviji. Aleksandar Žikić omenja, da so bile tovrstne pesmi splošno uveljavljene kot *šlageri* (zvrst zabavne glasbe, značilna za nemško govorno področje), čeprav uspešnice Sanrema niso imele nobenih povezav z njimi in njihovo tradicijo. Glasbena osnova začetkov Sanrema je bila italijanska tradicija *kancone*, pozneje pa tudi prihod generacije kantavtorjev, kot je Luigi Tenco (gl. Žikić 2020, 61).

Po šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja in prihodu drugih kulturnih izdelkov, kot je ameriški rock and roll, v jugoslovansko kulturno sfero, je bil v Jugoslaviji Sanremo še vedno priljubljen, a nekoliko manj, saj so njegov morebitni vpliv zasenčili naraščajoči vplivi drugih kultur, denimo francoske in ameriške. Hiti Sanrema so se še poslušali, čeprav je bila vloga »kulturne dominacije Sanrema« zmanjšana, saj je konec šestdesetih let in v začetku sedemdesetih let Jugoslavija razvila svojo močno pop sceno, ki ni bila več odvisna od trendov Sanrema. Stanje Sanrema po njegovem zenitu v jugoslovanskem prostoru lahko povzamemo iz top lestvice slovenske revije *Stop* iz leta 1971, kjer je prvo mesto zavzela skladba »My Sweet Lord« bivšega Beatla Georgea Harrisona, sledil je Oto Pestner s pesmijo »30 let«, četrto mesto pa je zasedla zmagovalka Sanrema iz istega leta »Il cuore è uno zingaro« v izvedbi Nade Malanime (Štamcar 2021).

Naproti (ne)uspešni kulturni diplomaciji - Jugoslavija in Pesem Evrovizije

Po Sanremu je bila leta 1956 ustanovljena Pesem Evrovizije (ESC), in sicer v sklopu Evropske radiodifuzne zveze (EBU) na pobudo švicarskega novinarja Marcela Bezençona. ESC je bil navdih uspešni Sanremo, ki ga je postavila na evropski oder. Prva Pesem Evrovizije se je odvila v Luganu leta 1956, prva zmagovalka pa je bila Švica, ki jo je predstavljala Lys Assia s pesmijo »Refrain«. Sprva je bilo tekmovanje razumljeno kot evropeizirana različica Sanrema, tudi v literaturi ga pogosto imenujejo obzgodba Sanrema, predvsem zaradi podobnosti v konceptu in izvedbi festivala (Pyka 2019, 452).

Najpomembnejši avtor raziskav o sodelovanju Jugoslavije na ESC in prve znanstvene monografije o zgodovini tekmovanja je Dean Vuletić. Razen njegovih del je znanstvena obravnava (z izjemo sociološko obdelanih volilnih geometrij glasovanja) ESC skromna in pogosto omejena na posamezne izkušnje držav oz. izvajalcev. Ključna razlika med Sanremom in ESC za jugoslovanske umetnike je bila v tem, da je slednja od leta 1961 naprej ponujala možnost jugoslovanskim umetnikom, da se predstavijo Evropi, torej pot za kulturni izvoz Jugoslavije v Evropo, medtem ko je Sanremo za Jugoslavijo pomenil obratni transfer, tj. izvoz Evrope (Italije) v Jugoslavijo. Lukić-Krstanović (2008, 131–132) je festivalsko kulturo, ki sta jo sooblikovala festivala Sanremo in ESC, označila za »slikovit konvencionalizem«. Za razliko od Sanrema je imela ESC pomembno, panevropsko misijo, ki jo je sprva opravljala z relativnim uspehom zgolj v Zahodni Evropi. Po drugi svetovni vojni je bilo evrovizijsko poslanstvo namreč predvsem spodbujanje

miru in upanja v »novi Evropi«, a se je ESC izkazala za vse prej kot to, saj so na tekmovanju sodelovale večinoma države zahodnega bloka. Pomembna izjema med vzhodnimi državami je bila Jugoslavija, ki je začela sodelovati leta 1961. Pyka (2019, 453) meni, da je bila ESC pri uresničevanju panevropskega poslanstva do neke mere vendarle uspešna, saj so od samega začetka sodelovali nekdanji nasprotniki v drugi svetovni vojni.

Prve evrovizijske pesmi so govorile o – nostalgiji (npr. Corry Brokken – »Net Als Toen« – Nizozemska, 1957), introspektivnosti in samomoru (npr. Fud Leclerc – »Messieurs les noyés de la Seine«, Belgija, 1956) ter radostih življenja (npr. Domenico Modugno – »Nel blu, dipinto di blu«, Italija, 1958). Politična oz. družbena kritika je bila načeloma izpuščena; to je ustvarilo družbenopolitični vakuum, ki ga je bilo v zgodnjih šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja s priključitvijo frankistične Španije in Salazarove Portugalske v ESC nemogoče vzdrževati.6

Priključitev Jugoslavije ESC leta 1961 je bila nekoliko nepričakovana, čeprav se je Jugoslovanska radiotelevizija (JRT) leto pred tem pridružila Evropski radiodifuzni zvezi (EBU), ki je bila tudi organizator ESC. Jugoslavija je v času priključitve EBU začela intenzivno vlagati v razvoj televizijske infrastrukture, da bi, kot meni Radina Vučetić, »ustvarila vtis socialističnega *doke vita*« (2019, 285). JRT je z minimalnim zamikom sledila trendom zahodnoevropskih televizij.

Leta 1961 se Jugoslavija glede na razpoložljive vire ni zavedala vplivnosti ESC. Ljiljana Petrović, ki je s pesmijo »Neke davne zvezde« predstavljala Jugoslavijo tega leta v Cannesu, je leta 1990 v intervjuju za revijo *Eurosong 90* dejala, da jugoslovanska delegacija v Cannes ni prinesla nobenega promocijskega materiala ter sploh ni razmišljala o promociji Jugoslavije kot turistične destinacije. Omenila je tudi, da jo je pesnik Miroslav Antić, eden izmed voditeljev jugoslovanske delegacije, opozoril, naj se obleče skromno, saj predstavlja socialistično državo.

šlo je za avtoritarno državo, ki jo je vodila Salazarjeva politika.

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⁶ Španija je bila v začetku sodelovanja na ESC leta 1961 avtoritarna država, na čelu katere je bil od konca španske državljanske vojne leta 1939 Francisco Franco. V tem času je v Španiji dominirala politika španskega nacionalizma, njena ekonomija pa je bila pretežno zasnovana na poljedelstvu. Leta 1964 se je Španiji priključila tudi Portugalska, ki jo je v okviru projekta Estado Novo od leta 1932 vodil António Salazar. Položaj Portugalske je bil podoben Španiji;

Tri leta pozneje je v Kopenhagnu nastopil Sabahudin Kurt s pesmijo »Život je sklopio krug«, s katero je končal na zadnjem mestu, brez točk. Delegacija je leta 1964 ponovila isto napako – Kurt je zatrdil, da promocija Jugoslavije ni dosegla zahodnoevropskih držav. Isti problem se je nadaljeval tudi v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih – Zlatko Pejaković, ki je s skupino Korni grupa zastopal Jugoslavijo leta 1974 s pesmijo »Moja generacija«, je komentiral, da je Jugoslavija na razglednici⁷ zamudila predstavitev svojega turističnega potenciala; namreč namesto turističnih destinacij je prikazala ravnice in gore (Milenković 1982).

Jugoslavija je z nekaj izjemami na ESC načeloma nizala neuspehe, čeprav so te pesmi občasno postale veliki hiti v Jugoslaviji – eden izmed takšnih primerov je »Gori vatra« Zdravka Čolića iz leta 1973. Čolić je kasneje izjavil, da se pesem v kontekstu Evrovizije ni mogla dobro obnesti zaradi različnih kulturnih, jezikovnih in glasbenih razlik (Vuletic 2010, 126). Uspehov ni bilo kljub občasnim korenitim spremembam imidža; prej omenjeno pesem »Mojo generacijo« je avtor Kornelije Kovač posvetil vsem ljudem, rojenim leta 1942 (takrat je bil rojen tudi sam), ki so preživeli drugo svetovno vojno in odrasli v pogumne in samostojne posameznike. »Moja generacija« je bila dokaj ambiciozen poskus Jugoslavije, čeprav je pesem končala na 12. mestu (od 17 nastopajočih) s šestimi točkami. Kovač je omenil, da bi za ESC jugoslovanska delegacija »verjetno morala poslati la-la-la pesem, in to je to« (Rosić 2019).

Popularizacija ESC in upad popularnosti Sanrema je posredno vplival tudi na generacijo jugoslovanskih pevcev, ki so svoje kariere začenjali na osnovah Sanrema. Upad relevantnosti »sanremske« generacije jugoslovanskih pevcev je postal očiten že v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja, predvsem zaradi enostavne izmenjave tujih kulturnih trendov v Jugoslaviji. Eden izmed primerov je bilo poročanje časopisa *Čik* o poteku opatijskega festivala leta 1973, na katerem je bil izbran tudi predstavnik za ESC, tedaj 22-letni Zdravko Čolić. Časopis je omenil, da je doba starejših pevcev iz sanremske generacije, ki so nastopili na festivalu (Zoran Georgijev, Drago Diklić, Ivo Robić in Zdenka Vučković), končana. Pohvalil je sicer kvaliteto glasbenikov, vendar je omenil, da ESC išče »nove, mlajše ljudi – in to ne moreta biti ne Nedžmije Pagaruša⁸ ne Ivo Robić« (Yugopapir 1973).

⁷ Gre za kratke video inserte na ESC, ki so se prvič pojavili leta 1970. Takrat je tekmovanje imelo zgolj 12 tekmovalcev in namen razglednic je bil zapolnitev programa. Z ekspanzijo ESC-a so razglednice dobile nov namen, saj so z razglednicami ekipe med nastopi dobile dovolj časa za pripravo na naslednji nastop.

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⁸ Nedžmije Pagaruša je bila ena od pionirk kosovske glasbe iz starejše generacije pevcev na jugoslovanski glasbeni sceni.

Zaradi slabih uvrstitev se je Jugoslavija med letoma 1977 in 1979 začasno umaknila s tekmovanja in se vrnila šele leta 1981. Povod za umik je bilo predzadnje, 17. mesto Ambasadorjev leta 1976 s pesmijo »Ne mogu skriti svoju bol«. Jugoslovanski mediji so v tem času odprto krivili tudi slabo kvaliteto ESC. Istega leta je hrvaški glasbeni kritik Darko Glavan podprl umik Jugoslavije s tekmovanja. Pri tem je močno kritiziral zmagovalno pesem (Brotherhood of Men – »Save All Your Kisses for Me«), češ da gre za »banalno in neumno pesem, narejeno v najslabših tradicijah angleške pesmi«. Svoj zapis je sklenil z argumentom, da »čeprav je [pred]zadnje mesto precejšnja sramota, zmaga med tako sramotno paleto skladb tudi ne bi pomenila vzpona na Olimp lahkih not« (Glavan 1976).

A javno mnenje je bilo naklonjeno vrnitvi Jugoslavije na ESC, kar je pokazala leta 1978 izvedena anketa med bralci šestih TV revij v jugoslovanskih republikah. Članek je predstavil tudi nekoliko drugačno podobo ESC od tiste, ki jo je delil Glavan, in sicer da je »spodobna, dostojanstvena pesem hodila z roko v roki s travestijo, klovnovstvom, golimi nogami in bliščem« (Marjanović 1978; Glavan 1976).

Jugoslavija je znova spremenila pristop do ESC in svoje tekmovalne skladbe prilagodila standardom evropskega popa, ki jih je narekovala uporaba glasbene tehnologije, kot so npr. sintetizatorji. To se je odrazilo tudi v uspešnih rezultatih jugoslovanskih udeležencev v osemdesetih letih. Črnogorski pevec Daniel Popović je s pesmijo »Džuli« leta 1983 osvojil 4. mesto, 17-letna Tatjana Matejaš Tajči je s pesmijo »Hajde da ludujemo« leta 1987 osvojila 7. mesto, osemdeseta leta pa so se končala z jugoslovansko zmago s pesmijo skupine Riva "Rock Me" leta 1989 (Vuletić 2018, 222). Vokalistka skupine Emilija Kokić je povedala, da je struktura pesmi dokaj nekonvencionalna, saj je besedilo srbohrvaško, vodilni motiv pa v angleščini (Leon 2014). Zadnja jugoslovanska predstavnica pred razpadom države je bila Bebi Dol leta 1991 s pesmijo »Brazil«. Ritmi pesmi, navdahnjeni s sambo, niso navdušili publike in pesem je ponovno končala predzadnja. Srbski novinar Zoran Predić je leta 1991 v zapisu za RTV revijo drzno izjavil, da »naša Bebi Dol s provincialno pesmijo in podobo ni mogla pričakovati boljših rezultatov. Navsezadnje ne slovimo po svojih spretnih interpretacijah sambe in brazilske glasbe, čeprav se nam to zdi elegantno in razkošno« (Predić 1991).

Sklep

Zapleten položaj zunanje politike Jugoslavije po drugi svetovni vojni je posledično sprožil vprašanja jugoslovanske kulturne usmerjenosti. Po sporu med Titom in Stalinom so se negotovosti v kulturni politiki razrešile z unikatno jugoslovansko usmeritvijo, ki se je sicer rahlo nagibala k Zahodu, čeprav je v kontekstu jugoslovanske kulturne politike delitev na Vzhod in Zahod pretirano poenostavljanje, saj Jugoslavija ni popolnoma pretrgala stikov z državami vzhodnega bloka. Jugoslavija je z novo usmeritvijo vsaj implicitno priznala zgrešenost prejšnjega kulturnega linča zahodnih vplivov zaradi morebitnih (a večinoma izmišljenih) protisocialističnih tendenc.

Pred prihodom rokenrola v jugoslovanski prostor je bil prva postaja na poti proti zahodu Sanremo, ki je zaradi geografske in delno kulturne bližine postal predmet oboževanja, številnim skladateljem in izvajalcem pa tudi navdih. Jugoslovansko sprejemanje *musice leggere* in inovacij, ki so jih na oder prinesli Tony Dallara, Adriano Celentano in drugi, spada med ključne dejavnike pri oblikovanju jugoslovanske popularnoglasbene scene, ki se je udejanjila preko vrste festivalov s svojo *estrado*. Sanremo je tako pomenil enega temeljnih elementov oblikovanja jugoslovanske popularne glasbe.

Najvidnejša posledica vpliva Sanrema so bili glasbeni festivali, ki so nakazali odmik jugoslovanskih politikov od ideološko obarvanih, skromnih festivalov, ki naj bi sledili strogim socialističnim dogmam. Po drugi svetovni vojni so si ljudje želeli zabave; tako je razmišljal tudi ustanovitelj Sanrema Amilcare Rambaldi. Italijanska oz. jugoslovanska »zabava« je tako vključevala festivale z razkošnimi oblekami, bogato opremljenimi glasbenimi dvoranami z *big bandi* in lučmi ter kamerami in mikrofoni televizijskih in radijskih postaj. Jugoslavija se je s ponazarjanjem blišča Sanrema oddaljila od svojih prvotnih načel.

Jugoslovansko zanimanje za Sanremo je začelo usihati v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih, ko so ameriški, francoski in drugi vplivi začeli presegati revolucionaren in nekoliko lasciven vtis, ki ga je prinašal Sanremo. Ko je Sanremo izgubil status edinega sprejemljivega Zahoda, le-ta pa je postal v jugoslovanski javni sferi sprejemljiv, je zapuščina Sanrema začela ugašati, čeprav je naklonjenost sanremski zapuščini v Jugoslaviji ostala prisotna.

Pesem Evrovizije je bila v jugoslovanski javni sferi sprejeta nekoliko drugače, najverjetneje zaradi razlik v značajih obeh festivalov: medtem ko je bil Sanremo zgolj priložnost za poslušanje in imitiranje, je bila ESC priložnost za predstavitev jugoslovanske glasbe Evropi. Jugoslavija se sprva ni zavedala razsežnosti vpliva ESC in je v prvih letih na festival vstopala stihijsko, brez posebnih priprav promocije države. ESC je tako prišla na jugoslovanske ekrane in v jugoslovanske domove na povsem drugačen način in sprva ni imela velikega odmeva. Z izjemo Domenica Modugna in njegove pesmi »Volare«, pesmi niso dosegle priljubljenosti uspešnic Sanrema. ESC je bila v Jugoslaviji kolektivna izkušnja, a z bistveno drugačnim ciljem kot Sanremo – izgrajevati jugoslovansko kulturno podobo. Četudi je bil Sanremo pri svojem vplivu na ustvarjanje zabavnoglasbene scene bistveno močnejši, je bila za Jugoslavijo prav ESC priložnost za predstavitev izvajalcev na mednarodnem odru. Po rezultatih se je do osemdesetih let 20. stoletja ta misija izkazala za dokaj neuspešno, glede kulturne diplomacije pa ravno obratno, saj je jugoslovansko sodelovanje na ESC slednjo usmerilo ne proti zahodu, temveč proti številnim Zahodom, ki so se dogajali v drugi polovici 20. stoletja. Prav preplet vpliva obeh glasbenih festivalov je pozneje pripomogel k oblikovanju edinstvene glasbene scene, ki je postala zanimiva tudi za znanstvene raziskave.

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"WHOOPEE! WE'RE ALL GONNA DIE!": THE INIMITABILITY OF WOODSTOCK

MARINA BAJIĆ University of Maribor, Maribor, Slovenia marina.bajic@um.si

Woodstock Music and Art Festival is one of history's best known and most culturally significant event. At the height of the war between the United States of America and Vietnam, it allowed the people to come together and enjoy three days of love, peace, and music. However, with later iterations of festivals bearing the name Woodstock, the core message of love and peace lost itself among the music and the people. If Woodstock 1969 brough together people who wanted to make art, enjoy music and enjoy each express other's company, while simultaneously dissatisfaction with the Establishment, the 1994 and 1999 versions brough forth people who only wanted to express their dissatisfaction with each other. A festival with the name Woodstock was never put on again.

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1 Introduction

In 1969, Richard Nixon became president, and the United States was in the midst of a decade-long war in Vietnam. Rock musicians joined forces with folk artists in a long tradition of protest. Bands including Creedence Clearwater Revival, Country Joe and the Fish, and The Rolling Stones, along with artists such as Jimi Hendrix, Joni Mitchell, and Joan Baez, centred their music around the war, emphasizing its senselessness and restoring faith that it might end as quickly as possible. In 1969, the people had reached a point where they needed something more to help them through uncertain times and finally have their voices heard. Then, a sunny day in Bethel turned into a day worthy of the history books: the Woodstock Music and Art Fair. However, despite many attempts at reviving the music festival, the most notable being in 1994 and 1999, the fame and cultural impact of Woodstock 1969 was never matched and has not been attempted since 1999. Today, Woodstock has attained mythical status as a historic event that symbolizes the power of the people to oppose through peaceful means war and government violence. For those who were there, it represents nostalgia for a bygone time, and for those who were alive at the time, the slogan "make love, not war" epitomizes its message. We shall see how the Woodstock Festival affected and motivated later generations of musicians and music fans, and how, after over fifty years, it has influenced not only music, but society and culture in general.

2 A Brief Look at the Vietnam War

To help understand all the nuances of and the complex relationships between the United States of America and Vietnam, and within the ideological debates among Americans, I will briefly summarize the Vietnam war in order to highlight the importance of Woodstock.

In 1954, Vietnam was split into two: North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The communist government of the North was also known as the Viet Cong. With the support of the United States and its sales of weapons to South Vietnam, it seemed that its involvement in the war was not too far off. "Thus in 1950 the Truman administration extended to East Asia a containment policy that had originally been applied in Europe. The first American commitment in Vietnam, a commitment to help the French suppress the Vietninh revolution, was part of this broader attempt

to contain communist expansion in Asia" (Herring 1991, 107). However, pinpointing one single cause for war is always difficult.

During John F. Kennedy's administration, serious questions arose about the war and if it was indeed the most productive course of action. "As Kennedy repeatedly explained, he doubted – rightly as it turned out – that American intervention in Southeast Asia would enjoy much support from the nation's most important allies, or from the Congress, or from the American people. Again and again he questioned whether Indochina was an appropriate place for the United States to fight" (Kaiser 2000, 4).

By 1965, the United States were completely involved, and the Vietnamese had dubbed the war the "American War." There were many attempts to get American troops out of Vietnam, like the Manila Conference in 1966, under the supervision of Johnson, who promised "American troops [...] would be out of Vietnam six months after a cease fire" (Gardner 2002, 233), which ultimately did not end up happening. The final accords were signed in 1973:

On January 27, 1973, the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam was signed by representatives of the South Vietnamese communist forces, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the United States. A cease-fire would go into effect the following morning throughout North and South Vietnam, and within 60 days all U.S. forces would be withdrawn, all U.S. bases dismantled, and all prisoners of war (POWs) released. (Spector 2024)

All U.S. forces were out of Vietnam by March 29th, 1973, and the war officially ended in 1976: "[...] on July 2, 1976, the country was officially united as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam with its capital in Hanoi. Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City. The 30-year struggle for control over Vietnam was over" (Spector 2024).

2.1 1969

In 1969 Richard Nixon became president. By that time, protests had already begun against the war; musicians wrote songs that centred around the message of how senseless the war was, performed them at protests, and were often arrested.

One of the most famous protests took place in 1967, when anti-war protesters marched on the Pentagon.

They'd demonstrated before, thousands of antiwar protesters singing and waving banners and burning draft cards on the Mall in Washington. Now the organizers for the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam wanted to go further — much further. On Oct. 21, 1967, they announced, antiwar protesters would march en masse past the Lincoln Memorial, across the Memorial Bridge all the way to the front steps of the Pentagon. And then they would try to levitate it. And storm it. And bring the military-industrial complex to its knees. (Mettler 2017)

The protests continued throughout the years, and in 1970, Nixon decided to visit the memorial: "In a long rambling discourse with students camping out in the Memorial, Nixon tried to suggest that he was as concerned for peace as they were – and to have them see Vietnam as he did, a necessary war to prevent a repletion of Chamberlain's popular, but tragically misguided, policy of appearement" (Gardner 2002, 247).

Even in 1969, after the storming of the Pentagon and before his visit to the memorial, Nixon was concerned with how the U. S. should perceive the war, as the public's opinion was turning against it. That year, Nixon made two speeches: one on May 14th and the other, the notorious "Silent Majority" speech, on November 3rd.

In his first speech, Address to the Nation on Vietnam, it appears that Nixon was completely aware that the public wanted the war to end: "I know that some believe that I should have ended the war immediately after the inauguration by simply ordering our forces home from Vietnam" (Nixon 00:31). Nixon's reasoning for not ending the war was that they needed to finish what they had started: "We no longer have the choice of not intervening. We've crossed that bridge. There are now more than half a million American troops in Vietnam and 35 thousand Americans have lost their lives" (04:00). Nixon did not wish to end the war as that would mean all the lives lost in Vietnam would have been for nothing. Another reason Nixon gave for not stopping the war was the abandonment of South Vietnam to its fate: "Abandoning the South Vietnamese people, however, would jeopardize more than lives in South Vietnam. It would threaten our long-term hopes for peace in the world" (05:11). Nixon's words show that he was reluctant to end the war despite growing unrest.

Six months later, on November 3rd, Nixon gave a second speech, *Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam*, more commonly known as his "Silent Majority" speech. By that time, Woodstock had already shown America just how divided it was in its

opinion of whether they should keep fighting in the war or not. The aim of the speech, Nixon explained, was to better acquaint the people with the policies: "I believe that one of the reasons for the deep division about Vietnam is that many Americans have lost confidence in what their government has told them about our policy. The American people cannot and should not be asked to support a policy which involves the overall re-writing issues of war and peace, unless they know the truth about that policy" (00:19).

Nixon repeated much of what he had said on May 14th, but what made this speech memorable was the appeal to what he believed to be the silent majority that had not loudly expressed its opinion on the war yet, which, to him, meant that they were supporting it: "So tonight, to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans, I ask for your support. I pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to end the war in a way that we could win the peace" (29:30). However, this was not the case. In 1969, "the war grew unpopular and opposition to the war gained respectability as prominent politicians and opinion-shaping elites began to speak out" (Bindas, Houston 1989, 13). Based on Nixon's speech, we can conclude that he was counting on the silent majority supporting the war, but more and more people were speaking against it.

3 Music and Vietnam

Through all forms of protest, from camping at the Lincoln Memorial to storming the Pentagon, what crystallised most with people was music—specifically, rock music.

We know that, during the invasion, Vietnamese and domestic resistance to it could be figured only in marginal cultural forms such as poetry, street theater, or black music, while it was unassimilable by industrial culture except in television news coverage, where graphic but distanced violence coexisted with meaningless pseudo-analysis. With the singular exception of *The Green Berets* (John Wayne, 1968), Hollywood was able to approach Vietnam only in more or less vague allegorical displacements that often took the form of conspicuous aberrations of other genres. (James 1990, 79)

James explains that bringing the public closer to what was going on required interpretation, to appeal to the masses: "They rewrote genocide as rock and roll" (James 1990, 80).

Rock and roll was the perfect genre to express rebellion against the war through art. "Since its birth rock music has been rebellious. The central themes of the new music included sex, freedom from parental authority and youth. Dominated by black-influenced rhythm and blues, rock music conflicted with society norms" (Bindas, Houston 1989, 1). Thus, rock and roll appealed to people protesting the Vietnam War. However, Bindas and Houston argue this was a marketing ploy: "Only when the American public altered its opinion toward the war did the record industry and prominent musicians redirect their music by marketing songs with antiwar themes" (1989, 1). James, on the other hand, sees rock and roll as the only solution: "With the San Francisco Renaissance, rock itself took up the tradition of antiwar folk songs, to begin an engagement with the invasion that, while always fitful, nevertheless continued through punk to the present, even to the use of battle footage in rock videos" (1990, 80).

Bindas and Houston argue that the rock music that developed was not about Vietnam itself but related to the larger picture of the anti-establishment stance: "To many, the Vietnam War represented everything corrupt, mad and entrenched about the Establishment. [...] To both branches of this New Left, the Vietnam War was the Establishment. Logically, rock music should have exploited what appeared to be a huge antiwar, anti-Establishment market" (1989, 4). It was through this anti-Establishment stance that rock and roll became the medium that connected people's dissatisfaction with the war to music and art.

However, the music did not gain much popularity when it aired during the war. "The more provocative the song, it seemed, the fewer the sales" (Bindas, Houston 1989, 9). Even the popular "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die Rag" by Country Joe and the Fish was not that popular at the time. "The song, while a favorite today among the Vietnam generation, received little air play and sold few copies before the group's appearance at *Woodstock*" (Bindas, Houston 1989, 9). Things took a turn in 1967, however, as the general public began to grow weary of the war: "After 1967, the music industry changed as the musical traditions of folk, soul, blues and rock blended and merged, and technology in amplification improved. Listeners and bands formed a closer bond by identifying themselves as outsiders and members of a counterculture" (Bindas, Houston 1989, 10)

By 1968, bands were releasing albums that connected more with their audiences. Even though, according to Bindas and Houston, anti-war rock songs still did not criticize American involvement in Vietnam, they managed to evoke a "sense of helplessness and viewed the war as an absurd creation of the Establishment's military madness" (1989, 11). This allowed the people listening to these songs to find a sense of connection with the lyrics; even if they could not fully understand the intricacies of the war and the accompanying politics, they could express their feelings about it through music.

3.1 Unfortunate Son, Born in the U. S. of A

Nowadays, when one thinks of the quintessential rock anthems that defined the Vietnam War, "Fortunate Son" by Creedence Clearwater Revival stands. Even though the band performed at Woodstock, this song was not featured in their set list.

"Fortunate Son" aimed to highlight class differences as they affected the military draft. This can be seen in the lyrics:

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It ain't me, it ain't me
I ain't no senator's son, son
It ain't me, it ain't me
I ain't no fortunate one, no. (Fogerty 1969)
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Almost two decades later, Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the USA" examined anti-Vietnam War sentiment in retrospect; this set of lyrics has since been recognized as a patriotic song. Springsteen highlights the disregard for the returned soldier,

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Come back home to the refinery
Hiring man says, 'Son, if it was up to me'
I go down to see the V. A. man
He said, 'Son, don't you understand?' (Springsteen 1984)
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"Born in the USA also highlighted class differences, as Creedence Clearwater Revival did with "Fortunate Son":

Got in a little hometown jam So they put a rifle in my hand Sent me off to a foreign land To go and kill the yellow man (Springsteen 1984)

This critique of the war makes the chorus of "Born in the USA" sound bitter, as opposed to patriotic, as the song is usually perceived by people today. Today, the returned soldier is a "cool rockin' daddy in the U.S.A," while in reality, he was a regular man forced to fight in a war that he, in many cases, did not support.

4 Three Days of Peace and Music

From August 15th to August 18th, the general American population was able to connect their sense of dissatisfaction with the war to the anti-Establishment music, which allowed them to fully express and understand their feelings, and it all combined to create the Woodstock Music and Art Fair. "It was not meant or planned in any way to be one of the most significant cultural events of the decade, attract half a million people, become a symbol of the decade and bestow the town of Woodstock, New York, with lifelong fame" (Hewitt 2011, 121). Yet, the events of the war and the need to be heard prevailed, and to this day, no other music festival has had such an impact as Woodstock 1969.

Even if it was not planned, even if the intention of the festival was to fund the building of a studio in Woodstock, the increasing dissatisfaction with the Vietnam War and the growth of the hippie movement created one of the most historically significant music festivals. It all started two days before: "On Wednesday 13, two days before the festival was due to start, word leaked out, and the hippie community moved in. As the organizers rushed around trying to get everything in place, 50,000 people arrived and placed themselves right in front of the main stage" (Hewitt 2011, 122).

The hippie movement had brought their "make love, not war" slogan all the way to Woodstock, where for three days, they were able to vent their frustrations about the war the best way they knew how – through music: "The stillness of disorientation," as Hodenfield called it in *Rolling Stone*.

4.1 The Sound of Woodstock

In a 2009 interview for *Rolling Stone*, republished in 2019, Joan Baez recalled her time at Woodstock:

And not just Woodstock, but the whole time period when it was music and people feeling community with each other because they had either been in the civil rights movement or the movement against Vietnam. It was like a perfect storm and I realized that Woodstock was like the eye of the hurricane because it was different. It was this weekend of love and intimacy and attempts at beauty and at caring and at being political. (Greene 2019)

Joan Baez was among the many notable names who performed at Woodstock. Friday's lineup included acts such as Richie Haven and Arlo Guthrie; Country Joe McDonald opened the festival on Saturday, and Santana, Creedence Clearwater Revival, The Grateful Dead and many others followed. The festival ended on Sunday with acts such as The Who, Joe Cocker, and Crosby Stills and Nash, with Jimi Hendrix giving the last performance of the festival.

As Baez says, many people came to the festival to celebrate love, intimacy and music. Woodstock gave people the opportunity to come together with their favourite artists and express themselves through art and music. Baez herself is an artist who performed at Woodstock and used her performance to express her dissatisfaction with the war. "She was six months pregnant and missing her husband David Harris, who was in a Texas prison for refusing to fight in the Vietnam War" (Greene 2019). Her husband, as Baez told her audience before playing "Joe Hill," had already started a hunger strike: "And I was happy to find out that after David had been in jail for two and a half weeks, he already had a very, very good hunger strike going with 42 federal prisoners, none of who were draft people" (0:06). With her song, "We Shall Overcome," she delivered a hopeful message for the audience.

Country Joe and the Fish's "Fish Cheer," is another example. As David James points out, "the lyrics position the listener as a GI¹ about to leave for Vietnam, and though the song was popular with GIs in Vietnam, it is directed primarily to the domestic refusal, to those who are not going to Vietnam" (1989, 132-133). The Woodstock performance concluded with Joe MacDonald saying, "Listen people I don't know how you expect to stop the war if you can't sing any better than that. There's about

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^{1 &}quot;a member or former member of the U.S. armed forces, especially a man enlisted in the army" (Merriam Webster)

300,000 thousand of you fuckers out there. I want you to start singin" (2:00) at which point the crowd bellowed the poignant chorus. The "Fish Cheer" is a good example of the way the audience was able to express their dissatisfaction with the war through music and to do it in a way that not only connected them not only with the artist (in this case, Country Joe and the Fish), but with other festival participants as well.

Another notable performance that should be mentioned is the last one of the festival, which saw Jimi Hendrix take to the stage. "As the day wore on, people began to leave. By the time the festival's final performer, Jimi Hendrix, took to the stage there were 25,000 people left to hear the dynamic 16-song set" (Hewitt 2011, 122). Among those 16 songs was "Izabella," a song about a man who is away fighting in the war and longing to come home to his wife and child.

That fated day, Hendrix tore through many of his scorching favorites, like 'Hear My Train a Comin',' 'Foxy Lady' and 'Fire,' before breaking into an improvised piece. Hendrix expertly played Izabella — his 1968 Olympic White Stratocaster — free-form style, for a few minutes and then into a distorted, wrenching interpretation of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' (Duffy)

Hendrix's "The Star-Spangled Banner" stands out in particular because of its distortion. When Hendrix starts playing, one can hear the opening notes of the national anthem of the United States. However, as the song progresses, the notes of the anthem are harder to discern, and the sound Hendrix produces with his guitar more closely resembles bombs, gunshots, engines and crashes. Hendrix is playing the national anthem almost ironically, by distorting it as war itself is distorted.

By the time Hendrix was done playing, only the last lines, "the land of the free and the home of the brave", played, not sung, of course, were still discernible. There are several ways one could interpret Hendrix's choice to play these last lines clearly. It could be that he wished not only the United States but also Vietnam, to once again be the land of the free. He could have been praising the soldiers by saying that they were brave for fighting in the war. His choice could also be interpreted as ironic, saying that this was no longer either the land of the free (since the United States was engaged in a war), or the home of the brave (Nixon was too cowardly to end the war).

These three performances are, of course, only a few of many. Many artists like Joan Baez, Country Joe and the Fish, and Jimi Hendrix expressed their dissatisfaction with the war through music and Woodstock, while others simply came to play and have a good time. However, these performances are the ones that stand out because of how direct they are in their anti-war message. They also point to another issue: why the success of Woodstock 1969 has never been replicated.

5 A Product of Its Time

The success of Woodstock 1969 was a culmination of its music, dissatisfaction with the war, the rise of the hippie movement, and luck. It happened at the right place, at the right time, with the right people. However, two repetitions of the festival were far less successful.

Several iterations of the original festival bear the name "Woodstock," the two most notable being Woodstock 1994 and Woodstock 1999.

The second Woodstock, billed as "Three More Days of Peace and Music," was a 25th anniversary show from Aug. 12-14, 1994. Yes, it had elements in common with the 1969 festival: torrential rain, mud, lots of naked people, drugs, alcohol and many historic performances, including some by artists who were at Woodstock '69, such as Joe Cocker and Santana. (Woodstock Music Shop)

The setlist also included prolific bands such as Green Day, Metallica, Nine Inch Nails, and Red Hot Chili Peppers. However, compared to Woodstock 1969, it only served to commemorate the 25-year anniversary and never garnered as much fame as the original. "In 1969, tickets were \$18. In 1994, they were \$135. Still, in this case, the song remained the same. Gatecrashers in 1994 meant very few tickets were taken after the first day" (Woodstock Music Shop).

The artists who came to perform at Woodstock 1969 did so because they also saw it as a chance to speak about the Vietnam War through music, and simply to have fun. However, with Woodstock 1994, the festival was staged as a commemoration of the anniversary. The people who came did not do so because they wanted to be part of a community that was opposed to war and sought to express themselves through art and music. They came, simply put, to listen to their favourite artists and have fun. Even though the United States was involved in several military operations

at the time, those were no longer the driving force to come to Woodstock. Even though the festival was just as chaotic and disorganized as Woodstock 1969, without the impetus to protest a war through love and music, it lacked the kernel of earnest political concern that had marked the original.

Concert organization deteriorated at Woodstock 1999:

Woodstock '99 was a shameful disaster. Promoters brought 200,000 young rock fans to a former Air Force base in Rome, New York, but failed to provide them with nearly enough toilets or free water. It was held on a scorching hot weekend in late July with temperatures above 100 degrees, and there was little shade. Bottled water was \$4. (Greene 2021)

Metallica and Red Hot Chili Peppers made reappearances, along with Korn, The Offspring, Sheryl Crow and many others performing for the first time. None of the original artists from 1969 made a reappearance. This festival was the least successful of the three main Woodstock events.

Musically and politically, Woodstock [1999] was the triumph of the bullies, with the fighters winning out over the lovers. Rap metal gloried in its new clout as the sound of mainstream American youth. But the bullies weren't the only fans who had fun: 200,000 kids decided they had to be there at the love-in. They did it all for the nookie. They raged against the latrines. They looked for somebody to love in the pit. And when they got there, they found that they had to live with each other, which was more than many of them could handle. They weren't the first Woodstock generation to fuck up this lesson. (Sheffield 1999)

There were no more political messages. There were none of the artists who had performed at Woodstock 1969, and the people had nothing to say at all. As Sheffield described it, people came to have fun but took the fun too far. Some felt they had to be there for the sake of being at a Woodstock festival. If Woodstock 1969 had been the home of the hippies, the place where people went to share love, Woodstock 1999 was the opposite. It was a place for the mainstream, an excuse to rage in the mud. Woodstock 1999 would be the last attempt (so far) at recapturing the magic of the original Woodstock.

When Joan Baez looked back on Woodstock 1969 in her interview with *Rolling Stone*, she said: "I realized that Woodstock [1969] was like the eye of the hurricane because it was different. It was this weekend of love and intimacy and attempts at beauty and at caring and at being political" (Greene 2019). When asked about the many times

people have attempted to recapture the magic of Woodstock, she gave this thoughtful answer:

I guess you can't. You just can't. I think it's silly for people to try, but it's hard for people to give up nostalgia and give up what once was. They don't want to admit it can't be again. But I thought the idea of trying to have another Woodstock was absolute nonsense. It's just nonsense. Live Aid was an interesting little bump in history, just kind of came along. I have this thing about risk. That's why I think that Woodstock wasn't the revolution. It was just this careful sideshow that went on because in real social change, if there isn't a risk taken somewhere by somebody, it doesn't have a real meaningful impact. (Greene, *Joan Baez*)

As Baez points out, Woodstock was never meant to be a revolution: rock n' roll, at the time of Woodstock 1969, had already become highly anti-Establishment, and the Vietnam War, in a way, represented the Establishment. There was the momentum of anti-war sentiment and music coming together, completely by accident, to create three days of pure peace and music.

In his coverage of Woodstock 1999 for Rolling Stone, Robert Sheffield succinctly outlined the problem that arose with its 1994 and 1999 instalments: "But whatever else Woodstock is – commercialized, dangerous, full of good music and stupid fun and casual cruelty – it's also a recurrent part of American history, dredging up what's ugliest about our culture as well as what's exciting." Woodstock 1999 differed from its predecessors in that it almost forgot the core message of Woodstock and only brought out what was "ugliest about our culture," as Sheffield put it.

These observations point to the fact that the success of Woodstock 1969 should be attributed to the right place, the right time, and most importantly, to the right people. Woodstock 1994 might have had the right idea, but it did not have the right people. Woodstock 1999 had none of that, with the attendees being polar opposites to those who had attended Woodstock 1969.

5.1 "Coachella – Woodstock in my Mind"

There are still many music festivals that take place around the globe and span a range of music genres. The most notable festival today, musically and culturally, is Coachella. Not only does it bring together the world's biggest artists, it also brings to the forefront trends in pop culture and fashion. For singer and songwriter Lana

Del Rey, it held another meaning. In 2017, she released a song titled "Coachella – Woodstock in My Mind":

I was at Coachella leanin' on your shoulder Watchin' your husband swing in time
I guess I was in it 'cause, baby, for a minute
It was Woodstock in my mind
In the next mornin', they put out the warnin'
Tensions were risin' over country lines
I turned off the music, tried to sit and use it
All of the love that I saw that night (Del Rey 2017)

In a deleted Instagram post, Del Rey stated her reasons for writing the song: "I'm not gonna lie – I had complex feelings about spending the weekend dancing whilst watching tensions w North Korea mount. I just wanted to share this in hopes that one individual's hope and prayer for peace might contribute to the possibility of it in the long run" (Genius).

Even though Woodstock never managed to make the same impact after its original production in 1969, its cultural significance still reaches into the present. However, as Baez pointed out, it was simply a product of a time when people used music, peace and art to fight against the establishment and show their dissatisfaction with the Vietnam War. Its later repetitions in 1994 and 1999 focused more on "nostalgia", as Baez calls it, and "commercialization", as Sheffield designates it. They, in this sense, forgot the essence of the original Woodstock, which was anti-establishment, but pro peace, music and art and marked the culmination of a difficult time in history. Without these essential conditions, the genuine Woodstock experience can never be recaptured.

6 Conclusion

What made the original Woodstock festival important in history were the circumstances of its conception. People were growing dissatisfied with the war, and when someone tried to stage a festival to raise money for a new studio, they saw it as an opportunity to show their dissatisfaction, or merely to escape. Since rock music was growing more and more critical of the war as well, the event culminated in three days of music history. The Woodstock events of 1994 and 1999 lacked the qualities and the context that made Woodstock 1969 possible. Now, we can look back at

1969 and everything political and musical that surrounded that year. Even though anti-war messages are still prominent in music today, it is unlikely that any festival will be able to match the cultural significance Woodstock 1969 achieved. The effect of Woodstock, however, is comparable to that of Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent resistance in defeating British colonialism; its overall success in helping to bring about the end of the Vietnam War is a valuable lesson for today, as we face growing threats of Nationalism and violence around the world.

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STAY SANE INSIDE INSANITY: THE OCCULT CLASSICAL AND THE PROPAGATION OF HEDONISTIC INSANITY IN THE ROCKY HORROR PICTURE SHOW

NOEMI ČOP

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Maribor, Slovenia noemi.cop@student.um.si

The LGBTQ+ community's struggle for equality is a tale as old as time. For example, in the early 1970s they were oppressed, beaten, and marginalised. They were even perceived as aliens. Richard O'Brien gave the "aliens" a voice and celebrated their "alienness" in the script for the musical *The Rocky Horror Show*, which became popular enough to be made into a movie, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975). As the film became a cult classic, it opened a door for a wider audience to become acquainted with the LGBTQ+ community. Though they are shown as a group of immoral hedonistic aliens from the planet Transsexual, in the galaxy Transylvania, their effect on the everyday human is undeniable. In this chapter, I will discuss how the main antagonist's similarity to the god Dionysus, along with the film's allusions to Greek mythology, help propagate "Trans-bacchanals" and normalise otherness.

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The Rocky Horror Picture Show (1975), directed by Jim Sharman and based on Richard O'Brien's musical, has become a cult classic. The musical brings up serious issues, such as the status of the queer in the 1970s, and makes them fun and relatable. When The Rocky Horror Picture Show was written and filmed, LGBTQ+ community members were viewed as aliens, but O'Brien and Sharman managed to make the "alien" LGBTQ+ community seem like a party you would not want to miss. Since its premiere in 1975, researchers have focused on various aspects of the musical, but one central aspect of the story is the theme of the ancient Greek Dionysus myth, the influence of which on the film and its main antagonist, Dr Frank 'N' Furter, cannot be doubted since it plays a role in the propagation of hedonistic insanity through song lyrics in The Rocky Horror Picture Show (Boe, 1983). I will examine this connection with reference to the symbolism of music, dance, and visual art in the film to show how the evocation of ancient myth and its symbolism emphasize its theme of social critique, and how stylish and witty satire turned the film into a cult classic. This chapter will analyse visual imagery, lyrics and sound in The Rocky Horror Picture Show with reference to mythological criticism, cultural studies and art history.

The Rocky Horror Picture Show follows the adventures of Brad and Janet, two ordinary young people from Denton, Ohio, who, after getting engaged, wish to see their science teacher, Dr Everett Scott. A flat tire brings them to Dr Frank 'N' Furter's castle where they meet an array of interesting people. Frank invites them to his laboratory where they witness his creation of the titular character, Rocky. Frank falls in love with his creation, and during the song "I Can Make You a Man," he is interrupted by an ex-lover named Eddie, whom he murders in cold blood. After being forced to stay the night, Brad and Janet soon realize that Dr Furter has a talent for getting what he wants. After they are both tricked into intercourse with Frank, their science teacher, Dr Scott, who also happens to be Eddie's uncle, arrives at the castle, revealing that Dr Furter and his two servants, Riff Raff and Magenta, are all aliens. In a jealous rage, Dr Furter turns Brad, Janet, Dr Scott, Columbia, a human groupie, and Rocky into statues, which he dresses up in drag and has them all perform a floor show for an empty theatre, at the end of which Riff Raff and Magenta kill him, Rocky and Columbia. The castle turns into a spaceship and is flown back to their home planet, while Brad, Janet, and Dr Scott are left lying on the floor, questioning their existence.

While it might be difficult to find any sign of Greek mythology in a brief synopsis of the musical, a closer examination shows that Dr Frank 'N' Furter resembles a modern-day Dionysus in character, actions, and his influence on others. A comparative analysis of the characteristics of the Greek god Dionysus in mythology shows how they correspond with the text and song lyrics in the musical. An analysis of visual imagery and symbolism in the sets and costume design, a comparison of rituals in the film to Dionysian rituals, and analysis of imagery and symbolism in the song lyrics, also evoke comparison to the myth. Despite the killing of Dr Frank 'N' Furter, which invites comparison to the myth of Dionysus as the dying and rising god, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* propagates hedonistic insanity until the very end of the movie.

First, we must understand who Dionysus was and how his cult worked. According to *History Cooperative*, Dionysus, one of the twelve Olympian gods, was associated with wine, fertility, and joyous revelry. He was the offspring of Zeus and a mortal, princess Semele. Often depicted as youthful and crowned with grapevines, he carries a thyrsus, a staff wrapped in ivy. Worship of Dionysus was pivotal in ancient Greek society, marked by festivals like the Dionysia, featuring drama and celebration, which provided emotional release. Dionysus' mythos has inspired art, literature, and theatre across the ages, cementing his legacy as a significant cultural icon (Gregory, 2022).¹

Dionysus' mythology gives us a hint of the hedonistic nature that followed his cults. However, before we can begin comparing him to Dr Frank 'N' Furter, there are some elements of the Dionysian cult we must first understand. Though civic cults of Dionysus existed, the relevant elements in *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* correspond with private forms of Dionysian worship, which according to Robert Leary (2010, 3), spread from South Italy to Antolia, and were practiced for the better part of a millennium. In *Women on the Mountain: Exploring the Dionysiac Mysteries*, Leary describes the initiation rites, the madness connected to the mostly female followers of Dionysus, and the role dance had in these mystery rituals. There are two important factors that appear in the initiation rites of the Dionysian cult: Leary notes that to be classified as a mystery religion, the Dionysiac mysteries would have involved a

¹ Other examples of continuous relevance of the Dionysus myth in contemporary pop culture can be found in television programmes to this day. A good representation of this is the new Netflix show *Kaus*, which premiered on 29 August 2024.

transitional state where participants drew nearer to the god in rituals like *telete* and *orgia*; the former could refer to burial or marriage ceremonies (Leary 2010, 8).

A parallel between The Rocky Horror Picture Show and the cult of Dionysus can be found at the beginning of the musical, when Brad and Janet attend a wedding; in ancient rituals, a ceremony during which the followers of Dionysus would get closer to the god. There is a further resemblance between ceremonies in Dionysiac mysteries and ceremonies in the musical, two obvious examples that can be compared to the term orgia: the first in the song "Time Warp," which includes lyrics such as "Time is fleeting/ Madness takes its toll," clearly a reference to a state between ecstasy and insanity, which are associated with the states Dionysus's followers would experience during their rituals. The same parallel can be drawn with the following lyrics, "I've got to keep control/ ... / Drinking those moments when/ The blackness would hit me/ And the void would be calling," "But it's the pelvic thrust/ That really drives you insane," "It's so dreamy/ Oh, fantasy free me/.../ In another dimension/ With voyeuristic intention/ Well-secluded/ I see all," and "You're spaced out on sensation/ Like you're under sedation," which all describe a form of mental instability caused by inebriation, drugs, or insanity. The main parallel here is between the influence of Dionysus over his followers and how the characters in the movie describe the consequences of being involved with Dr Frank 'N' Furter, which is essentially mirrored in the lyrics of "Time Warp." Although the song "Time Warp" does not directly name the perpetrator of these effects, the lyrics, "When a snake of a guy gave me an evil wink/ He shook-a me up, he took me by surprise/ He had a pickup truck and the devil's eyes/ He stared at me and I felt a change/ Time meant nothing/ never would again" (O'Brien 1975), which are sung by the human follower, Columbia, point us in the direction of a "devilish" male, who could be either Dr Frank himself or a devoted male follower. The lyrics all refer to an otherworldly experience, called the "Time Warp," which resembles a Dionysiac ritual. This point gains further ground when we take into consideration the dance that accompanies the song in the musical. Every member of the "Time Warp ritual" has their own part to play in a group choreography that ends with everyone falling to the ground in ecstasy. Similar imagery of a dance ending in a fall to the ground can be found in a passage Leary cites in his research: "He is sweet in the mountains, whenever after the running dance he falls on the ground," referencing Dionysus himself (2010, 14). The other song in The Rocky Horror Picture Show that resembles

orgia is "Rose Tint My World," with lyrics like "My libido hasn't been controlled," and "Now the only thing I've come to trust/ Is an orgasmic rush of lust," both sung by Rocky, Frank's creation. His entire purpose in life was to serve as an object of desire for Frank's pleasure. Although Rocky potentially realizes that the hedonism he has known since he was given the "breath of life" by Frank is morally questionable, which can be interpreted from Rocky's use of the negative "hasn't been controlled," he cannot find value in anything other than extreme sexual revelry. We can find approval of Rocky's world view in the lyrics sung by Dr Furter's other followers: "His lust is so sincere," "Give yourself over to absolute pleasure/ Swim the warm waters of sins of the flesh/ Erotic nightmares beyond any measure/ And sensual daydreams to treasure forever," and "We're a wild and untamed thing" (O'Brien 1975). The song sends a clear message: you should forgo your inhibitions and give in to a life of pleasure and ecstasy, enabling us to draw a parallel to the revelry, sensuality and hedonism of Dionysiac rituals, which operated under the same rules. In the musical, "Rose Tint My World" is accompanied by a sensual choreography with actions including kissing, heavy petting, and sexual worship of Dr Furter, thus further resembling something we would find in the Dionysiac mysteries and worship.

The next parallel we can draw between *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* and the myth of Dionysus is madness. Leary cites Greek and Roman philosophers and historians, including Plutarch, who in his *Mulierum Virtutes* wrote about the female followers of Dionysus. Plutarch wrote that the Thyads, female followers of Dionysus, arrived in Amphissa in a Bacchic frenzy, exhausted and without sober judgment. They collapsed in the marketplace and fell asleep (1919, 13). The Thyads were driven insane, though it is not quite clear what prompted their madness. Plato, in his *Laws*, gives us an insight into a part of the rituals that sends the participant into such a state of mind:

All the dancing that is of a Bacchic kind and cultivated by those who indulge in drunken imitations of Pans, Sileni and Satyrs (as they call them), when performing certain rites of expiation and initiation (Laws 815c).

According to Leary (2010, 28), Plato draws a connection between dance and initiation into the cult of Dionysus. The madness that stems from the act of dancing and Dionysus himself is more evident in these lines from *Laws*:

The god Dionysus was robbed of his soul's judgment by his stepmother Hera, and that in vengeance therefore he brought in Bacchic rites and all the frenzied choristry, and with the same aim bestowed also the gift of wine (Laws 672b).

The parallel of dancing as initiation into the cult of Dionysus and the cult of Dr Furter is found in the "Time Warp" scene. Not only do the lyrics mention madness ("Madness takes its toll") but there is also the choreography of the ritualistic "Time Warp." When the song and dance are introduced moments before Brad and Janet first meet Dr Frank Furter, they gain the function of an initiation rite to the cult of Dr Furter. The rite of expiation, or making amends, is paralleled in the song "I'm Going Home," in which Frank tries to make amends with Riff Raff and Magenta who are moments away from shooting him with an anti-matter gun. The parallel in the song "I'm Going Home" and the rite of expiation is a matter of context, and not specific lyrics in the song.

Similarities between *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* and elements from ancient Greece reach further than just Dionysian mythology. There is a parallel between the song "Dammit Janet," where a chorus of three church members replies to either Brad or Janet's verses with the lyrics "Janet" or "Oh Brad," respectively, and ancient Greek tragedies where a chorus would sing retorts to what was happening on stage. Another visual parallel to the ancient Greek myths is a bolt of lightning behind Brad and Janet before they are let into the castle owned by Dr Frank 'N' Furter. The lightning symbolizes the Greek god Zeus, father of Dionysus.

The most prominent parallel to Dionysian rituals is the "Time Warp" scene. The "Time Warp," according to the story, is a traditional dance which Frank and his servants, Riff Raff and Magenta, have brought with them from their home planet Transsexual. One of the first lines of the song is "Madness takes its toll," a reference to the insanity that overcomes Thyads during their ritualistic dances. The choreography that accompanies the song can be seen as a ritual, with specific dance moves, such as "a jump to the left," "a step to the right," "put your hands on your hips," "bring your knees in tight," and doing "the pelvic thrust," that drives the

participant insane, which Papaioannou and Lykesas (2012, 71) suggest is a consequence of participation in Dionysian rites.²

Further support for this point occurs in the song "Time Warp" with lines like "It's so dreamy. Fantasy free me/.../You're spaced out on sensation/like you're under sedation" (O'Brien 1975). They reference a different state of mind which can be accessed by participating in the "Time Warp" ritual. Throughout the song there are lines which underline this point, including: "/.../ he stared at me/ and I felt a change/ time meant nothing/ never would again" (O'Brien 1975). In the last example there is even a reference to a "he," the perpetrator of these changes, perhaps even the reason for wishing to participate in such a ritual. Another compelling symbol in the choreography of "Time Warp" is at the end of the song, when every participant falls to the floor, which is like a passage in *Plutarch's Lives* (1919, 13) about the Thyads flinging themselves on the floor and falling asleep after returning from the mountain. What Plutarch is trying to show is bacchic madness, displayed by the women who are exhausted from their frenzied revelry and fall asleep on the floor in public (Leary 2010, 20).

The first appearance of Dr Frank 'N' Furter, the modern Dionysus is his descent in an elevator when he breaks into song. While he sings "Sweet Transvestite," several interesting elements appear. Frank does not view his identity as male or female as important; rather, he puts the most emphasis on his sexual abilities, and he even sings "I'm not much of a man/ by the light of day/ but by night/ I'm one hell of a lover" (O'Brien, 1975). These lyrics provide us with important information about Frank; he views himself as an object of sexual desire, which he emphasizes as his most important characteristic. According to Goodsell (2020), Thyads or Maenads perceived Dionysus as an object of lust.

Next, Furter mentions "playing them a sound"; as Hosie (2023) states, music was another central element of the Dionysian cult. Then, when he says: "how 'bout that?" he looks into the camera, breaking the fourth wall, as if he knows he is being watched by the audience, which suggests an almost divine awareness of his

² In this scene, the camera jumps between the participants in the dance and the narrator, played by Charles Gray, who explains while he demonstrates the steps, an ironic parody of scholarly analysis by Sharman and O'Brien.

surroundings. On the topic of being almost divine, when Dr Frank 'N' Furter exits the scene, we see him ascending toward his laboratory, which is symbolic of gods being above humans.

When asked "Is he, Frank, I mean, is he your husband?" by Janet, Columbia laughs and Riff Raff says: "The master is not yet married, nor do I think he ever will be, we are simply his servants." Riff Raff, Magenta and Columbia can be seen as Frank's three "priestesses," just as Dionysus is often accompanied by three maenads. According to Leary (2010, 43), who cites Albert Heinrichs' translation, an oracle advised the Magnesians to build a temple for Dionysus and import three maenads from Thebes, who lead their own *thiasoi* and are to be honoured with public burial upon their deaths, indicating their value to Magnesia. Furthermore, Leary (2010, 43) cites that their presence, along with the reference to the three Cadmean sisters in The Bacchae, underscores their significance in Dionysian worship. Therefore, we can see that the number of Furter's most trusted followers is not coincidental. The gender of Dionysus's priestesses is not perfectly mirrored by the genders of Dr Furter's closest servants. Their genders are not specified in the musical and are insignificant: throughout the musical, the emphasis is on lust and the fluidity of gender and sexuality, mainly Frank's.

The musical ventures beyond strict Dionysian mythology with an ironic modern reference to a different classical myth in Frank's line: "We could take in an old Steve Reeves movie." Steeve Reeves was an actor, famous for his body-builder physique and for playing Hercules in *Le fatiche di Ercole* in 1957 and *Hercules* 1959 (Clauss 1996, 289). Another parodic reference to Greek ideals of masculinity appears in the dialogue surrounding Frank's creation, Rocky, who "carries the Charles Atlas seal of approval" according to Frank's opinion. Charles Atlas was an American-Italian body builder who died in 1972 (Black 2009). Atlas' seal of approval not only references Rocky's physique, but it also refers to the advertisements at the back pages of comic books in 1940s, where Charles Atlas was pointing his finger at the reader, commanding: "Let Me Prove in 7 Days That I Can Make You a New Man!" (Black 2009). The title of Frank's song "I Can Make You a Man" and the lyric "In just seven days, I can make you a man," are obvious paraphrases of Charles Atlas' slogan. "He thinks dynamic tension/ must be hard work," (O'Brien 1975) is another

lyric that references Charles Atlas and his invention, Dynamic Tension (Black 2009). The body builder's story and how he came to choose Atlas as his last name also contain references to Greek mythology. According to Black (2009), the body builder once saw statues depicting Greek gods at the Brooklyn Museum, which inspired his experimentation with body-building techniques, and once he had built up the muscular build he was known for, one of his school mates told him he looked like the statue of Atlas on top of the Atlas Hotel.

The name of the bodybuilder is not the only reference to the Greek titan. As Gregory (2022) argues, "The most famous myth involving Atlas would be the punishment given to him by Zeus for leading the Titanomachy. /.../ Carrying the heavens on his shoulder was a punishment for the younger Titan for his leadership in the Titanomachy." During the scene when Dr Furter takes Rocky into his bedroom, we can see a stained-glass painting depicting Atlas in his most famous iconographic depiction, supporting the world on his shoulders. Before the two are seen entering the bedroom, two significant things happen: first, there is the almost ritualistic slaughter of Eddie, a biker, who shares his brain with Rocky, and second, we can hear the wedding march by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdi being played as Rocky and Frank "march" toward the bed chambers. Both ritualistic killing (Leary 2010, 14) and weddings (Leary 2010, 8) are elements of Dionysian worship.

The parallels between *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* and ancient Greek mythology go even further: for example, Dr Furter's obsession with his creation's appearance as a contemporary Greek ideal is an allusion to the story of Pygmalion. Pygmalionism is "the act of falling in love with one's own creation. The term is derived from Greek mythology, in which Pygmalion fell in love with a statue of Aphrodite that he had sculpted" (*APA Dictionary of Psychology*). According to Wichmann (2022), this is clear in Frank's behaviour toward his creation, Rocky, who is tanned and has a muscular build, blonde hair, and blue eyes, all physical characteristics of an ideal Ancient Greek male, except that his hair is missing the preferred reddish shade of blonde.

Furthermore, several pieces of Ancient Greek art are referenced in the musical. It has been a consensus in the world of art and art history that Greek sculpture belongs among the ideals of and highest points in humanity's art production. As such, they are a physical representation of what Dr Furter wants Rocky to be. The decision to

use them for scenography purposes cannot be unintentional. They propagate the lust for an ideal male body, which goes hand in hand with Furter's treatment and objectification of Rocky. There are two replicas of Myron's Discobolus seen in the laboratory scene. They are positioned on the railing of a passage adjoining the room. Their nails are painted red, and during the "Sword of Damocles" sequence, they both lose their heads. Next, there is a loose citation of Michelangelo's David in the same room. I use the phrase "loose citation" because the statue of a man is holding a piece of cloth in his right hand, while standing in an oversized seashell, both attributes of Venus, the seashell pointing to the iconographical Birth of Venus, while the cloth can be found within the Venus Pudica type of Venus depiction, which is replicated in a miniature version of the Capitoline Venus set in one corner of the castle's dining room. The combination of these classic female and male types in the scenography propagates the fluidity of gender and corresponds with the transsexuality of the main antagonists and, as Goodsell (2020) argues, the Dionysian defiance of gender norms.

The Capitoline Venus is overshadowed by the central scene, in which we see another one of the possible rites of Dionysian mysteries: cannibalism (Leary 2010, 15). Dr Frank 'N' Furter is unstoppable as he feeds his guests – and servants – Eddie's remains. This is one of the last straws that lead to the peak of Frank's insanity, representing another parallel between him and Dionysus. Soon after he shocks his guests with the true source of the meat they are eating, he is provoked by Janet, who seeks comfort in Rocky's arms. He turns all the humans into statues with his Medusa switch.

He dresses them all in drag, mimicking his own attire, another one of the characteristics of Dionysus: Goodsell argues that ancient texts highlight Dionysus' aspiration to shape his devotees in his likeness. His followers, from Maenads to Satyrs, defy traditional gender norms, setting Dionysus apart from other gods. Though these tales are mythical and embellished, they still carry significance for modern non-binary acknowledgment. The Dionysian cult, both in myth and reality, showcases the celebration of identity diversity through themes of harvest and unity (Goodsell 2020).

All these elements are apparent during the "floor show," as Frank calls it, as he "demedusas" his prisoners and they begin singing "Rose Tint My World." Brad, Janet, Rocky, Columbia, and Dr Scott, Eddie's uncle (who is partly to blame for the escalation of Furter's insanity), all wear make-up and clothing like Frank's. They sing about hedonistic enjoyment. It appears that they have been involuntarily driven to madness themselves: "I feel released," "Don't dream it/ be it," "Give yourself over/ To absolute pleasure/ Erotic nightmares/ beyond any measure/ and sensual daydreams/ of sins of the flesh," and "My mind may as well snap/ and my life will be lived/ for the thrill" (O'Brien 1975) are all lyrics that provide us with an extremist world-view of these "regular Frankie girls" as Columbia calls them in her chorus. They try to fight his influence, some more than others, but in the end his power is too strong, which coincides with one of the two madnesses Leary (2010, 22) suggests as being caused by Dionysus, the other being the willing madness reached through the ritual of dance.

The Rocky Horror Picture Show uses ancient Greek and Roman elements to illustrate and satirize the culture of its own time. Dr Frank 'N' Furter mirrors 1970s Western society's view of non-cis gender people. In 'Just' a Sweet Transvestite(?): (Re)Contextualizing Rocky Horror's Dr. Frank-N-Furter, Sullivan Hamilton focuses on how the portrayal of Dr Furter since the time of its release has been problematic and how we can contextualize him through today's politically correct lens. Hamilton argues that Frank not only dresses in overtly fetishistic feminine clothing but also commits violent acts, including murder, engages in non-consensual sexual encounters with both Brad and Janet, practices cannibalism, coerces his guests into performing sexual acts, and meets his demise at the hands of his servants. These plot elements closely mirror sensationalized stereotypes often associated with transgender characters, portraying them as hypersexual, predatory, and violent, ultimately deserving of death by the story's end (Hamilton 2021, 8).

Dr Furter's actions can be described as hedonistic and excessive. He does not respect societal restrictions, refuses to conform, and pursues a hedonistically decadent lifestyle. If we combine that with the fact that he is an alien, we can start to see the puzzle pieces coming together. It is important to note that though he is an extremist who takes advantage of almost every character, the latter do not behave

toward him as if he were a social pariah. On the contrary, after the initial shock of seeing him, even Brad and Janet fall victim to his charms, accepting the lifestyle and even starting to adapt to it. Only after he is killed, are we met with an opportunistic stance against Dr Frank 'N' Furter. Hamilton (2021, 13) notes that the justification for Frank's assassination by ray gun at the hands of Riff Raff frames the act as necessary to protect society, without explicit condemnation of Frank's gender expression. Society needs to be protected from the hedonism and madness that stem from following the contemporary Dionysus – Dr Frank 'N' Furter.

A good representation of how the "Sweet Transvestite's" actions were perceived by the audience appears in the following review:

A review of the 1975 film adaptation for *The Cincinnati Enquirer* states that Frank 'singingly introduces himself as '...a sweet transvestite, transexual [sic], Transylvania', 'totally erasing any nuance between the terms, and damning the film for its 'totally degenerate, transvestite, transexual, and blasphemous content '(Berrigan). (Hamilton 2021, 17)

The extreme lengths to which Dr Frank 'N' Furter goes in his blasphemous actions could be interpreted as anti-propaganda against all things LGBTQ+. One of the consequences of Frank's influence is shown in the song "Touch-a, Touch-a, Touch Me," in which Janet, who had been saving herself until marriage and was coerced into sex with Frank moments before singing this song, sings lines like "I want to be dirty" and "Thrill me, chill me, fulfil me/ Creature of the night" (O'Brien 1975). Other examples of his sins and bad influence, including the songs "Make You a Man," "Sweet Transvestite," and "Rose Tint My World," have already been mentioned, discussed, and analysed. Indeed, he indulges in intercourse with everyone, and he creates a new life, thus reflecting the theme of Mary Shelley's Frankenstein; he commits murder, he is, arguably, a cannibal, and everybody falls in love with him. However, it could be argued that what he also does is live life to the fullest. The fullest potential of Dr Frank 'N' Furter's character as a representative of the LGBTQ+ community is suggested in the song "Rose Tint My World," where the message is clear: "Don't dream it, be it." This can be interpreted not only as liberating, and a sign of the author's support for anyone who is afraid to live their truth but is also the message of the mystery cults of Dionysus. Followers would perform the Dionysian rituals in order to be closer to god, which is mirrored in the

choreography of the "Don't Dream It, Be It" segment of "Rose Tint My World," where we can see all the human characters in a pool, swimming close to, touching, and kissing Dr Frank 'N' Furter, trying to get as close to him as possible, because he shows the characteristics of a god: Dionysus.

One of those characteristics is madness. Frank is insane, in the same sense that Dionysus was insane according to Plato (672b). His mental health can be questioned from the moment we see his first mood-swing, when Columbia states that Rocky is "okay," and he becomes very agitated and angry. His instability escalates with the jealousy-instigated murder of Eddie, the same jealousy that drives him to trick everyone into an act of cannibalism, prompted by seeing that Janet and Rocky had had intercourse. The next spike in his madness happens when Janet seeks solace with Rocky after seeing Eddie's corpse, provoking Furter to turn them all into stone. The final stage of his insanity unravels during the song "I'm Going Home" when he sees an imaginary audience cheering for him. He cries during the song and bows to the imaginary audience before being brought back to reality by Riff Raff and Magenta, who want to kill him.

Frank's three "priestesses," Magenta, Riff Raff, and Columbia, who resemble Dionysus' priestesses as described by Leary (2010, 43–44), do everything to appease Frank, letting him take his anger out on them. Riff Raff and Magenta wait for his madness to escalate as much as possible before overpowering him and finally killing him, finally putting an end to the extremism and insanity.

The excess and decadent hedonism that surround Dr Furter are rich in Dionysian symbols, such as drinking wine, marriage, death, rebirth, eating raw flesh, orgies, and insanity. These elements help propagate hedonistic insanity throughout the musical. By having Frank die in the end, the parallel between him and Dionysus gains in salience, as the latter is one of the gods who went through death and rebirth themselves (Gregory 2022).

Staying sane inside insanity, a lyric from "Eddy's Teddy," sounds contradictory, and yet it is a perfect combination of both the Apollonian and Dionysian. The two terms apply to tragedy as a genre (Coolidge 1941, 462), which we could argue that *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* could be categorized as. If we take Brad and Janet as heroic

individuals, we can see that they encounter many sorrowful events: they are witnesses to a gruesome murder, they are tricked into giving up their virginity in two events that could be categorized as rape, they are drugged, forced into adopting a Dionysian world-view, scorched by the castle/rocket ship flying back to Transylvania, and worst of all, they are met with the realization that they are not really "good, ordinary kids from Denton" – perhaps the biggest tragedy of all. However, it could also be argued that the true tragic hero of the story is Frank because, as with many other tragic heroes, his pride leads to his downfall.

The other element which clearly points toward tragedy are the questions that *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* raises concerning our role in the universe. The lyrics of "Superheroes" raise and answer those questions of existentialism: "I've done a lot/ God knows I've tried/ To find the truth/ I've even lied/ And all I know/ Is down inside/ I'm bleeding/ And superheroes/ Come to feast/ To taste the flesh/ Not yet deceased/ And all I know/ Is still the beast is/ Feeding" (O'Brien 1975). What we can notice here is that Brad and Janet question the state of their world and, implicitly, their place in it as well. They come to the realization that everyone is bad, even superheroes. Their epiphany, if we can call it that, is further elaborated on by the Narrator of the musical in his lines: "And crawling on the planet's face/ Some insects called the human race/ Lost in time/ And lost in space/ And meaning" (O'Brien 1975).

Brad and Janet, in the beginning of the story, represent the Apollonian, as described by Leeming (2010). They are individualistic, they try to practice measured restraint, and are, overall, what we would call "mediocre" or "normal." When they encounter Dr Frank 'N' Furter, the would-be Dionysus, they start shifting toward the Dionysian pole, and right before the end they participate in a Dionysiac rite and experience true ecstasy – not as individuals but together with Columbia, Rocky, Dr Everett Scott and Frank. By having the main two protagonists experience this shift between Apollonian and Dionysian, *Rocky Horror* propagates the latter to the audience. Boe attempts to shed some more light on this matter:

Nietzsche contrasted Apollonian dreaming with Dionysian intoxication. Jung, in analysing Nietzsche's psychological type, argued that Nietzsche's Dionysus represented extraverted sensation, while his Apollo represented introverted intuition. Obviously, the participants in the

Rocky revel are not passively, introvertedly dreaming, but are actively, extravertedly being. And certainly, the Rocky revellers are intoxicated, though not all of them on booze and drugs. (Boe 1983, 63)

Columbia sings in the song "Eddie's Teddy," "Stay sane inside insanity"; the words "sanity" and "insanity" reflect the two concepts introduced by Nietzsche. Being sane connotes normalcy, an orderly state of mind, while insanity alludes to disorder. At first glance, the Dionysian and insanity are at the forefront of the musical. They are served to us through the character of the mad scientist. The question we must ask now is whether that is propaganda for or anti-propaganda against insanity.

At first, Brad and Janet fight their most hedonistic urges but fail every time under the skilful mastery of Dr Furter. Second, Dr Furter, the bringer of decadent chaos, must, like Dionysus, die in the end. Third, everyone who was too far gone in the ways of hedonism either dies (Eddie, Rocky, Columbia, Dr Frank 'N' Furter) or leaves planet Earth (Riff Raff, Magenta, the Transylvanians). Lastly, there are several lines that point in the direction of anti-propaganda: "It's not easy having a good time. Even smiling makes my face ache." Frank's line makes us empathize with the antagonist. Next, Riff Raff tells Dr Frank 'N' Furter that his lifestyle is too extreme, using that as one of the reasons he must be killed. Even Dr Scott, who lost his nephew to this, says: "You saw what became of Eddie. Society must be protected."

All these points illustrate an anti-propagandistic approach. It appears that Richard O'Brien in the end rejects the Dionysian, hedonistic approach to life. However, we cannot forget the lines from "Superheroes," where the protagonists have the epiphany that Dr Frank 'N' Furter, though obviously an extremist in his own right, is not the antagonist. Although they fell victim to his madness, the madness was already there. O'Brien tells us that we are all waiting to go mad and enjoy life to the fullest, with or without Dr Frank 'N' Furter – rendering the modern Dionysus alive in spirit, at least.

To conclude, can Dr Frank 'N' Furter be viewed as a modern-day Dionysus, and is hedonistic insanity propagated or refuted through the lyrics in *The Rocky Horror Picture Show?* All the overlapping elements between *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* and Ancient Greek mythology about Dionysus (female followers, madness, initiation

rites, ritualistic dance and music) along with many ancient Greek pieces of art and references (Discobolus, Michelangelo's David conjoined with The Birth of Venus, the Capitoline Venus, Atlas, ideal male beauty) point toward a strong connection. Dr Frank 'N' Furter can clearly be considered a modern-day Dionysus. As a contemporary Dionysus, Dr Frank 'N' Furter has the power to gain many followers, which if we consider the fact that *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* has become a cult movie, he has achieved. Taking the countless "Frankie girls" into account, we may conclude that the over-all propagation of hedonistic insanity in the musical is a successful one. More specifically, the lyrics of all the songs in the *Rocky Horror* musical are full of references to the Dionysian life of excess and hedonism, the most prominent example of this being "Give yourself over to absolute pleasure," clearly propagating elements from Dionysiac mysteries and, although Dr Frank 'N' Furter dies in the end, through the magic of cinema, he returns with each successive viewing.

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ADVOCATING FOR THE NEW WOMAN: THE LINGUISTIC ASPECT OF ELIZA'S SPEECH IN THE MARIBOR PRODUCTION OF MY FAIR LADY

Nastja Prajnč Kacijan, Tomaž Onič

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Maribor, Slovenia nastja.prajnc1@um.si, tomaz.onic@um.si

Lerner and Loewe's 1956 musical My Fair Lady is based on the famous 1913 play Pygmalion by George Bernard Shaw. The central feature of the plot is the transformation of Eliza Doolittle, a simple-mannered flower girl who speaks Cockney dialect, into a well-behaved and independent individual who becomes a prime materialization of the late 19th century feminist ideal of the New Woman. The musical introduces several plot and character modifications, which affect the intensity of the New Woman advocacy, yet this aspect still greatly depends on each individual production. This paper focuses on the 2015 Maribor National Theatre production, comparing it to the 1964 Warner Bros film version of the musical. Judging from our analysis, the Maribor production unwillingly downplays Eliza's transformation into the New Woman, owing to her initial exaggerated characterization and the omission of several parts of the libretto that promotes Shaw's feminist ideas.

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1 Introduction

The musical My Fair Lady by Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe has been a success ever since it first appeared on Broadway in 1956. It is based on Pygmalion, a play by George Bernard Shaw, who, ironically, claimed that his play had "its own verbal music" (Holroyd 1991, 333) and did not "allow a musical version of his play" (Reynolds 2019, 40) during his lifetime. The original play reflects Shaw's feminist ideas, which most prominently materialize in Eliza Doolittle, the female protagonist of the piece. Eliza's desire for education and hard-earned (financial) independence distinctly support the concept of the New Woman, which appeared in the 19th century as a strong contrast to the traditional Victorian woman, who was ideally subservient to her husband and tied to the domestic sphere. The discussion of whether the musical alters the original play too severely or if it still reflects Shaw's ideas from the play (see Reynolds 2019) is an ongoing one. In this chapter, which is primarily interested in Eliza's characterization and transformation, we argue that, in this respect, the musical closely follows Shaw's original. Her metamorphosis in Lerner's libretto is still prominent, and her relationship with Higgins is not altered until the very last scene, in which she appears at his house in Wimpole Street, (arguably) implying a romantic aftermath.

Our analysis compares the 1964 Warner Bros film version of My Fair Lady, starring Audrey Hepburn and Rex Harrison (Cukor 1964), with one of the stage performances of the 2015 Slovene National Theatre production of the musical (Fourny 2015). We investigate Eliza's characterization and transformation in each version, specifically focusing on the question of how effectively the Maribor version promotes Shaw's feminist views and the concept of the New Woman. For the analysis to be comprehensive, we conducted it on several levels. First, we considered the linguistic aspect, since language used by a character is among the most notable social class markers. Having the advantage of a video recording, however, we were also able to acknowledge the way in which individual utterances are delivered, particularly the intonation, and furthermore, the characters' movement on stage, their gestures and facial expressions, as well as the costumes and the scene. Our focus, however, remains on Eliza and the selection of scenes where her growing emancipation and independence are most notable.

2 Eliza Doolittle as the New Woman and Shaw's Feminist Propaganda

Shaw's progressive social ideals and feminist tendencies are, in many ways, reflected in his Pygmalion. As a member of the Fabian Society, 1 Shaw promoted its core ideas, prominent among which are women-related reforms (Arrington 2015, 13). These were widely discussed at the end of the 19th century, which "brought that revolution in female behaviour that is called the New Woman" (Gadpaille 2010, 83) and challenged Victorian norms. In her paper, Hadfield describes these norms by referring to Coventry Patmore's poem cycle The Angel in the House, its first book published in 1854 and the last in 1862 (Hoffman 2007, 268), which "presented the ideal wife as a woman who lived only to serve her husband and children, and was thoroughly dependent on men for her very identity and survival" (Hadfield 2015, 217). The New Woman, however, matched the new views on several important issues: she was independent in many ways, "educated, physically fit, rationally dressed . . . She smoked, sought career opportunities, and demanded an end to a gendered double standard" (Hadfield 2015, 215). There was "a new generation of career women . . . who made a conscious decision to stay single," while other women decided "to remain single from an ideological opposition to marriage" (Gleadle 2001, 184).

These ideas can be seen in *Pygmalion*, where the female characters are far from inferior to the male characters. Mrs. Higgins seems superior to her son, talking to him as if he were a child: "Now, Henry: be good," or "Please don't grind your teeth, Henry" (Shaw 2021, 105, 109). Her attempts to scold her misbehaving son turn the brilliant phonetician into a pathetic contrast to a typical patriarchal man; this is both a source of humour and a critique of traditional assumptions about gender roles. Moreover, at the end of the play, when after the fight with Higgins, Eliza visits Mrs. Higgins, the latter supports her and even defends Eliza's "irrational" behaviour of the day before ("And then you i.e., Henry were surprised because she threw your slippers at you! *I* should have thrown the fire-irons at you" (Shaw 2021, 103)), which differs from Victorian ideals of a woman's respectful and humble behaviour towards men. Similarly, Higgins's housekeeper, Mrs. Pearce, although aware of her lower

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¹ The Fabian Society was formed at the end of the 19th century by "a small group of middle-class intellectuals set about the reconstruction of civilisation" (Arrington 2015, 12). Their ideas supported the shift of society to socialism and, according to one of the society's founding members, Edward Pease, were originally interested in "social as well as psychical progress" (1963, 28).

social status, often expresses her disagreement with Higgins and even lectures him about his behaviour, as in this scene in Act II:

Mrs Pearce: Will you please keep to the point, Mr. Higgins. I want to know on what terms the girl is to be here . . . You must look ahead a little.

Higgins [impatiently]: What's to become of her if I leave her in the gutter? Tell me that, Mrs. Pearce.

Mrs Pearce: That's her own business, not yours, Mr. Higgins. (Shaw 2021, 32)

Of course, the most notable female character of the play is Eliza, who defies traditional Victorian society the most. Shaw's feminist views are expressed through her transformation from a flower girl to a lady, which can be perceived as the central theme of the play, as suggested by the title with its allusion "to its classical source, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*" (Fabriczki 2021, vii). This transformation is twofold: she undergoes a physical makeover, and she changes her speech and behaviour.

At the beginning of Pygmalion, Eliza is characterized as an uneducated, roughmannered girl with a limited sense of appropriate social behaviour, particularly unaware of the proper usage of upper-class manners. Her lack of refined behaviour is primarily shown at the level of discourse, since she speaks the Cockney dialect typical of the London working class. She is also described as "not at all an attractive person" and "no doubt as clean as she can afford to be; but compared to the ladies ... very dirty" (Shaw 2021, 3, 4). Her physical contrast to the high-society ladies is immediately spotlighted, yet she is not portrayed as someone who neglects her appearance on purpose. At the same time, she is characterized with "excessive sensibility" (Shaw 2021, 7), shown when she fears Higgins might be a police officer. However, even though Eliza is sensitive, she already possesses many crucial characteristics of the New Woman. In this scene, she shows survival mechanisms by doing her best to stand up for herself when she feels threatened, and this is later amplified when she visits Higgins's house in Wimpole Street. Her intent to be respected is prominent when she introduces her business proposal to Higgins, and her desire to become educated and improve her language is the central theme of the play. By refusing to be treated as an inferior in the business proposal, she shows defiance of traditional gender roles; she shows self-respect and dignity, and she only sits down when Pickering asks her politely. Her intentions are honest, so she feels she deserves to be treated respectfully. Despite the fact that Eliza is rough-mannered and impulsive, she shows interest in behaving in an appropriate way, since being polite (or at least showing attempts at it) is crucial for her success in selling flowers (she calls Higgins "Sir", or Pickering "colonel", since they are potential customers — while she is quite strict towards Mrs. Eynsford-Hill and "teaches her" about the bad manners of her son). This feature of her character is a prerequisite for becoming a lady later in the play, and, consequently, her transformation is more plausible because of her earlier characterization. Despite her quick-tempered behaviour at the beginning, she is a likeable character; a considerable part of her likability — as well as humour — lies in her lack of appropriate manners. What she does not lack, however, is the predisposition to master such behaviour, and it is crucial that Eliza's initial characterization display it clearly.

After her transformation, she is clean, well-dressed, and far from unattractive: when she is first introduced to Mrs. Higgins and her guests, she is described as "exquisitely dressed" (Shaw 2021, 66), and she "produces an impression of ... remarkable distinction and beauty" (66); even in the epilogue, she is paralleled with "a goodlooking girl" (125). She is not pitiful but gains self-respect, becomes (at least partly) educated, still desires financial independence, liberates herself from Higgins's control, and is now even more aware of how she deserves to be treated. She thus transforms into the New Woman. Even though she marries and cannot incorporate every characteristic of the New Woman concept, she avoids becoming a typical Victorian "lady" by not accepting an inferior role to her husband; she marries into an equal marriage where both partners earn their living. As the epilogue claims, Freddy "is not her [i.e., Eliza's] master, nor ever likely to dominate her in spite of his advantage of social standing" (Shaw 2021, 128). It is important to add that when she asserts her power at the end of the play, confronting Higgins, he does not contradict her but rather praises her change – not without giving himself a pat on the back, of course: "By George, Eliza, I said I'd make a woman of you; and I have. I like you like this" (Shaw 2021, 123). He, however, completely fails to recognize her own role in the transformation, and they do not become romantically involved. Considering Shaw's activist background, it is impossible to overlook Eliza's quest to become the New Woman; one could even go as far as to see the character as a prime example of his feminist propaganda, promoting and advocating for the concept of the New Woman.

3 From Pygmalion to My Fair Lady

In the musical My Fair Lady, the characterization of the protagonists follows, for the most part, their features in Pygmalion. Even though some parts of the plot are changed, and some characters have been excluded (such as Clara Eynsford-Hill) or added (Higgins's Hungarian student, Professor Zoltan Karpathy), the relationship dynamics between the characters, particularly between Eliza and Higgins, is preserved till the very end of the musical. Most importantly, Eliza's characterization and transformation into the New Woman follow Shaw's play; therefore, the musical can be seen as advocating for the New Woman with equal intensity.

The only disruption of the original plotline is the ending, which seems to make an effort to conform to the genre of the musical. A likely romantic involvement between Higgins and Eliza is implied, yet – unfortunately – at the expense of Eliza's independence, autonomy and the incomplete transformation. Closely connected to this, the social critique of male superiority and dominance, as well as the class system, gives way to the Cinderella story, where the happily-ever-after ending is guaranteed. This is the opposite of the original ending, where the "inversion of expectations allows for a feminist reading of the play: Eliza does not become moulded by Higgins in order to become a suitable mate for him" (Fabriczki 2021, vii). Shaw himself was annoyed by any attempts to put the two characters together, even though "the first actor to play Higgins, Sir Herbert Tree, circumvented the playwright's explicit instructions, and ended his shows by throwing Eliza . . . a bouquet, implying that the two had a romantic future off-stage" (Fabriczki 2021, vii-viii). However, as Reynolds observes, we can interpret this ending as Eliza returning to Higgins for other reasons, perhaps "only for the sake of friendship" (2019, 51); after all, the epilogue of Pygmalion clearly states that Eliza's life was still connected to both Higgins and Pickering. Moreover, the ending of the musical was based on the 1938 film version of Pygmalion, which was "approved by Shaw" (Reynolds 2019, 51).

In general, the adaptation into a musical might suggest a "lighter" take on the serious theme of female emancipation, yet the romance is not in the foreground of *My Fair Lady*. Eliza's transformation is still a salient element of the plot, which supports the hypothesis that the musical, following in the footsteps of the play, still strongly advocates for the New Woman. Audrey Hepburn's character in the 1964 Warner Bros movie version of the musical elegantly displays these characteristics, while the

Maribor production seems less successful in this respect, primarily owing to Eliza's characterization. Having identified this as a relevant research question, in the next section, we will investigate how well the Maribor production advocates for the New Woman and what theatrical means it employs to do so. To answer this, we will analyse Eliza's stage appearance – particularly her actions and her language – and compare it to the 1964 movie version.

4 Maribor production of My Fair Lady

In the 2015 Maribor production of My Fair Lady, Eliza Doolittle diverges considerably from what seems to be the generally accepted idea of Shaw's independent female character, who is originally rough and later gentle - yet overall likeable. As such it represents a breakaway from the traditional Victorian ideal of the "angel in the house". We compared a video recording of the 2015 Maribor National Theatre production (Fourny 2015) to the 1964 Warner Bros film version of My Fair Lady, starring Audrey Hepburn (Cukor 1964), partly because the film itself – having won numerous accolades, including 8 Academy Awards – is a classic and a celebrated achievement in the film world, but also because it allows comparison of the two performed pieces on two levels relevant for our research: the level of the performance as well as that of the language. For the linguistic comparison, we relied on an audio transcript that we extracted from a video recording of the musical. For additional comments and references, we also included the original libretto of My Fair Lady (Lerner 1956), an earlier Slovene translation from 1990 (Hartman 1990), and Shaw's Pygmalion (Shaw 2021), which served as the basis for the musical. Our textual and multimodal analyses pursue a double focus regarding Eliza's character in the Maribor production of the musical: first, we show that she lacks some of the crucial character features to credibly undergo the transformation envisaged by the dramatic plot of the musical. Secondly, we demonstrate that she is considerably less effective in promoting the concept of the New Woman than her character in the original musical libretto or in *Pygmalion*.

In the Maribor production, Eliza's character appears to lack certain features that would be essential for her evolution into a lady and which the protagonists in *Pygmalion* and in the original *My Fair Lady* both possess. Among these are her coarse and often disrespectful communication, her noticeably aggressive body language, and her substantially rude behaviour. These features stand out even more because

most of her interaction occurs with upper-class characters, who – with the exception of Henry Higgins – maintain a high level of politeness in their communication and behaviour, even towards a common flower girl. The other downside of the Maribor production is the omission of several of Eliza's (and occasionally other characters') lines that characterize her as an independent and autonomous woman with self-respect, internal decisiveness and defiance of traditional gender roles. She promotes Shaw's New Woman to a considerably lesser degree than her counterparts in other versions of the play/musical. Our focus is to examine the aspects of Eliza's character that declare her to be the embryonic New Woman, as well as Shaw's promotion of feminist ideas.

In the opening scenes of My Fair Lady, Eliza's vocabulary and pronunciation are a clear indication of her lack of basic formal education. Similarly, her use of the Cockney dialect exposes the gap between her status and that of the upper-class characters with whom she converses. Despite her roughness, however, she is never impolite or unobservant of the way the upper class behaves, since this would be in discord with the character she becomes after the subsequent six-month transformation. Her attempts to adapt by following the example of other upper-class characters, although predominantly unsuccessful, indicate modesty and respect, possibly also secret admiration and ambition. These features of her character can be perceived in the 1964 film version, and they also comply with Shaw's description and characterization of Eliza in Pygmalion. The Maribor production, however, presents Eliza as considerably ruder, even aggressive, from the opening scene onwards when Freddy Eynsford-Hill knocks over her flower basket:

Nah then, Freddy: look wh' y' gowin, deah. /.../ [picking up her scattered flowers and replacing them in the basket] There's menners f yer! Te-oo banches o voylets trod into the mad. (2021, Pygmalion)

Two bunches of violets trod in the mud. A full day's wages. Why don't you look where you're going?

(Lerner 1956; original musical libretto)

Look where you're going, dear. Look where you're going. /.../ Two bunches of violets trod in the mud. A full day's wages. (Cukor 1964; WB movie version)

Dva pušeljca vijolic pa kar takle v blato! Fse, kaj sen gnes zaslužila, je šlo po vodi! Ka pa ne gledate, ge hodite!

(Hartman 1990; 1990 Slovene translation of the musical libretto)

Ti'm jes dala oprostite! Rajši glej, ki hodiš, trotl! Dva šopka si mi potanco! Ka te misliš, da jas dnar na cesti pobiram al kaj?

(Fourny 2015; audio transcript of the 2015 Maribor stage production, adapted by R. Vilčnik from the 1990 Slovene translation)

In the play, as in the musical, Eliza's complaints and grumbling are said more or less to herself. Only one remark is directed at Freddy, and, although assertive, it is not impolite or intended *ad personam*. It seems that she tries to awaken his guilty conscience and thus gain compensation for the two spoiled bouquets through his sense of moral responsibility rather than by a directly expressed demand. She even softens the complaint with the expression *dear*, and she seems to acknowledge Freddy's apology (which is "Sorry" in the play and "I'm frightfully sorry" in the musical). Apart from picking up the basket and the bouquets, she is fairly static, dedicating most of her attention to her props.

In the Maribor production, however, the rudeness of the utterance shows at the verbal as well as the non-verbal level. Firstly, Eliza directs her whole utterance at Freddy, thus shifting the focus of her attention from restoring the basket and its contents to the verbal complaint. The latter starts with a threat ("I'll show you 'Sorry") and continues with a strong insult ("idiot"), a direct accusation ("You trampled two of my bouquets!") and a sarcastic rhetorical question ("Do you think I pick money off the street or what?"). This loosely translated Slovene utterance contains many translation shifts, particularly stylistic ones, which are utterly at odds with the Eliza's character. Additionally, she addresses Freddy using the T-form (Slov. *tikanje*), which is highly informal and signals the speaker's disrespect or insensitivity to politeness and etiquette. The semantic aspect of her utterance is additionally supported by her aggressive manner of speaking – she shouts the whole time –, as well as her threatening body language – she makes brisk, physically aggressive motions directly towards Freddy, pushing his arm, then coming as close as 20 centimetres from his face so that he instinctively retreats and apologizes.

Eliza's next remark, addressed to Mrs. Eynsford-Hill, continues the discrepancy with her character as introduced by Lerner's original libretto, which in this utterance closely follows Shaw's play:

- Oh, he's your son, is he? Well, if you'd done your duty by him as a mother should, you wouldn't let him spoil a poor girl's flowers and then run away without paying.
- Oh, go about your business, my girl. (Cukor 1964)
- A ovi pubec je vaš? Ka te nea gleda, ki hodi?
- Ja, kako se pa obnašate? (Fourny 2015)

The neutral expression "your son" is replaced with a pejorative counterpart "pubec" (Engl. "lad", "brat"), and the oversimplified translation of the utterance's last part ("Why does he not look where he is going?") shifts the object of Eliza's complaint: in the original, she questions Mrs. Eynsford-Hill's upbringing of her son, while in the translation the futile rhetorical criticism is directed at Freddy, who is gone by the time Eliza speaks to his mother. Like Eliza's previous exchange with Freddy, her shouting and aggressive body language in this part of the dialogue may have been added as a humorous hyperbole intended for comic effect, but the exaggeration is too strong and interferes with the characterization of Eliza. Another indication that the free Slovene wording has been overdone is the reply of Mrs. Eynsford-Hill, who openly reacts to Eliza's inappropriate behaviour ("What manners you have!?"), which is much less direct in the original. The Maribor Eliza's rude and obnoxious behaviour continues in the following few lines, since she continues to shout at the departing Mrs. Eynsford-Hill – another addition to the Slovene translation ("Jaz, a se ni toti vaš gelipter zaleto? / .../ Hálo, pol krone ste mi dolžni! etc.").

The scene in the film and in the Maribor stage version continues with Eliza turning to Colonel Pickering and offering him a flower. A considerable part of the Slovene text fails to follow the original libretto, resulting in Eliza's continued excessive boldness that is inappropriate for her character:

- Cheer up, captain. Buy a flower off a poor girl.
- I'm sorry, I haven't any change.
- Oh, I can change half a crown. Here, take this for tuppence.
- I told you, I'm awfully sorry, I haven't-- Oh, wait a minute. Oh, yes. Here's three ha'pence, if that's any use to you.
- Thank you, sir. (Cukor 1964)

- Čujte, gospod, ne bi vi kupli kako rožo za svojo ženo? Vete, kak so lepe, frišne, ko nove.
 Dans sn jih nabirala.
- Nimam drobiža.
- Ja, kolk pa te mate?
- To se pa vas nič ne tiče.
- Dajte, no, nea boite tečni, no. Saj bi tudi velki dnar zamejala.
- Res nimam nič. Čakajte.

(Fourny 2015)

The translator's ungrammatical use of the accusative ("kako rožo") instead of the genitive case ("kake rože") is welcome, since failing to use the genitive case in negative sentence formulations is a common mistake, typical of uneducated users (see Onič 2008). The following two sentences are an ungrounded addition to the conversation, possibly aiming for a humorous effect, but Eliza's response to Pickering's "I'm sorry, I haven't any change" is shifted into a totally different sentence, stylistically as well as semantically ("Well, how much do you have, then?"). This steers the conversation away from the original, so Pickering's answer is defensive and less polite ("This is no concern of yours.") and, consequently, leads to Eliza's rude remark involving an insult ("Oh, come on, don't be a pain."). Her singularly inappropriate discourse is exacerbated by a hostile tone (shouting), disrespectful, nearly barking intonation, and aggressive body language: sudden assertive moves towards Pickering, entering his personal space – even as close as a few inches, violating his personal zone - tapping his arm in a seemingly friendly way, as if they were old buddies. Such exaggerated and thus probably stylized behaviour might be appropriate for a lighter comedic genre, such as slapstick or farce but is problematic if the plot requires character development, as is the case with Eliza. Even an uneducated girl with rough manners should know that such behaviour is unacceptable, so the later transformation cannot be perceived by the audience as genuine.

Apart from the considerable unwanted impact on Eliza, the heavily changed dialogue also negatively affects the character of Pickering, who in the Maribor production lacks the requisite English politeness. In the original version, he is contrite and apologizes directly (twice in the film version) for not buying a bouquet owing to the lack of change. The Slovene production leaves out both these expressions and adds the response, "This is no concern of yours", which makes him less gentleman-like, thus diminishing his most important characteristic, crucial for the plot development

as well as for establishing the relationship between him and Eliza, based on mutual respect and confidence.

Eliza's inappropriate and unladylike behaviour in the Maribor production continues when she comes to Higgins's residence to ask for language lessons. Her tone of voice is bossy and pretentious, showing no sign of modesty - or the "innocent vanity" attributed to her by Shaw in the stage directions of the play (2021, 21). When she reports (to Pickering and Mrs. Pearce) that the day before Higgins bragged about being able to teach her, she refers to him with a rude and insulting expression ("Ovi gimpl je reko, da bi me naučo.") and then continues to suggest that the money he gave her upon leaving Covent Garden was to pay her "to go home with him", a reference that does not exist in the original text. When she makes the financial proposal to Higgins, she sits on his desk. She then parades around the room with her umbrella, touches the phonograph and other equipment, and takes off her shoe and puts it on the desk, showing no indication of awareness that she is only visiting and therefore cannot behave in this way. When Pickering finally invites her to sit down, she does so and then crosses her legs by putting her ankle on the opposite knee, which is inappropriate under any circumstances, let alone during the visit of a flower girl to an upper-class residence.

We contend that the Maribor National Theatre production almost completely overlooks the theme of the musical (and the play) showing Eliza as the New Woman. This occurs mainly at the textual level, owing to the omission of parts of Eliza's utterances that contextualize her decisions and actions. The Slovene production abridges some of Eliza's longer, more philosophical, discourse for no obvious reason but to shorten the dialogue that contributes less to the plot but leads the audience to understand the renovation of the protagonist's life philosophy. A notable omission of this kind occurs in Eliza's conversation with Mrs. Higgins, where the Slovene Eliza skips the well-known quote about the difference between a lady and a flower girl:

I should never have known how ladies and gentlemen behave if it hadn't been for Colonel Pickering. He always showed me that he felt and thought about me as if I were something better than a common flower girl. You see, Mrs. Higgins, apart from the things one can pick up, the difference between a lady and a flower girl is not how she behaves but how she is treated. I shall always be a flower girl to Professor Higgins because he always treats me

as a flower girl and always will. But I know I shall always be a lady to Colonel Pickering because he always treats me as a lady, and always will. (Cukor 1964; our emphasis)

Nikoli se ne bi naučila, kako se vedejo dame in gospodje, če ne bi bilo polkovnika Pickeringa. Zmeraj mi je dal vedeti, da me ima za nekaj več kot samo za ubogo cvetličarko. Za gospoda Higginsa bom zmeraj samo cvetličarka. Vem pa tudi, da bom za polkovnika Pickeringa zmeraj dama. (Fourny 2015)

In the original libretto, which in this respect closely follows Shaw's play, Eliza refers to the difference in the treatment she received from Higgins and Pickering. However, this is more than a simple observation about how each of the two gentlemen behaved towards her and which of them provided certain parts of her education; it shows Eliza's broad understanding of social relations, (in)equality, dignity, empathy, and the right to respectful treatment. It also criticizes the perception of these issues by the upper society, but, most of all, it demonstrates the profound internal transformation that Eliza has experienced in the course of the experiment. It shows that not only has she learned to speak standard English and acquired the accepted behavioural norms, but that she has expanded and developed her former understanding of society and that she is a genuine New Woman – in both senses. The Slovene production loses most of these dimensions, which the adaptation into the (original) musical has managed to preserve from Shaw's drama.

Several excerpts from the original libretto demonstrate Eliza's independence, self-respect, and internal determination to pursue a new philosophy of life. The parallel passages from the Slovene production, however, show that many of the crucial parts of her discourse have been omitted, causing a decrease in the interpretative potential of the staging of the Slovene musical. One of the omitted sentences is Eliza's statement, "I won't be passed over," from the exchange with Higgins near the end of the play in Mrs. Higgins's residence:

H: The question is not whether I treat you rudely, but whether you ever heard me treat anyone else better.

E: I don't care how you treat me. I don't mind your swearing at me. I shouldn't mind a black eye: I've had one before this. But I won't be passed over. (Cukor 1964; our emphasis)

H: Ni vprašanje, ali sem trdo ravnal s tabo, pač pa ali si me že sploh kdaj slišala, da bi s kom lepše ravnal.

E: Ni mi mar, kako ravnate z mano. (Fourny 2015)

A similar omission takes place later in this same conversation when Eliza stands up for herself again and even more directly ("I'm not dirt under your feet."):

H: Oh, in short, you want me to be as infatuated about you as he [i.e., Freddy] is; is that it? E: No, I don't. That's not the sort of feeling I want from you. I want a little kindness. I know I'm a common ignorant girl, and you're a book-learned gentleman; but I'm not dirt under your feet. What I done – what I did was not for the taxis and the dresses ... (Cukor 1964; our emphasis)

H: Torej ti bi rada, da bi bil tudi jaz tako, tako zatreskan vate kakor on. A ni res? E: Ne, ni res. Ne želim si, da bi tako čutili do mene. Vse kaj sn delala . . . kar sem počela, nisem za obleke ali pa za taksije . . . (Fourny 2015)

Later, when insulted by Higgins again ("That's just how I feel. And how Pickering feels. Eliza; you're a fool."), her response ("That's not a proper answer to give me.") shows that she is no longer the Eliza who would immediately have lost her temper and argued over such a statement, perhaps even returning a similar insult, but that she is able to control herself and respond with a sensible argument in an appropriate tone. This is a sign of self-respect as well as of independent thinking, salient characteristics of the New Woman. This response, too, is skipped in the Slovene translation, as well as the 2015 Maribor production.

The final example of omission that we wish to comment on from the Maribor production of the musical concerns Eliza's telling Higgins that she intends to marry Freddy. This information is preserved in the Slovene version; however, the addition that she will do so when she earns enough to support him is not:

Oh, I can't talk to you: you always turn everything against me. I'm always in the wrong. But don't be too sure that you have me under your feet to be trampled on and talked down. I'll marry Freddy, I will, as soon as I'm able to support him. (Cukor 1964; our emphasis)

S Freddyjem se bom poročila! (Fourny 2015)

From the point of view of the New Woman, this bit of information reveals a great deal about Eliza, her intention to gain financial independence, and the extent to which her new worldview has changed from Higgins's traditional one. It is worth mentioning that in this scene, in fact, the musical contributes even more to characterizing Eliza as the New Woman than Shaw's play, where the last part of Eliza's utterance (above, in bold) is "I'll marry Freddy, I will, as soon as he's able to support me." At the end of the musical, of course, she does not marry Freddy; the story ends with Eliza's return to Higgins's house. A detail worth mentioning here is that Eliza in the film version says her final sentence ("I washed my face and hands before I come, I did.") in Cockney. Even though a relationship with Higgins is implied, she keeps her independence by using her original dialect. In the Maribor production, however, she says it in standard Slovene. This implies that she has been successfully "moulded" by Higgins (and, perhaps, for Higgins) by speaking the way he taught her, showing less autonomy that the Cockney version offers.

5 Conclusion

Compared to the WB musical My Fair Lady, the Maribor production shows a distinct diversion from Eliza's character at the beginning of the play. Her exaggerated behaviour overshadows her predisposition to become a lady, and so her transformation seems abrupt. There is no sign of the innocent flower girl from Pygmalion or the musical, and as linguistic analysis shows, her speech is ruder and more inappropriate because of several linguistic changes that were made. Even though Eliza shows all the necessary characteristics of a lady in the second part of the musical, when her speech shifts to standard Slovene and her manners are poised and elegant, the viewer seems to question whether such a transformation is plausible, based on her initial behaviour.

Similarly, Shaw's depiction of the New Woman reflected in the musical version of his play is not as successful in the Maribor production. Although the Maribor musical follows the plot of the original libretto, and Eliza still successfully demonstrates her newly gained self-confidence and poise, it omits parts of the text that are crucial for promoting the New Woman concept. Thus, the Maribor production loses the opportunity to portray Eliza as a socially engaged and dynamic character, aware of (and critical of) the way that society works, and how she wants to be treated within it.

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MUSIC WITH A MESSAGE: WORDS, MUSIC AND PROPAGANDA 2

Tomaž Onič,¹ Urša Šivic,² Teja Turk² (eds.)

¹ University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Maribor, Slovenia tomaz.onic@um.si

² Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, Slovenia ursa.sivic@zrc-sazu.si, teja.turk@zrc-sazu.si

Music with a Message: Words, Music and Propaganda 2 explores ways in which music in connection with various disciplines represents a voice of political critique, cultural expression and resistance. The chapters, written by established academics as well as graduate students, bring a plethora of fresh views from multiple fields like literature, language, English language teaching, as well as cultural, social and political studies. Musical genres addressed are as diverse as the approaches to propaganda; they expand from various ethnic folk and pop music, rap, alternative rock and metal to national anthems, cartoon soundtracks and musicals. This collection appeals to scholars, and students as well as enthusiasts interested in the profound cultural and ideological impact of music.

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GLASBA S SPOROČILOM: BESEDE, GLASBA IN PROPAGANDA 2

Tomaž Onič, ¹ Urša Šivic, ² Teja Turk² (eds.)

¹ Univerza v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta, Maribor, Slovenija tomaz.onic@um.si
 ² Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, Slovenija ursa.sivic@zrc-sazu.si, teja.turk@zrc-sazu.si

Glasba s sporočilom: Besede, glasba in propaganda 2 raziskuje načine, kako glasba v povezavi z različnimi disciplinami predstavlja glas politične kritike, kulturnega izraza in upora. Poglavja monografije, katerih avtorji so tako priznani akademiki kot podiplomski študenti, prinašajo svež pogled na povezavo med propagandno močjo glasbe in področji, kot so književnost, jezik, poučevanje angleščine ter kulturne, družbene in politične študije. Razprave vključujejo različne glasbene žanre, kot so etnične ljudske in pop skladbe, rap, alternativni rock in metal, državne himne, glasbo iz risank in muzikalov. Pričujoča znanstvena monografija nagovarja akademike, študente in vse tiste, ki jih zanima kulturni in ideološki vpliv glasbe.





While most people think of songs and music as entertainment, music is often used to evoke emotions, foster a sense of unity, and disseminate ideas to a wide audience. Wartime governments use anthems, patriotic songs, and military marches to instil feelings of national pride; in peacetime, music is used to promote specific parties and ideologies, and condemn opposing viewpoints. On the other hand, protest music is a form of grassroots propaganda that challenges the status quo. It is important to recognize the persuasive power of music and be critical of the messages it conveys. Understanding its role in propaganda can help individuals make informed judgments about the messages they encounter.

This volume includes examples from the protest songs of Woodstock, the anti-establishment message of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, critiques of the Catholic Church, and patriotic songs from the Croatian War of Independence, in genres such as American folk and country music, Slovenian folk music, rap, metal, national anthems, Broadway musicals, and the soundtracks

of Disney movies.

