In the times of privatization, regulation and bureaucratization, as well as the diminishing power of society in shrinking nation-states, the main problem regarding the activities related to music is who controls music.

Popular music is a contested field, occupied by many different agents, not only musicians and audiences. It is an integral part of existing (super)structures and power relations. Nation-states still define the basic social-economic environment of its production, reproduction and the development. Additionally, in the frameworks of transnational alliances, such as the European Union, common regulations not only shape popular music markets, but also define the basic activities and infrastructure in which it exists: from music schools and public music venues to private venues, distribution channels and legislation regarding copyright and media.

The Occupied! Popular music, capital, state and society conference is part of the project Engaged past: social-anthropological analysis of transformations of popular music in the area of former Yugoslavia (Partners: University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts and Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, funded by the Slovenian Research Agency. For more information, see: https://transyuformator.wordpress.com/)
PROGRAM - TIMETABLE

Friday, 3 June

14:00 - 14:30  Registration / Opening

14:30 - 16:00  Rajko Muršič, Ana Hofman, Miha Kozorog, Martin Pogačar, Tanja Petrović, Urša Valič
Presentation of the project Engaged past: social-anthropological analysis of transformations of popular music in the area of former Yugoslavia

Coffee break

16:30 - 18:00  Srdan Atanasovski, Ana Petrov
Selling the tears: commodification of feelings in post-Yugoslav music market

Marko Zubak
Create digging in ex-Yugoslavia: challenging grand narratives of popular music

Edo Katanić
Did the Marshal die? Zabranjeno Pušenje and the Yugoslav state censorship
Saturday, 4 June

09:00 - 10:00  Keynote lecture
   Panayotis Panopoulos
   *The Caribbean in the Aegean: copyrighting place, Greek island folk songs and Greek world music*

   Coffee break

10:30 - 12:00  Christa Bruckner - Haring
   *Cuban jazz identity*

   Ičo Vidmar
   *Independent musicians, collective action and musicians' union: the case of "Winter Jazzfest agreement" in New York City*

   André Rottgeri
   *The impact of cultural politics on Rock Alternatif and Rock Métis*

   Coffee break

12:30 - 14:00  Joanna Maurer
   *Rappers as prophets. Crypto - theology in rap music based on Slovak and Polish representatives*

   Rajko Muršič
   *Fear, music, and noise: on the power of music, free market and legislation in present-day Slovenia*

   Yoshe Watson
   *After the crash: reclaiming uncertainty in a neoliberal society*

   14:00 - 15:30 Lunch break

15:30 - 17:00  Nadia Molek
   *From the Julian Alps to the Pampa: transnational polka performances among descendants of Slovenian exiles in Argentina*

   Santiago Niño Morales
   *Social song and record labels. Political opposition and music industry in Latin-America*

   Juan Esteban de Jager
   *Sikuri panpipe bands in Jujuy province, Argentina: military rhythms, cumbia and Marian processions*

   Coffee break

17:30 - 18:30  Petra Hamer
   *Popular music and civil society during the homeland war in Croatia*

   Vladislav Beronja
   *Form, ideology, and performance in contemporary turbo-folk*

   Coffee break

18:45 - 19:45  Final round table
   Closing party: KUD France Prešeren
Engaged past: social-anthropological analysis of transformations of popular music in the former Yugoslavia
Project presentation (1 August 2013 until 31 July 2016)

The central aim of the project is to critically examine sociocultural shifts in the region of former Yugoslavia, specifically focusing on the development of Yugoslav popular music. Twenty-five years after the country’s dissolution, its popular music survives not only as part of memories of the good old days. It is, perhaps, even more attractive for younger generations.

With regard to the existing global and local studies of the use of the past Yugoslav popular music genres in the present, the team focused on so far almost ignored fields and topics:

- nationalization and internationalization of popular music
- position of minorities and situation of women and youth through the development of local variations of popular music, its festival and digital life, and the relationship of popular music and social system (socialism and capitalism)

The project focused on the relationship between dominating social order (and ideology), particularly socialism and its later transformations into capitalism. In the former Yugoslavia numerous forms of cooperation have been emerging between musicians and organizers, while there has been a significant resurrection of certain musical forms referencing Yugoslav past. These practices are analysed as attempts to find answers to the challenges of the present moment.

One of the objectives was to interrogate the fields in popular-musical production as an answer to the contemporary socio-economic crisis. The prospective answers are alluded to in the title of the project as “engaged past.”
Selling the tears: commodification of feelings in post-Yugoslav music market

In this paper we discuss the relationship between Yugonostalgia and music market posing two groups of questions, the one concerning the nature of the music products and the other concerning the emancipatory potential of the marketed music practices. Firstly, what does one actually buy or pay for on the post-Yugoslav music market? Do we buy a recording, a streaming, a ticket for attending a concert performance, or do we pay to get involved in an emotional collectivity? Secondly, can Yugonostalgia at the same time go against the mainstream nationalistic current and function as a part of the restoration of the capitalism? Yugonostalgia is usually seen as a regressive phenomenon. It is assumed that expressing a positive attitude towards the socialist past is fundamentally opposed to the supposedly progressive post-Yugoslav capitalist societies. In recent literature there is a new perspective on the subject – it is argued that Yugonostalgia can also have emancipatory potential, since it helps overcoming the troubled past and reuniting the divided communities, and that it creates an opposition to the current nationalistic paradigm which is overwhelmingly present in the mainstream media of post-Yugoslav states. However, we will here argue that both of the approaches to the issue neglect the following perspective: Yugonostalgia functions as an integral part of the (music) market. As such it is also a part of the capitalism-nationalism machine, creating a sense of ‘choice’ and a semblance of an alternative, which can be futile. In order to demonstrate this, we will elaborate on two examples: firstly, the concerts of Yugoslav stars that often provoke highly emotional reactions by the performers or among the audience; secondly, new music production which is marketed towards new generation which is often allegedly neutral regarding the Yugoslav past.
Edo Katanić, University of Bologna, Italy and University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Email: edo.katanic@gmail.com

Did the Marshal die?
Zabranjeno Pušenje and the Yugoslav state censorship

The primary focus of this study is state censorship in the 1980s Yugoslavia, attempted through a case study on a popular Bosnian punk rock band Zabranjeno pušenje and their songs. Zabranjeno pušenje rose to prominence as part of the sub-cultural movement Novi primitivizam (New primitivism), which was a movement of creative students and young people that were critically parodying contemporary music, society and politics at the time. They quickly gained popularity through the bands like Zabranjeno pušenje and Elvis J. Kurtović, and with the popular radio and television show – Top lista nadrealista, named by the critics as the Yugoslav Monty Python. Their style, lyrics and behavior were funny, rebellious and provocative at the same time.

The band’s biggest incident was the ‘CrkóMaršal’ (the Marshall broke; the Marshal (i.e. Tito) died) episode in Rijeka, parodying Josip Broz Tito’s death. This incident brought enormous consequences to the band and they became the enfant terrible of Yugoslav rock scene, along with acts such as Riblja čorba and Prljavo kazalište. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyze certain songs of Zabranjeno pušenje, this research analyzes how Yugoslav state reacted to their provocative and controversial songs in order to gain a deeper understanding of the Yugoslav state censorship in rock music. There is a broad theoretical background, including Norman Fairclough (2003) and Ruth Wodak (2011), who were inspired and influenced by the thought of Michel Foucault (2007).

Keynote lecture
Panayotis Panopoulos, Department of Social Anthropology and History, University of the Aegean, Greece
Email: ppanopou@sa.aegean.gr

The Caribbean in the Aegean:
Copyrighting place, Greek island folk songs and Greek world music

Disputes over cultural property rights on music and song among individual musicians, families, villages and islands in the Aegean offer an interesting case study of the complex dynamics developed in the construction and negotiation of collective identities through music in Greece during and after the 90s. The rapid touristic development of the islands and the wide socio-political transformations of the period have triggered intense and elaborate processes of revitalizing and inventing local identities and discourses on specific islands’ uniqueness. In the last decade, tunes from the Aegean islands are also arranged by pop groups playing reggae, dub, electronica and other styles of contemporary dance music, developing multiple hybrids of what I call Greek World Music.

In my talk, I will present the complex issues and processes of copyright and cultural ownership raised over local claims, national fame and global imagination in music making in Greece in the last three decades. The presentation will be based, on the one hand, on my ethnography of the dynamics of belonging, the construction of local identities and unique localities, and, on the other, on the analysis of musical developments, ranging from the revitalization of traditional music to recent reggae remixes and Balkan folk-pop, localized desires and globalized fantasies. The various musical examples examined unravel complex debates over authenticity, originality and hybridity, local and global realities and fantasies, but also multiple levels of irony, nostalgia and loss in contemporary music-making, the perplexities created, sustained and negotiated by both anxious and celebratory uses and interpretations of traditional music in new contexts of exchanging and sharing cultural meanings.
**Cuban jazz identity**

In the communist Republic of Cuba, all aspects of culture and music are regulated by the state. Since music is an integral part of the country’s identity, the state heavily supports national music styles. As part of popular music, jazz is perceived as the style allowing the greatest scope for personal expression and development. Cuban musicians thus often choose to pursue a career in jazz in order to develop their own musical language – a language often composed of a mixture of elements derived from both traditional Cuban music and jazz. As a result, the contemporary Cuban jazz scene – having successfully withstood various economic difficulties since the Special Period in the 1990s – is thriving and possessed of a strong identity.

This paper examines the main aspects of the current Cuban jazz scene, including its public reception and perceived value to the nation, public funding, music education, venues and festivals, record labels, media, and audience. As central factors contributing to the development of Cuban jazz, concepts of national and cultural identity are also discussed. This investigation is based primarily on research conducted in Havana and data provided by the national music centers Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de Música Cubana and Centro Nacional de Música Popular. These sources are augmented by qualitative interviews conducted with protagonists of the Cuban jazz scene – including musicians, organizers, and journalists – revealing various viewpoints on developments in Cuban jazz and the scene in general.

As a whole, this paper offers an overview of the current jazz scene in Cuba and provides insight into significant aspects of identity formation, thus contributing to a deeper understanding of Cuban jazz.

---

**Independent musicians, collective action and musicians’ union: the case of ‘Winter Jazzfest agreement’ in New York City**

In 2012 an *ad hoc* association of independent, self-employed ‘new music/avant-jazz’ musicians started to run an internetpetition against the organizers of the Winter Jazzfest, which is a major new jazz event in New York City, held every January. In the circles of musicians, the festival was notorious for degrading payment policy. Information about the petition somehow leaked, so they were prematurely forced into negotiations. The final signatories of the ‘Winter Jazzfest agreement’ that regulates minimum guarantee payment for musicians were two representatives of organizers (small non-profit presenters) and legal representative of Local 802 of AFM (American Federation of Musicians), authorized by the steering committee of musicians. This was something new: no decision made during the negotiations could be made without approval of independent musicians. They were particularly concerned about the restoration of old union power that could undermine internal democracy and decision-making process. The union was encouraged to reconsider its own policy towards the precarious position of musicians in NYC club & festival economy, long-time neglected by the union itself (not just in the field of jazz, but broadly in the field of independent music). The agreement that is still in force and is negotiated every year hasn’t served as a model for further AFM action in the field of precarious musical labor.

In retrospective two wings of labororganizations have come together: ‘verticalist’ by Local 802 and ‘horizontalist’ by bottom-up coalition of independent musicians. The union did not use it as a conceptual shift in understanding of (not so) new relations of production in the musical field. On the other side, among musicians themselves the basic differences in understanding of their market driven statuses and interests showed up.
The impact of cultural politics on Rock Alternatif and Rock Métis

This paper will focus on cultural politics in France in the context of genres like Rock Alternatif and Rock Métis. It is based on the research of French popular music scholars like Barbara Lebrun (e.g., Protest Music in France – Production, Identity and Audiences, Ashgate 2009). Yet, at the center stands additional research on the band Mano Negra, founded by Manu Chao, his brother Antonio Chao and their cousin Santiago Casariego near Paris in the late 1980s. Mano Negra disbanded around 1994 after a short, but successful career in France and abroad, and is still famous for its cultural mix of different languages and musical styles. The diverse cultural influences of the band were analyzed in the PhD Thesis (André Rottgeri: Mano Negra – Historiographie und Analyse im interkulturellen Kontext, Universität Passau, Opus Online, 2015). Yet, instead of looking at the cultural output of the band, this paper will focus on cultural politics and music industry aspects that helped to develop the career of this exceptional French group. The band can also be regarded as a cultural representative for France as some of their adventurous tours (e.g., Cargo 92) were partly sponsored by the French government. Therefore, the paper will ask the following research question: How contributed the French government – in the late 1980s and early 1990s – to the success of Rock Alternatif and Rock Métis bands like Mano Negra? To answer this question sources like the documentary Mano Negra – Pura Vida and interviews with musicians (e.g., Thomas Darnal) will be analyzed and presented at the conference.

Rappers as prophets.
Cryto – theology in rap music based on Slovak and Polish representatives

Rap music (or hip hop) is one of the most popular music genres nowadays. Furthermore: rhythm and rhyme songs are substitutes of literature. Even more, beatboxing declamations are alternative for the Bible. Based on texts of Slovak rapper Mark Spirit and Polish rap band Paktofonika, I will present (un)hidden aspirations of rap texts: aspirations to bring the truth, to show the right way, to comment reality with meaningful, relevant and illuminating way. Mark Spirit sings in one of his song: “Verím v srcu víťa a niesom kníža / Ale prorok a vravím”, that is: “I believe to the heart more than to the World and I am not a priest / I am the prophet, so I say”. Rap songs are rather short but loaded with contests and parables; some of them are almost self-reliant morality tales. Truth, fidelity, consistency, fighting the good fight, caring about family, trusted friends, and maintaining the attitude of opposition towards the enemies are the main and common topics in rap. Stories in rap songs are often charged with existential and ethical topics. Rappers are like prophets, theirs concerts like a mystery or a ceremony. And, finally, rappers alone would like to be extraordinary and prophetic, would like to become a medium between the truth and people. The question is: should we pay for the word of truth? Most of the rappers probably will say: yes. Hence, maybe being prophet is not a vocation but a profession. Let’s discuss that.
Rajko Muršič, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia
Email: rajko.mursic@ff.uni-lj.si

Fear, music, and noise:
on the power of music, free market and legislation in present-day Slovenia

The main power of music has always been in dealing with the future. We should understand Plato's concerns about music as an early expression of this important fact. We should not understand this claims of "changes in music announce changes in society" metaphorically, but rather literally, especially in their somatic, practice-related, and affective effectiveness. Music unites remembering of its past-present perception and the anticipation of its immediate development and future conclusion and dynamics. It is in the paradoxical experience of sound "which is yet to come", where the power of music and its transcending social essence lie.

The author will present a very specific situation in 2015, when after almost 20 years, the organizers of the summer festival Koperground in Koper could not find a venue for concerts, film projections and other festival activities in the town. A couple of months before, DPZN (The Society of Friends of Modest Progress), having been forced to abide by the decision of the city council of Koper and the leadership of the mayor Boris Popović, was forced to evict the youth club MKSMC in Koper. No one in the entire town, neither public institutions nor owners of private venues, dared to rent a place for the festival to Marko Brecelj and his team, who were considered as being in conflict with the mayor. Fear was omnipresent.

The author will discuss the fear, threats, uncertainty, and risk as the very basic social condition for functioning of the present-day capitalism. It seems paradoxical that the present-day music characterizes activism of feminist pop stars, while other messages of music are more or less obscured (at least in mainstream public). However, music, especially noise, which is legally highly regulated, the occupation of space, and the establishment of informal and formal social units, still play important role in resistance. The fate of DPZN and some other grassroots organizations, e.g., squats, like Rog in Ljubljana, seems uncertain, but it is clear that music-related practices may, and should, transform fear into mobilization.

Yoshe Watson, The School of the Arts, The University of Northampton, Great Britain
Email: Yoshe.watson@northampton.ac.uk

After the crash:
reclaiming uncertainty in a neoliberal society

In 2008, the global economic crisis shook neoliberalism's assumption of the rationality of free market economics to its core. The resulting uncertainty, combined with the proliferation of the internet and its rapid intangibility, has brought us to the next era of thought in European philosophy. Since the Enlightenment, we have witnessed a trajectory that increasingly rejects the notion of certainty; through modernism and postmodernism to its successor, metamodernism (Vermeulen and Van den Akker, 2010). The use of this uncertainty as a political weapon, recently exemplified by the rise of Donald Trump in the US presidential candidacy race, is indicative of this symptom of the metamodern age used against us; to divide and to reinforce inequality. The time has come to reclaim uncertainty. Experimentation in popular music, particularly elements of aleatoricism that have been assimilated into the mainstream, may offer a means of doing this (Martin, 2002). Taking inspiration from Adorno's sociologization of Cage's second mode of creative experimentation (1970), the idea of retaining subjective autonomy by rebelling against an increasingly heteronomous environment will be explored in terms of music creation. Politically, music must actively embrace this zeitgeist of uncertainty; this being the most assertive means of paradoxically retaining control. The aforementioned uncertainty generated via the proliferation of the internet can also be employed in this process of reclamation by way of democratizing the communication of music creation and dissemination. With reference to Varnelis' 'Network Culture' (2008), the subversion of traditional market systems and control structures through cyber digitization has the potential to undermine capitalist restrictions of cultural consumption. Therefore, this paper will show how the assimilation of avant-garde elements into popular music, the democratization of this via internet culture, and the progressive elements of Cage's doctrine of experimentalism become of use in a post-neoliberal version of capitalism.
From the Julian Alps to the Pampa: transnational polka performances among descendants of Slovenian exiles in Argentina

Diaspora experiences are not defined by an essence or purity. On the contrary, recent theoretical approaches in anthropology stress that it is shaped by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity. The conception of ‘identity’, which lives with and through difference, and not despite it, shows as that ‘identities’ are a ‘never complete production’, always in progress. They are constituted within a relationship with the past and politics, through memory, narrative and myth. Popular music cannot be separate of Diaspora studies. It is a cultural resource in the construction of diasporic identity and it is inseparable of memory and heritage construction that helps to link the intergenerational members of immigration collectives through specifics sounds, styles, and lyrics. In this sense, I aim to discuss from an anthropological perspective the transnational music practices and political reinforcement of national identities based on the case study of younger generations of descendants of Slovenian exiles in Argentina.

The last Slovene migration flow to Argentina occurred between 1947 and 1950. During this period, approximately 6,500 anti-communist refugees arrived, who opposed the new communist government in Yugoslavia. Memories of the circumstances forcing them to leave the territory of origin and the sense of belonging remained vivid among migrants and their descendants, defining the social organization of the community and their social representations and subjectivities about it.

Actually, the young ‘Argentinian-Slovenes’ are still engaged with the ‘commitment to preserve Slovenianness’ performing the national belonging through Slovenian through ‘traditional music’. I will explore the case of ‘Buenos Aires Polca’, a national-entertainment band that performs mainly cover versions of the Avsenik brothers (Ansambel bratov Avsenik), as an example to analyze how descendants select, reconfigure and continue in Diaspora “homeland music heritages” and then reaffirm these practices through return mobilities and newly-established transnational connections.

Social song and record labels: Political opposition and music industry in Latin-America

Protest songs in Latin America have been a musical expression valued for their explicit link to active political opposition, mainly for social demands, claiming for workers’ rights and, in general, the actions of the leftist political protest movement. From the 1960s to the 1990s they featured performers such as Leon Gieco, Mercedes Sosa, Pablo Milanés, Silvio Rodríguez, Victor Jara, Santiago Feliú.

This genre was reinforced by the actions of political ideology of socialization in communities and social groups. The distribution of recordings in this context was by association and contact; however, this medium was not the main circulation one. The Latin American recording industry played a crucial role in circulating their distribution catalogs between Madrid, Buenos Aires, Havana, Mexico, Caracas, and Bogotá. Although some of the materials were restricted by censorship regimes (such as the military), the record labels could employ strategies to meet demand.

In general, protest songs were inserted into an imagery of political opposition, which has become invisible to its close association with the music industry. Without the resources of the music industry, market impact and social appropriation of the genre, it would have been marginal or limited. The music industry has adopted a criterion of profit, rather than criticize the ideological content, as the main reason to promote the commercialization of the genre for over forty years.
Sikuri panpipe bands in Jujuy province, Argentina: military rhythms, cumbia and Marian processions

This paper analyzes from a socio-historical perspective the origins of the sikuri panpipe bands and the changes they have undergone in the Quebrada de Humahuaca, in Jujuy province, Argentina. This region is near the border with Bolivia, and many of the sikuri musicians are descendants of Bolivian migrants. The siku is a sort of paired panpipe from the Andean world. This musical instrument consists of two separate parts, each of them having only half of the musical notes of the scale, so that one siku is played by two performers—the sikuris. Similarly paired or complementary panpipes have been used in ritual contexts in the Peruvian Andes at least since the times of the Nasca and Moche cultures.

The first bands registered in the Quebrada de Humahuaca date from 1930s, when a group of musicians/votaries chose this traditional Andean ritual format to express their devotion to the Virgen de Copacabana, a Marian adoration. Nevertheless, they also chose a particular set of elements to configure many aspects of the procession. The percussion set, as well as the rhythms that structure the sikuri musical performances until present day, were inspired by a military imaginary. This must be understood in a context were Bolivian migrants and their descendants were compelled to show their loyalty to the Argentine nation-state.

As time passed by, under different socio-historical contexts, when it was no longer needed to display Argentine diacritics so fervently, other influences and appropriations started to show. In the last few decades, different musical genres, mainly from Bolivia, started to become part of the sikuri bands repertoire. Even more recently, cumbia, a musical genre that has been disregarded and marginalized throughout Latin America, made its appearance. In this work I explore the socio-historical contexts, which help to understand the changes in the musical repertoire as well as other aspects of sikuri band processions as a whole.
Form, ideology, and performance in contemporary turbo-folk

Post-Yugoslav youth identities are increasingly mediated by evolving digital technologies and global, more specifically, American pop cultural forms, even as they remain firmly tethered to their localities. In the former Yugoslavia, popular music, in particular, has historically figured as the most culturally and ideologically charged site where such youth identities have been staged and articulated, frequently in opposition to the dominant social and cultural norms. In this lecture I examine the recent transformations in turbo-folk and hip-hop, two music genres that have grown in popularity after the decline of punk rock in the early 1990s. While turbo-folk initially emerged as state-sponsored music genre, tied specifically to ethnic nationalism, the post-socialist mafia elite, and traditional gender roles, recent scholarship on turbo-folk suggests a more nuanced understanding of this cultural phenomenon that accommodates oppositional – queer and feminist – readings of the genre and its multiple performative effects.

Although compelling, I argue that these readings obscure those aspects of turbo-folk performance that glamorize existing social hierarchies while ignoring other popular music genres, in the first place, hip-hop, where public speech, subversive gendered performance, and demand for political rights are staged in an explicitly agonistic manner against the ruling post-socialist ideologies and their dominant social expressions.