Discourse Analysis of Patriotic Songs produced during the War in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995:
Case study of First and Third Corps Art Units of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Army

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2021
**Declaration of Honour**

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It all started with the theatre play *Iz principa* about Gavrilo Princip and my first visit to Sarajevo in December 2009 and continued with the most interesting course - Anthropology of music- where my future undergraduate thesis supervisor Prof. Dr. Svanibor Pettan talked about functions of music during war, and presented examples from all over the world. I never missed the lecture. Therefore, I decided to research the functions of music during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina\(^1\) for my undergraduate thesis. As an exchange student I set foot at the Music Academy in Sarajevo, where I was warmly welcomed by prof. Dr. Tamara Karača Beljak, prof. Dr. Jasmina Talam, and their students.

From the beginning of the process, many people helped and supported me and at this point I would like to thank them.

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I would not be where I am, without the endless support of my family: my parents, who always believed in me and my work, and my dear sister, a person I cannot imagine my life without. Thank you all.

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\(^1\) Following the general use of term, Bosnia-Herzegovina will be shortened to Bosnia or B-H, which means all three names will be use in the thesis, all referring to Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ARBiH</td>
<td>Armija Bosne i Herzegovine [Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina]</td>
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<tr>
<td>B-H</td>
<td>Bosna i Hercegovina [Bosnia and Herzegovina]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPJ</td>
<td>Komunistička partija Jugoslavije [Yugoslav Communist party]</td>
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<tr>
<td>CZ</td>
<td>Civilna zaštita [Civil defence]</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLRY</td>
<td>Federativna ljudska republika Jugoslavija [Federative People’s republic of Yugoslavia]</td>
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<tr>
<td>GŠ</td>
<td>Glavni štab, also General štab [Main headquarters]</td>
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<tr>
<td>GŠTO</td>
<td>Glavni štab Teritorijalne odbrane [Territorial defence main headquarters]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDZ</td>
<td>Hrvatska demokratska zajednica [Croatian Democratic Union]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HVO</td>
<td>Hrvatsko vijeće Odbrane [Croatian Defence Council]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IZ</td>
<td>Islamska zajednica [Islamic community]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNA</td>
<td>Jugoslovenska narodna armija [Yugoslav People’s Army]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUP</td>
<td>Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova [Ministry of Interior Affairs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDH</td>
<td>Nezavisna država Hrvatska [Independent State of Croatia]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NKNM</td>
<td>Novo komponovana narodna Muzika [Newly composed folk music]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOB</td>
<td>Narodno oslobodilačka Borba [People’s liberation movement]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS RBIH</td>
<td>Oružane snage Republike Bosne i Hercegovine [Armed Forces of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Patriotska liga [Patriotic League]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Republika Srpska [Republic of Srpska]</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>Stranka demokratske akcije [Party of democratic action]</td>
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<td>Full Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDP</td>
<td>Socijalnodemokratska partija [Social-Democratic party]</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDS</td>
<td>Srpska demokratska stranka [Serbian democratic party]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFRY</td>
<td>Socijalistična federativna Republika Jugoslavija [Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRSJ</td>
<td>Savez reformskih snaga Jugoslavije [Union of reformed forces of Yugoslavia]</td>
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<tr>
<td>TO</td>
<td>Teritorijalna odbrana [Territorial defence; general People’s defence]</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOSRBiH</td>
<td>Teritorijalna odbrana socialističke republike Bosne i Hercegovine [Territorial defence of socialist republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TORBiH</td>
<td>Teritorijalna odbrana republike Bosne i Hercegovine [Territorial defence of republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPMIPDVP</td>
<td>Uprava za moral, informativno propagandna djelatnost i vjerska pitanja [Directorate for Moral Questions, Informative-Propaganda Activities and Religious Questions]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URMIPDVP</td>
<td>Ured za moral informativno propagandna djelatnost i vjerska pitanja [Office for Moral Questions, Informative-Propaganda Activities and Religious Questions]</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNPROFOR</td>
<td>United Nation Protection Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WWI</td>
<td>First World War</td>
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<td>WWII</td>
<td>Second World War</td>
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PREFACE

My father introduced me to the music of Bijelo dugme, Plavi orkestar and Pro arte when I was five years old. I did not understand a word they were singing, but I loved the music. Years have passed and my taste in music developed in the direction of ex-Yugo rock with a special focus on the groups from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

When studying ethnology and cultural anthropology at the University of Ljubljana two events turned my focus to South-Eastern Europe and Bosnia-Herzegovina. First, I attended a lecture on the anthropology of music, led by the ethnomusicologist professor dr. Svanibor Pettan, who later also supervised my undergraduate thesis. He talked about the power of music in different contexts, with a special focus on the music production in Croatia during the war (1991-1995). He showed us examples of songs with patriotic connotation performed by Tomislav Ivčić, Marko Perković - Thompson, Baja mali Knindža, and a band Zlatni dukati. Second, in 2009 I watched a theatre play Iz principa directed by a Slovenian director Jure Novak. This play was an agit-prop musical about Gavrilo Princip. I was so impressed by the music that I vowed to go to Sarajevo to see the bridge where history has been written. I visited Sarajevo in December 2009 and from that moment on, my personal history changed as well. The city surprised me in the most unexpected ways, it was old and new, beautiful and dirty, mysterious and obvious, cold and warm and above all, it was full of magic. I knew this would be the city I will often come back to.

That happened two years later, in 2011, when I studied at the Music Academy in Sarajevo as an exchange student and I conducted extensive fieldwork research for my undergraduate thesis. My main focus was the Sarajevan war music scene and the functions of music during the war. I successfully defended my undergraduate thesis in May 2013. It took some years of working experience and unemployment to realise I would like to continue my academic career. In 2017 I started my PhD at the Centre for Southeast European studies where I focus on one segment of music production that was unexplored till now – patriotic songs composed and performed by the art units of Bosnian-Herzegovinian army. Bosnians-Herzegovinians would say it was my nafaka to meet a colleague, whose uncle worked for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian army and was responsible for the coordinating the art unit of the Third Corps in Zenica. There I conducted

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2 Bijelo dugme (White Button) was established in 1973, Plavi orkestar (Blue Orchestra) in 1981 and Pro arte (1967) were one of the most popular bands from Bosnia-Herzegovina that bookmarked not just Bosnian and Yugoslav music scene, but also worldwide.

3 Nafaka means inevitable destiny, or “/.../ something strange in Bosnia. It is luck, and it is not, it is fate, and it is not, it is god's given and jet might not be” (Duraković 2006).
interviews with other members of the art unit, gathered sound, video, and written material on the art unit.

After a thorough consideration, my research also became motivated by the possibility of giving voice to the soldiers, who helped motivate their friends on the battlefield and open a space for them to tell their own stories. These stories contribute an important part of the history of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This PhD thesis is about music, war, resistance, fight, dilemmas, patriotism, state-building and nationalism in the two largest Bosnia-Herzegovinian cities, Sarajevo and Zenica, and the personal stories of people living there.
1. INTRODUCTION

The 1990s was a turbulent decade in many aspects. The Berlin wall had been torn down in 1989, marking the end of the “iron curtain era”. The German heavy metal band Scorpions released the album *Crazy world* in November 1990, with the iconic song *Wind of change* - a song that later became very popular in the besieged Sarajevo. Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia - another multicultural, multi-ethnic and multireligious state - dissolved soon after. All newly established states (Slovenia, Croatia, B-H, Serbia, North Macedonia, and Montenegro) were facing new political, economic and social circumstances. The new political order and the formation of new political parties were accompanied by new nation- and state-building processes. The dissolution of Yugoslavia ended with war in most of its republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. The atrocities happened practically in front of our eyes, as the world’s media reported about the warfare on a daily basis. Domestic and foreign scholars extensively studied the reasons for the war and the interest in the topic was so big that “libraries could be filled with books and articles written about the dissolution of Yugoslavia” (Bieber 2016: 1).

( Newly-established) armies and paramilitary formations committed many atrocities and local inhabitants in Croatia and B-H were facing ethnic cleansing, besieged cities, expulsions, mass rape, and even genocide. During the war in B-H (1992-1995) the question of national and religious identity became a daily debate of politicians, diplomats, and peace-keeping organisations. As stated in the population census from 1991, B-H had 4,355,000 inhabitants. 43,7 per cent of those identified as Muslims, 31,2 per cent as Serbs, 17,3 per cent as Croats, and 5,5 per cent as Yugoslavs (Calic 2009: 122). Three different ethno-nationalist parties won the first multi-party elections in B-H, indicating a rise in nationalist sentiment across different populations. Once very important supranational Yugoslav citizenship identity was in decline, giving space to nationalistic feelings. All this was further underlined by the question of religious identity and the rise of religiosity among B-H inhabitants. The question of national identity became important in everyday life and it was mirrored in the blossoming cultural production that became exceedingly nation-oriented. Extremely lively and active cultural life was happening in most cities throughout B-H during the war, whereby the capital city Sarajevo

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4 Following the general use of term, Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia will be shortened to Yugoslavia.
5 Citizenship is “a state identity and a people’s legal relationship with the state, giving rise to the rights and duties inherent in such a link, and an emotional attachment to the state and the willingness to take part in the day-to-day functioning of the polity” (Džankić 2015: 6).
stood at forefront due to centralisation and big media and scholarly interests during and after the war. The newly established B-H army also contributed to the development of cultural life, establishing not just the military orchestra in Sarajevo, where professional musicians played classical orchestra music, but also organising professional and amateur singers, musicians, and artists into army art units, where each (out of seven) army corps had its own art unit. Their main task was to compose and perform patriotic songs, to encourage soldiers and civilians, and to accompany official foreign or domestic visitors and protocol events with music.

This thesis addresses aspect of cultural production in times of war in B-H, and approaches the research question with two case studies, focusing on music in the army. It is an attempt to bridge the gap between cultural production in multi-ethnic societies and construction of national identity in times of war. Additionally, it also examines the role of political authorities and their support for patriotic songs production, and investigates how local people's personal memories and narratives negotiated the official governmental war narrative and the nation-building process. It is based on in-depth interviews and discourse analysis of patriotic songs' content and context. Theoretical concepts of cultural production, popular music studies, functions of music, and theories of nation-building frames both methodological approaches – all in relation to national identity. Special focus was given to the development of nation-building processes in B-H, particularly the development of the Bošnjak (Bosniak) nation-building process. The term Bošnjak was proposed as an alternative name for the Muslim inhabitants of B-H at the height of the war in 1993, replacing the term Muslim that had been used since the end of the 19th century.

Giving historical examples about cultural production in multi-ethnic societies in chapter three, does not only add the needed context to the development of B-H musical genres and traditions, but also shows the development of functions of music, elaborating on the differences and similarities based on presence and absence of war. The first cultural element that influenced B-H musical tradition is the legacy of the Ottoman Empire – the sevdalinka. This music genre evolved (through centuries) from an urban Muslim song into a symbol of B-H identity. And against the claims of some scholars (Kozorog and Bartulović 2016), sevdalinka should not be associated only with Bosniak tradition, but rather seen as a regional genre that was known and

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6 In the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina patriotic songs, they expressed loyalty to and support for the Bosnian army, promoted and glorified brave soldiers, battles and military units, praised successes on the battlefield, national heroes and the homeland. With patriotic songs the soldiers and civilians would overcome the difficult moments of loss, grief and fear said one interviewee.

7 A sevdalinka is a type of love song associated with the urban Muslim population in B-H (Milošević 1964).
practiced also in Serbia and Croatia. The genres' evolution shifted in the direction of becoming a music genre of Bosniak and had its revival during the war. Laden with nationalist meanings, indirectly expressing Bošnjak national identity, using words of Arabic/Turkish origin or singing about Muslim traditions and customs sevdalinka became a patriotic song. During the Yugoslav wars many song recordings from the WWI and WWII period experienced a rebirth or revival: Serbian and Croatian music production, for instance, was leaning towards old četnik and ustaša songs. The songs were used to stir up enthusiasm for fighting, relay messages between soldiers and their families, and even attempt communication with the perceived enemy (Sugarman 2010; Pettan 1998). The music was based on regional musical genres and traditions, celebrating nationalistic movements. Additionally, in all three countries partisan songs proliferated. Emphasising national identity, četnik and ustaša songs distinguished between “us” and “them”, using music as propaganda.

Presenting the most significant and popular examples of cultural production during the Yugoslav dissolution and wars forms the historical context and demonstrates how music helped construct national identity in Croatia, Serbia and B-H. It also shows the functions of music during the conflict and how local population negotiated proposed songs. When accepting specific musical genres and songs, local people expressed their opinion and as my examples show, Croats and Serbs defended their national identities, while the majority of people in B-H defended the multicultural and multi-ethnic Bosnian and Herzegovinian national identity and not nationalistic Bosniak identity the political authorities proposed.

This thesis turns to the artistic production of B-H army art units, a less explored domain of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and focuses on two case studies, examining popular culture in the form of patriotic music and investigating the role the Bosnian-Herzegovinian army art units played in the nation-building process. Organising musicians and singers into art units was not a new phenomenon, as music accompanied warfare practically since the beginnings of humankind and warfare. Through history musical instruments used before and during the battle changed, but the main idea – motivating soldiers – stayed the same. ARBiH art units also performed for civilians and wounded, and its members had equal status to the soldiers fighting on the front line. They represent the unique engagement of musicians and artists under the army's command, using their voice and instruments instead of weapons to participate in the defence action of B-H. Unlike them, Serbian and Croatian artist in Serbia and Croatia did that outside of the army's hierarchical structures. Because the Sarajevan military orchestra often
performed with the First Corps art unit, its music production of classical instrumental music is also briefly presented, focusing on the story of the orchestra’s conductor Emir Nuhanović.

As already mentioned, the thesis adopts the case study approach, where the main goal is to present the production of patriotic songs of two army art units (Zenica and Sarajevo), whereby the case study from Zenica serves as a counterbalance to the study of Sarajevo’s art unit. Both case studies are based on in-depth interviews with the respective art unit members and both case studies focus on one crucial event: the release of audio cassettes with patriotic songs, whereby the Sarajevo’s art unit produced one cassette and Zenica’s art unit two cassettes.

Because some art unit members made several patriotic songs I decided to include those songs in the analysis as well. In order to construct a comprehensive overview of the music production, and to be able to analyse B-H patriotic songs, I decided to include some Croatian and Serbian patriotic songs as well because they shared a similar idea and purpose and provide a larger picture about the relations between music, army, war and national identity.

The thesis’ research methods are based on in-depth interviews and supported by archival research and qualitative data analysis with the main focus on personal experiences of my interviewees. This combination of ethnographic methodology, qualitative archive research and broader historical context has been rarely used in studies on war in Yugoslavia and this research demonstrates that this combined approach is very effective and useful. Finally, the thesis focuses on a topic that has so far not been studied, namely the work of B-H army art units, and it gives voice to people, who have not yet had a chance to speak up.
1.1. DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM AND THE RESEARCH QUESTION

There are three main topics in the thesis that will be elaborated and analysed through two case studies: cultural production, multi-ethnic societies, and construction of national identity. The main research question the thesis examines is how cultural production in multi-ethnic societies constructs national identity in times of war, to what extent political authorities support this production, and how local people negotiate the official narrative with their own memories and experiences.

In order to answer the main research question, the thesis focuses on two case studies of cultural production and nation-building processes in multi-ethnic B-H, using the “top-down” and “bottom-up” approaches based on one segment of the ARBiH that was part of the army’s hierarchy and control, but had, at the same time, a significant freedom in the production process. This segment were art units, responsible for production of patriotic songs. I argue that patriotic songs give an insight into the cultural and social context of the time they were composed. With the discourse analysis this context helps interpreting general political, economic, social situation in the country.

The “top-down” approach shows the big picture and all of its components, whereas the “bottom-up” approach starts at the fundamentals and goes from specific to general, showing specific characteristics. The “top-down” approach in the thesis shows the general cultural production during the war and it highlights three important segments explained in detail in chapter three when I write about music in times of war. There I focus on three countries that were involved in the war - B-H, Croatia, and Serbia and present their music production because they give the contextualisation to the case studies examples. Next step in the “top-down” approach is the overview on cultural production in both case studies, in Sarajevo and Zenica, followed by short excursion to alternative music scene supported by stories of my interviewees. The last step is the cultural production of ARBiH art units. In the analysis chapter I use the “bottom-up” approach, where I focus on the particular music examples and analyse them using the discourse analysis method. In both approaches the army plays an important role especially in cultivating national identity. In all instruments of state apparatus, and army is one of them, the need for self-identification and national identity is very much present and also supported by official politics. With its hierarchical structure the army allows clear state control and the indoctrination of specific behaviour among its members. It is very important, especially for soldiers, to develop patriotic feelings and to be able to express them on a daily basis because that gives them additional motivation to fight. Hierarchically organised ARBiH had seven
corps, where each corps encouraged the artists, who volunteered into army, to join the art unit. There, they performed patriotic songs and were responsible for lifting morale and encouragement of soldiers and civilians. Because the ARBiH art units were unique example

Using the “bottom-up” approach and focusing on one segment of B-H army - the art units, and two case studies - First Corps art unit from Sarajevo, and Third Corps art unit from Zenica, will help illustrate that cultural production is one of the fundamental cornerstones of national identity (Smith 1991: 14), and that popular music stimulates, motivates and shapes national identity (Hudson 2003: 160). Additionally, it will present the personal stories of its members and their understanding of the official nation-building narrative. The choice of these two places for conducting research was made because I wanted to avoid centring the war in Sarajevo (as a lot of research did) and present another war-time narrative of a smaller B-H city, and compare the differences and similarities between the narratives of the capital city with a smaller industrial city. Another “bottom-up” approach also presented in the thesis are other forms of cultural production in Sarajevo and Zenica, where different initiatives of the people who were not officially members of any of the art units, but their songs reached the people and the political authorities. Such example are Omer Pobrić’s8’s song Ne daj se Bosno and Zenička škola stripa (Zenica comic book school).

The thesis focuses on one specific segment of cultural production – on patriotic songs. I define and describe them as patriotic songs because they “celebrate glorious history, cultural characteristics and cherish values and virtues of a nation” (Hebert and Kertz-Wetzel 2012: 1). Of course, those songs can have different meanings and can carry different messages. Songs and their lyrics can express opposition and disagreement to the existing situation and existing political establishment, transforming into protest songs (Weinstein 2006: 3). As the name suggests, protest songs were sung during protests. In 1972 Denisoff defined a protest song as “a socio-political statement designed to create an awareness of social problems and which offers or infers a solution which is viewed as defiant in nature” (Denisoff 1972, as cited in Haynes 2008: 247). Haynes adds that their lyrics convey a message which opposes a policy or course of action adopted by an authority or by society as an institution (e.g. discrimination) (Haynes 2008: 274). I see protest songs as political acts, and I also argue that patriotic songs can have

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8 Omer Pobrić (1945-2010), accordion virtuoso, composer, producer and founder of the Institut sevdaha (The Sevdah Institute) and Omer Pobrić Foundation in Visoko, and a leading modern proponents of sevdalinka (Pennanen 2010: 85). He was also known as a “giant post-war heritagesator of sevdalinka”, meaning he strived for the preservation of sevdalinka (Kozorog and Bartulović 2016: 170).
political potential, when they are used in a particular context of struggle. For example, at the anti-war demonstrations in Belgrade in 1991, the band Rimtitutuki performed a song *Mir, brate mir* (Peace, Brother Peace), clearly expressing disagreement with the political situation. Due to the critical and political song’s lyrics, I define this song as a protest song. And, as Dino Merlin sang *Jedna si jedina* (You Are the One and Only), a song about geographical specificities of B-H, expressing affection towards homeland, I define this song as patriotic. When it became a national anthem, a particular context of struggle was given to the song, but in the contrary to *Mir, brate mir*, the anthem expressed an indirect way of political engagement.

There are multiple examples that illustrate the daily interactions between state control apparatus and cultural production where the indoctrination of national identity is clearly visible. This happened during the war in B-H. One example was the “disappearance” of Serbian and Croatian popular music from public broadcasting. The resulting gap was filled with new B-H patriotic music. Many private recording studios were opened allowing amateur and professional singers and musicians to record patriotic songs, causing the growth of patriotic song on a daily basis. National and local TV and radio stations also offered their equipment and staff. Another example of state control is the abundance of cultural events organised in B-H cities and villages, where next to local musicians and artists’ performances, performances of art units constituted a large part of the programme. All of this was done to increase the patriotic feelings of B-H people.

In multi-ethnic societies such as B-H the question of national identity is always present. With the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991, new independent states emerged, and they all had to re-establish and rebuild their national identity. They based their ethnic identity and culture on patriotic and nationalistic feelings and ideas. Bosnia-Herzegovina is a historically, ethnic and religiously diverse society, where its inhabitants belong to one or more of the three officially recognised ethnic nations: Serbian, Croatian and Bosniak. The last category represents Bosnians of Muslim religion and Muslim heritage (Maček 2009: 13; Gjelten 1995: 25). On the eve of Yugoslavia’s dissolution, all three ethnic nations turned to nationalistic politics and nationalistic public discourse, but in contrary to Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat politicians, who wanted to join Serbia or Croatia, Bosniak politics defended multi-cultural and multi-religious society throughout the war. Even though this was not always implemented in practice. The official state-controlled discourses and narratives differed from the experiences of local communities.

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9 I understand national identity as “a means of identification of a particular group as members of particular unit and this unit or a nation is a political, social, gendered, spatial construction” (Volcic 2011: 43).
people, and as it became clear, the locals did not always accept political elites’ narrative frames, and they created their own narratives that in some cases, validated or undermined the official narrative. Looking at the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina it became clear that personal narratives about the war and about national identity can differ from the official one; this thesis leans on personal narratives, while keeping in mind both discourses (personal and official) to understand past events. By conducting in-depth interviews, social agents - musicians, singers, singer-songwriters and composers - and their personal stories stand at the centre of the thesis.

This introduction chapter offers definitions of the problem and elaborates the research question, before moving through theoretical concepts of cultural production, functions of music, and popular music studies. It also addresses the questions of national identity and nation- and state-building processes in multi-ethnic societies, and ends with a discussion of the theoretical concept of collective memory. The literature review section gives an overview of the previously published works that influenced the thesis and together with it, contribute to the understanding of war cultural production and question of national identity. Chapter two discusses methodology used in the thesis, and explains how interviews and data gathering were conducted. It outlines how discourse analysis was later used in the analytical part. Last but not least, the chapter gives a short personal reference to research ethics. Before focusing on both case study examples, chapter three offers a broad overview of music in times of war, focusing on spatial and temporal circumstances of B-H and starting with the Ottoman Empire and ending with the dissolution of Yugoslavia. For understanding the broader context, the music production in Croatia and Serbia in the 1990s are also briefly discussed in order to situate the B-H songs in a broader socio-cultural context of Yugoslav wars. After presenting the general historical context of the war and elaborating the cultural context, focusing on capital city Sarajevo and smaller city Zenica in chapter four, chapter five elaborates on the development of ARBiH and focuses on First and Third Corps. Another subchapter is dedicated to the role of religion in the army. Chapter six gives a detailed picture about art units, also elaborating the role of military orchestra. The analytical part in chapter seven first explains the categorisation of patriotic songs and offers a detailed analysis of these songs. The thesis ends with concluding remarks in chapter eight, outlining the originality of my contribution to the development of the scientific field, concluded with bibliography.

This PhD structure is necessary for the understanding of the broader socio-cultural context and it gives a “step-by-step” approach leading towards the analytical part. Each chapter contributes to the answer of the research question, where the chapter three introduces the historical aspect
of cultural production in multi-ethnic societies, giving the answer to the question of national identity construction, showing that music contributed to the promotion of national identity. Chapter five present the development and evolution of one state apparatus, giving the answer to how the political authorities supported the production of patriotic songs. Throughout the thesis personal narratives supports the historical facts and are, therefore, showing that their stories often showed another perspective comparing to the official narrative.

1.2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Ethnology investigates present and past cultural phenomena and links personal experience of individuals with historical discourses. Additionally, ethnology fills in the blanks in the historical picture of the world with written documents and personal stories. As Maja Povrzanović wrote “the focus of ethnological interest lies in everyday life or in other words, in the interpretation of its segments in a broader social environment” (Povrzanović 1993: 124). Therefore, the following section explains how different segments of the research question relate to theoretical concepts in this thesis, which has an interdisciplinary theoretical background and uses theoretical concepts of cultural production, popular culture and music studies (as they relate to the functions of music), state- and nation-building studies, and collective memory studies to analyse and interpret selected patriotic songs. It draws from various academic disciplines including historical anthropology, political sciences, cultural studies, history, and (ethno)musicology.

1.2.1. CULTURAL PRODUCTION

In scholarly literature the concept of cultural production is widely used, describing the work of cultural industries. The field of cultural production includes the production and evaluation of cultural expressions in a symbolic form. This means on the one hand the production of performing arts (that also include music), and on the other hand, the production within the culture industries: journalism, literature, computer games, and comics (Bolin 2011: 26). To clarify the concept of cultural production, the following section first examines ideas of Pierre Bourdieu (1993), Larisa Kurtović (2012), and Catherine Baker (2015), then connect these concepts with popular music studies to explain why popular music is an important part of cultural production.

Pierre Bourdieu defines the concept of cultural production as a set of mechanisms that allow existing cultural forms, practices, values and norms to be transmitted from generation to generation and sustain the continuity of cultural experience across time (Bourdieu 1993). His
theory encompasses social conditions of cultural production, circulation and consumption of symbolic goods (Bourdieu 1993: 9). In the essay titled *Distinction*, Bourdieu uses his own characteristic theoretical vocabulary, where the term *field* is defined as “a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources /…/” (Bourdieu 1993, as cited in Hesmondhalgh 2006: 211). The relationship between two sub-fields (large scale and small scale production) constitutes the *field*, and those two sub-fields are important for my understanding of mass production and consumption of patriotic songs in B-H. Bourdieu writes about large scale production (*grande production*) that can also be translated as mass production, and small-scale or restricted production, which he understands as “pure” artistic production. Importantly, they stand in opposition to each other (Bourdieu 1993: 15). When trying to adapt his view to popular music, one must first be aware of the differences between the production of popular music and that of literature or art. In the context of music production, small-scale or restricted production can be seen as alternative music because of its opposition to large-scale production or, mainstream production (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 217).

Bourdieu also introduces two forms of capital that are important in the field of cultural production: *symbolic* and *cultural capital*, whereby *symbolic capital* refers to the degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration of honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*), and *cultural capital* concerns forms of cultural knowledge, competences or dispositions (Bourdieu 1993: 7). Hesmondhalgh criticised Bourdieu’s theory, saying he “misses the importance of the rise of the cultural industries for understanding the changing social relations of cultural producers” (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 220).

Despite the criticism, scholars still use Bourdieu’s theory of cultural production and his terminology with some adaptations. Among them is Larisa Kurtović, who defines cultural production as “an unorthodox site of civic engagement”, focusing on music and arts in Sarajevo during the war (Kurtović 2012: 197-9). When writing about alternative music in alternative cultural events, Kurtović proposes the term *cultural producers*, referring to social agents responsible for cultural production (Kurtović 2012: 197-9). Catherine Baker also writes about cultural production in the context of war in B-H and refers to independent cultural production that became a “means of resistance to the war and to nationalism” (Baker 2015: 118). In the context of the B-H war, scholars used the term cultural production when referring to all forms of artistic expressions. Scholars also noticed that many cultural activities followed ethno-
national politics, creating a negative climate for peaceful coexistence among nations. Or as Husanović-Pehar wrote:

In the former Yugoslavia and its “successors” cultural production has played a central role in fantasies necessary for sovereign identitarian enactments of politics, fuelling political mobilisation, representation and organisation in the service of an uncritical, heteronomous attitude to the instituted ideological order whether authoritarian-populist-»communist« or ethno-nationalist. (Husanović-Pehar 2004: 162)

I follow the idea that popular patriotic songs are a part of cultural production. Seeing and understanding popular music as one segment of the music production, I offer some basic definitions of popular music, as they are significant for further understanding the relation between it and nation- and state-building processes.

1.2.2. POPULAR MUSIC

Popular music is part of popular culture and it does not have a single definition. Historically, the term “popular” meant “folk culture” or “of the ordinary people” (Muršić 2000a: 308). Some scholars understand it as opposite to “high culture” (Street 1997: 7). According to Philip Tagg, popular music studies require a holistic approach because music is made for mass distribution among a heterogeneous group of listeners (Tagg 1982: 41). Therefore, popular music can be defined as a “youth oriented product based on mass media production” (Bennett 2001: 169). Roy Shuker agrees with Tagg’s definition, adding that because of mass distribution popular music is also liked by a broader audience (Shuker 1994: 3). John Street adds that, “popular culture is a way of fun that includes big masses of people and mass consumption” (Street 1997: 7). He also sees relations between popular music and politics and ideologies, saying they depend on the context, conditions, type of popular music, and political system (Street 1997: 16). Even tough, Theodor Adorno sees music as art of all arts (Adorno 1986: 60), recognising its importance in social environment (Adorno 1986: 29, 70), he is very critical towards popular music. He argues that popular music follows the idea of culture industry, that produces standardised cultural goods that are used to manipulate the society. Those standardised goods are all equal, and as Longhurst says, “you hear/see one, you heard/saw them all (Longhurst 2007: 3). In Adorno’s words, popular music is produced through a standardised format, which means that all popular music sounds very similar (Adorno 1986). Even though Adorno argued against popular culture and music, the production of popular music exploded in the 1950s in the USA with the emergence of rock ‘n’ roll and a new social category of teenagers, who were
the main consumers of popular music (Bennett 2001: 152). Therefore, Andy Bennett defines popular music as youth-oriented music. Furthermore, he points to the importance of technology, noting that radio, radio cassettes and TV contributed to the production, transition, and consumption of popular music (Bennett 2001: 169). Another scholar, Simon Frith, agrees that mass production and mass media are essential for the evolution of popular music (Frith 1986: 18). Frith also agrees with John Street when discussing popular culture and music and their connection to identities and politics, noting that popular music can be used to express political ideas and spread propaganda. It can, for instance, be used as a weapon for or against political oppression (Street 1997: 38, 119).

In the chapter three I put a special focus on the development of Yugoslav popular music, that was not just an important export item, but was an important factor in creating supranational Yugoslav identity, proving Streets' thoughts on relations between music, politics and national identity. I developed his thoughts even broader when writing about dissolution of Yugoslavia and the presence of nationalism in Croatian and Serbian music production.

1.2.3. FUNCTIONS OF MUSIC

Music, “the living and ever-changing organism” (Pettan 2002: 181) has different meanings and functions. Therefore, several scholars dedicated their work and research to exploring the functions music has in our lives. In this section I introduce different classifications of these functions, as they are discussed by Alan P. Merriam (2000), Richard Raskin (1991), Svanibor Pettan (1998), Miroslava Hadžihusejnović-Valašek (1998) and Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona (2009). All discussed authors refer to specific spatial and temporal case studies that served as a basis for creating my own categorisation that I also introduce in this section.

Alan P. Merriam elaborates on ten different functions of music and develops not only a theory but also methodology for studying music from an anthropological perspective with anthropological methods. He claims that song lyrics are among the most obvious sources for understanding human behaviour (Merriam 2000: 149). His ten functions of music are the following: 1) Music as a function of human expression provides a vehicle for the expression of ideas and emotions. It is a part of social movements in which individuals seek to express specific emotions, including social and/or political pleasure or displeasure. 2) The function of aesthetic enjoyment involves contemplation of musical expression and has the power to evoke responses present in music in general. 3) Music entertains and engages a person’s attention. 4) Physical response -music evokes the desire for dancing and other activities involving
movement. 5) Music has a function of communication. Although it serves as communication tool music is not a universal language, but is shaped in terms of the culture in which it is produced, therefore, music can be understood and interpreted only in specific contexts. 6) Music affects individuals to submit to social norms, it 7) symbolises and represents cultural values, it 8) validate social institutions, 9) contributes to the stability of culture, and 10) to the integration of society (Merriam 2000: 167–81).

As Merriam elaborates on the functions of music, he is discussing this in general terms and is referring to peace time. However, several scholars categorise functions of music in times of uncertainties and wars. For example, Richard Raskin analyses one of the most important and popular songs of the French resistance movement during WWII, *Le Chant des Partisans*, and also discusses seven distinct functions of this song. He claims the song strengthened social cohesion and counteracted anxieties, it unburdened its singers and listeners, promoted confidence, pride and a sense of purpose, it legitimised violence on the war front and provided consolation for prisoners (Raskin 1991). His classification is similar to Merriam's and can be applied to several examples of patriotic songs analysed in chapter seven.

Whereas Raskin derives his classification from studying one song, Svanibor Pettan analysed several examples of popular music composed during the *Domovinski rat* (primarily referred to as Homeland war, later officially named Croatian war of independence) in 1991-1995. His analysis covers both the processes of music-making and its final products – the songs. He speaks of the “official” and “alternative” domains of music. The first was comprised of professional musicians, while the amateurs represented the “alternative” domain. He outlined three specific functions of music: 1) music of encouragement was intended for soldiers on the battlefields and civilians in the shelters; 2) music of provocation and humiliation was directed towards the enemy; and 3) music oriented towards those that were not directly involved functioned as a call for involvement (Pettan 1998: 13).

In addition to proposing that music can be seen as encouragement, provocation, humiliation, and call for help, Pieslak (2009) also highlight music can serve as a political tool for propaganda, stating, that history offers more than enough examples and evidence demonstrating that music was (ab)used for propaganda reasons (Pieslak 2009: 80). Although propaganda can be conceptualized and understood in different ways, I follow Kevin B. Vichcales’ definition, who describes propaganda as:
Any systematic attempt to influence opinion on a wide scale. It is a form of communication that seeks to promote or discourage attitudes as a means of advancing or injuring and organisation, an individual, or a cause. Propaganda proceeds by deliberate plan for calculated effects. It usually addresses a mass audience through mass media or is targeted at special audiences and media that provide access to mass opinion. (Vichcales 2010, as cited in Malichárek 2020: 124)

During WWII, loudspeakers, a technological novelty at the time, were used to spread propaganda messages or transmit noises aimed at disorienting the enemy (Pieslak 2009: 80). The Nazi government used loudspeakers to play national-socialist war songs, promote Germanic culture and spread propaganda (Prochazka 2011: 296). A similar situation was seen during wars in Croatia, Serbia, and B-H: scholars claimed that nationalistic propaganda was present on a daily basis and used to incite national hatred and fear. According to William Shawcross, propaganda is considered as one of the most important weapons of this war (Shawcross 1999: 337). It was often present in the media that spread “fabricated news” (Milošević 2000: 119), creating an alternative narrative of the events taking place throughout the country. For that reason, some scholars point to the media as a mechanism for spreading hatred that caused the war (Volcic 2011: 114). Media were also responsible for transmitting popular nationalistic and patriotic music that was a part of the war propaganda.

Miroslava Hadžihusejnović-Valašek explores popular music and its relation to propaganda in the town of Osijek in Eastern Croatia and notes that propaganda was most visible at the start of the war when patriotic songs encouraged not just the “cellar population” of civilians, who were hiding in cellars and shelters, but also it demoralised enemy on the front line. Aside from patriotic songs, traditional Slavonian folk songs were played on the front line (Hadžihusejnović-Valašek 1998). Music was seen as a tool for motivating not just the soldiers but also the civilians. As Prochazka states, a good “propaganda-song” must have a catchy and simple melody, it must be easy to remember, and it must have passionate and emotional lyrics (Prochazka 2011: 295-6). Many of these songs also had a video clip that made the emotional effect even bigger.

Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona’s study on music during the war in Sri Lanka stresses that music was made to encourage “our people” and was divided into four categories: patriotic/nationalistic songs, war songs, songs of mourning and sympathy, and songs of peace (Kalinga Dona 2009: 97). She is the only one who sees no difference between patriotic and nationalistic songs, combining them into one category. Based on my fieldwork in Sarajevo
where I was researching music production and aforementioned scholarly work on functions of music, particularly Pettan’s categorisation, I propose two distinct functions of music that occurred in the particular context: muzika kao lijek (music as therapy/cure), and muzika kao otpor (music as resistance) (Hamer 2013). The distinct categories I propose were established after conducting interviews, where my interlocutors pointed out that popular patriotic music broadcasted on B-H national radio and TV was understood as a form of resistance, and the music they listened to at home (different genres10) was considered a cure. Moreover, my interviews distinguished between patriotic and nationalistic songs, saying B-H songs were patriotic and Serbian and Croatian were nationalistic.

In the current anthropological literature, the studies about the concept of resistance are marked as predictable, “outdated and completely non-innovative doing” (Bartulović 2013: 39). But despite that, practical examples of resistance against uneven power relations from all over the world shows resistance is still a very current and relevant topic. Lila Abu Lughod addresses the problematic “romanticisation of resistance”, saying people, who resists are usually portrayed as heroes who seized power, improved their starting point and position despite social barriers (Abu Lughod 1990, as cited in Bartulović 2013: 44). Furthermore, Reed-Danahay (1993) argues that the “romanticisation of resistance” can also be present among local population and not just in ethnographic studies. I noticed a couple of times while conducting interviews that my interlocutors romanticise their own resistance when talking about cultural events, beauty pageants, patriotic songs, but the majority of them showed a critical view on the events during the war. Stef Jansen points out that this might lead to a dismissal of discursive practises that are initially seen as tools of liberation, turning them into mechanisms of repression and exploitation (Jansen 2000: 394). Michael Brown presents a stronger argument against the uncritical and frequent usage of the resistance discourse saying that this might lead to diminishing the sense of wrongdoing and hardening the numbness (Brown 1996: 731). Torsten Kolind (2008) claims it is not necessarily that the act of resistance is intended, informed of coherent in order to be described as an act of resistance. Sometimes it can be seen in the most trivial and everyday

10 In this thesis I use the term genre, not as an activity as Paltridge and Hyland proposed, saying that genre are activities that people engage in through the use of language that can be written or spoken (Paltridge and Hyland 2012: 62-3), but as a category that identifies music and it marks its differences and similarities. Therefore, the term music genre refers to variety of facets of music, starting with how music is made, what instruments are used, what kind of rhythm and melody are used, what is the socio-cultural background of social agents (listeners, musicians, vocalists, managers, producers). More about different definition of the genre in Paltridge and Hyland (2012: 62-89).
actions and comments. As Keesing notes, understanding resistance is not defining the action *per se*, but an individual’s understanding of its context and meaning (Keesing 1992: 223). I agree with Keesing that the individual understanding of the term resistance is important, and because the majority of my interlocutors used the term critically, saying they were fighting against the enemy with what little weapons they had and resisted with culture, I decided to continue to use the term resistance.

In the academic literature the function of music as a weapon is often presented in descriptive terms, and not often addressed as such (Pettan 1998: 10). The phrase describes the negative effects of music, where music is used to cause pain and discomfort to/with people. Because music has been a powerful means of representing cultural identities (Baker 2013: 410), in cases of Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian war songs it was quite clear to whom a certain song “belongs”. According to Laušević all warring parties in Bosnia used music as a cultural weapon of choice and it was a common practice to blast music through loudspeakers turned towards the enemy. In a way, everybody was strengthening the morale of their own people, establishing group cohesion, threatening the enemy with music, and in this way, also claiming their territory (Laušević 2000: 290). Traditional music was also used for this purpose and as Laušević notes “it is not accidental that all three warring parties have resorted to traditional music genres to spur nationalistic feelings and create new typical national sound while, at the same time, using popular music idioms to boost morale and image of the young soldiers” (Laušević 2000: 296). At this point, traditional music and instruments were nationalised: *gusle*\(^{11}\) escort Serbian soldiers on the front line (Žanić 1998: 69); on the Bosnian front lines *sevdalinka* could be heard; and the Croatian media started to broadcast *tamburica*\(^{12}\) ensemble songs. Another way music functioned as a weapon during the war was its use as a torture technique. In detention camps and prisons people had to sing ethno-national songs of perpetrators (Baker 2013: 425). Most known detention camps in B-H were Omarska and Trnopolje (controlled by VRS army) and Čelebići (controlled by ARBiH). According to witnesses, daily torture and killings were accompanied with nationalistic četnik and ustaša songs (Ramet 2002: 218). In all camps forcing

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\(^{11}\) *Gusle* are a simple one string instrument made from a single piece of ash tree. The player – *guslar* - uses a bow to produce the sound and synchronically sings long epic poetry. Although the instrument is known and played all over the Balkans, it became the symbol of Serbian national identity (Laušević 2000: 294). One of my interviewees mentioned they often heard Serbian soldiers playing *gusle* on the front. Hudson reports that radio stations in Belgrade broadcasted songs accompanied by *gusle* with lyrics in which Serbian national heroes were glorified (Hudson 2003: 167-8).

\(^{12}\) *Tamburica* (eng. Tamburizza) is a plucked lute.
prisoners to sing or listen to nationalistic songs of the enemy was a torture technique that mocked, humiliated and intimidated inmates.

1.2.4. FROM ETHNICITY TO NATION- AND STATE-BUILDING

Varieties of definitions of ethnicity, nation, nationalism, and patriotism were negotiated and they point to the political and ideological circumstances through which scholars understand those concepts and terms. And because nations in B-H developed their national identity based on ethnic identity, the following paragraph examines the concept of ethnicity, presenting basic ideas of primordialists and constructivists; it explains relations between ethnicity, nation, nation-building processes, various forms of nationalism, and patriotism.

Barker defines ethnicity as “a cultural term for boundary formation between groups of people who have been discursively constructed as sharing values, norms, practices, symbols and artefacts and are seen as such by themselves and others” (Barker 2000: 384). Similarly, Smith finds that ethnicity presents a basic group of people, who share a common language, culture, values, believes, ancestors and the feeling of belonging to one special group (Smith 2005: 58-64). Brubaker sees ethnicity, next to race and nationhood, as a fundamental way of perceiving, representing and interpreting the social world. Therefore, ethnicity is not a thing in the world, but a perspective on the world (Brubaker 2004: 17).

In scholarly debates on ethnicity two basic perspectives are most often discussed: the primordialistic and the constructivistic discourse. The primordialistic perspective has a longer tradition, as it dates back to German romanticist philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1741-1803), who promoted the ideology of “Eine Sprache, ein Volk, ein Staat” (Sotirović 2006: 3), claiming ethnicity is grounded on “primordial attachments” and emotional bonds (Shils 1957, as cited in Milan 2020: 21). Nagle and Clancy additionally claim ethnic groups are “enmeshed in human biology and embedded in social structure” (Nagle and Clancy 2010, as cited in Milan 2020: 21). For primordialists, nations are considered ancient and natural phenomena (Smith 1986: 12). Constructivists critic on that is that this kind of thinking provides an effective way to boost nationalism and hatred towards other ethnicities. Additionally, constructivist approach proposes that nation is a modern social construction of political community. Ethnic identities are thus subject to change and are as well as concept of nation, constructed (Gellner 13). As for example when the then American president Bill Clinton talked about “ancient old hatreds” and “Balkan ghosts”, blaming them for the war in B-H (Sells 1996: 23; Volcic 2011: 11). His statement was also adopted by media, and despite the fact that scholars of different disciplines tried to demolish this myth, this primordial theory is still present in current debates on the Bosnian war.
1987) and (re)produced (Brubaker 2004). Eriksen adds that ethnic identity is just one of the multiple social identities an individual has and it can be manipulated for specific political or economic reasons (Eriksen 2010, as cited in Milan 2020: 21). Hastings elaborates on the differences between ethnicity and nation, noting that a nation is a more self-conscious community and is formed from one or more ethnicities (Hastings 1997: 3). Both primordialists and constructivists argue that ethnic identity is based on myths, languages, and social practices.

If Gellner and Smith understand nation as a social group, then Rogers Brubaker understands nation as a dynamic and relational process, and defines it through the concept of groupism. He notes that groupism is the “tendency to take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogenous and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis” (Brubaker 2004: 8). He argues that we should think about ethnicity and nation as social and cultural processes and consider them in terms of discursive frames and practical categories (Brubaker 2004: 8). And even though Brubaker uses the concept of groupism to describe the “tendency to take bounded groups as fundamental units of analysis (and basic constituents of the social world)” (Brubaker 2004: 2), he also criticises the usage of the term saying, journalists, NGOs and policy makers use the term groupism in order to present a conflict as an ethnic conflict and ethnic violence (Brubaker 2004: 18).

In her thesis on collective memory in Croatia, Tamara Banjeglav follows Brubaker’s idea of groupism, and uses it in her analytical part, trying to show how people belonging to a specific ethno-national group are grouped according to the same or similar experience of the war. She explains that people's belonging to a certain ethno-national group “grouped” them around the same or similar experience of the war and not the other way around (Banjeglav 2015: 17).

Because this research deals with the similar processes and nation-building mechanisms and remembering the war experiences, I use the concept of groupism to in order to show how my interlocutors experienced the war and how their belonging to Bosniak, Serb, Croat, and Bosnian national group influenced them.

In its broadest sense a nation can be described as “a large-scale political community, frequently with a specific cultural background” (Karolewski and Suszycki 2011: 4). According to Benedict

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14 When talking about the concept of groupism, Brubaker is also referring to the situation in former Yugoslavia, saying that “groupism is also the tendency to treat ethnic groups, nations and races as substantial entities to which interests and agency can be attributed. I mean the tendency to deify such groups, speaking of Serbs, Croats, Muslims and Albanians in the former Yugoslavia” (Brubaker 2004: 164).
Anderson (2007) a nation is an *imagined political community* in which its members do not necessarily know each other, but they share the same idea of belonging and the same set of values, political rules, myths, language and cultural artefacts, including poetry, prose, visual art, and various styles of music. Anderson emphasises the importance of national hymns; singing gives members of a group the feeling of homogeneity and togetherness (Anderson 2007). Because every person has a number of identities, each of which is more important at different times (Paltride and Hayland 2012: 24), belonging to an *imagined community* arouses the feelings of belonging. New identities can emerge, including a national identity that is based on shared culture, religion, language, history. Anderson suggests that the daily ritual of reading the same newspaper also evokes the feeling of national community. Anthony Smith argues that the Western model of nation and national identity is a complex construction, comprised of interrelated components, such as historical territory or homeland, common myths and historical memories, mass culture, legal rights for all members of the nation, and common economy (Smith 1991: 11-7). He emphasises that nations are a further developed state of ethnicity. The use of symbols such as flags, anthems, monuments, celebrating annual ceremonies, learning about common heritage and cultural kinship strengthen these *imagined communities*. According to historian Eric Hobsbawm these symbols are also key elements of what constitutes a nation (Hobsbawm 1992: 88-101). Brubaker, Smith, Anderson, and Gellner agree it is difficult to think of nation without a particular territory. Oren Yiftachel adds that this territory can be actual or imagined. It may be used “as an instrument of classification to differentiate what is ours from theirs; as a means of communication with culturally meaningful landmarks and boundaries; or as a container shaping group imagination” (Yiftachel 2001, as cited in Özkırımlı 2002: 179).

Regarding the question of a nation’s age, scholars have different opinions on how nations and nationalisms develop and we can talk about four different schools of nationalism scholarship; primordialism, perennialism (that are often grouped together), modernism and constructivism. Modernists argues that nationals and nationalism are recent/modern, invented and socially constructed. Following this idea, Eric Hobsbawm coined the term *invention of traditions*, and explains that traditions are and can be invented if necessary (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Perennialism on the contrary, argues that nations have always existed. At this point Anthony Smith details two varieties of “perennialist approach”: “recurrent perennialism” which focuses on the broader recurrence of nation as a general phenomenon, and “continuous perennialism” which focuses on the continuity of nation over centuries (Smith 1986: 12-13).
Bieber claims nation-building happened when members of one group formed/created a mutual agreement, or as he puts it “the mutually agreed fiction” (Bieber 2020: 7). The idea of creation of nations, and consequently nationalisms, has its origins in the French revolution and later spread all over the world. It reached Eastern and South-Eastern Europe at the end of the 19th century when big multi-ethnic15 empires were succeeded by smaller states, guided by the idea that each nation gets its own nation state. As Mylonas states, “the entire process of nation-building and state-building is a long-running process and each state has gained a different experience” (Mylonas 2013: 56). Additionally, he explains that most Balkan states got their independence through secession from the Ottoman Empire after the revolution called the Springtime of the peoples in 1848. Their understanding of nationhood was predominantly ethno-cultural, whereby religious identity played an important role. In his study of the Ottoman Empire’s multi-ethnic society, Mylonas claims that the millet system16 influenced the national identity formation across the Balkans, demonstrating how multi-ethnic societies develop differently and how religion is involved in this development. For example:

It was common to refer to Orthodox Christians as “Rum (or Romioi)” – a term that has been used interchangeably with the term “Greek” – regardless of their native languages or ethnic backgrounds. Christians would use the term “Turk” to refer to Muslims of all types of ethnic and linguistic background; thus they could mean an Albanian, a Bosnian Muslim, a Pomak, a Donmeh, or a Muslim Vlach. The majority of the population still identified themselves in religious terms. (Mylonas 2013: 55)

Despite self-identification based on religion, ethnic groups all over South-Eastern Europe started to follow nationalistic ideas that revolution brought. Karolewski and Suszycki propose that in line with both the “bottom-up” and the “top-down” approaches, nationalism can be divided into three levels: individual, social and governmental (Karolewski and Suszycki 2011: 5). On the individual and social levels, nationalism depicts the individuals' sense of belonging

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15 Multi-ethnic societies are those societies, where more than two groups of people with different ethnic background live side by side. Mylonas, deriving his definition from a study of the Ottoman Empire, defines multi-ethnic societies as an “intermingling of heterogeneous population” (Mylonas 2013: 53).

16 The millet was a religious community, and millet system was an autonomous self-governing community, categorised by the religious beliefs of its inhabitants. The system was guaranteed some degree of religious and administrative autonomy (Keil 2013). Inhabitants of a millet had to pay taxes and maintain internal security. But as Malcolm writes, this administrative organisation of the Empire happened in the later centuries. In the first period, the original distinction was between Ottomans and raya. Ottomans were members of military-administrative class and raya were all other people. This term is still in use in the common B-H language, meaning friends, people you spend time with. Mugdim Avdić Henda sang the most known patriotic song about raya, titled Sarajevska raja, released in 1994.
to the nation and their readiness to sacrifice themselves for its wellbeing, security and social welfare. It reflects the duties each citizen has towards the nation, which can be seen at the social level (Karolewski and Suszycki 2011: 6). On a governmental level, nationalism is seen as a process “of constituting and sustaining nations and nation-states” and can also be understood as one of the components of nation-building processes (Karolewski and Suszycki 2011: 7-8). When the core narrative of the national identity is based on the genealogy of one nation this, too, can be described as nationalism on the governmental level (Karolewski and Suszycki 2011: 6). Volcic criticises this governmental level of nationalism and sees it problematic. She understands nationalism as a political ideology that justifies the existence of modern nation-state based on territory. She finds the idea that “borders of any state can be clearly defined for the people of the same national identity”, very problematic (Volcic 2011: 8).

Concurrently with the spread of nationalism, patriotism also flourished. Several scholars elaborated the academic definition of the term patriotism, but what I noticed among my interviewees, was an everyday use of the term, which distinguished in some ways to the academic definitions. Psychologist Leonard Doob writes, “patriotism is most commonly defined as “love for country”, and is obviously subjective and psychological” (Doob 1964: 6). A few sentences later he gives his own personal definitions of patriotism, saying “patriotism is a more or less conscious conviction of a person that his own welfare and that of the significant groups to which he belongs are dependent upon the preservation or expansion (or both) of the power and culture of his society” (Doob 1964: 6). Crucially he claims that nationalism arises from patriotism (Doob 1964: 6). Philosopher Simon Keller defines patriotism as “a passionate, emotionally driven commitment. A patriotic commitment is not simply a matter of rational judgment, or of belief, or of arguing your way to a conclusion” (Keller 2012: xiii). Furthermore, he describes patriotism as a “serious loyalty to country, and a readiness to make sacrifices for its sake” (Keller 2012: xiv). When outlining the differences between patriotism and nationalism he claims that they have different objects and that they direct their love at different kinds of things: a patriot loves a country, and a nationalist loves a nation or people, who share the same background and identity (Keller 2012: xvi-xvii). Like Keller, historian Ivo Banac understands patriotism as an emotional attachment (Banac 1984: 24). Moland, on the contrary, recognizes that patriotism implies loyalty to one’s country, but she questions whether this loyalty is oriented towards the country’s political principles or to its culture and tradition, or to a specific geographical area (Moland 2011: 4). When assessing the scholarship on nationalism and patriotism, one gets the impression that the main difference between the two is in their
negative/positive connotation. As German historian Peter Alter notes, nationalism is seen as something negative and aggressive (Alter 1994, as cited in Bieber 2020: 2), and patriotism is, on the contrary, seen as something positive. According to Keller, the real patriot:

Embraces the special relationship that he shares with his country. The patriot may see that his country is far from being perfect, and may have disagreements with its government but he thinks of it as a good country, in at least some central respects. The patriot does not wish that he did not love his country, and does not wish that he had been born somewhere else. (Keller 2012: xiv)

In addition, Bieber notes that nationalism and patriotism are not opposite to each other as Alter suggests, but ideological brothers (Bieber 2020: 3). Because of so many different interpretations of patriotism, Michael Billing (1995) offers a new, postmodernist approach to patriotism, national identity formation and nationalism, focusing on everyday popular practices in creation of national identity. His theory of banal nationalism suggests that nationhood, national identity and nationalism are on-going processes that constitute of contemporary life. He describes patriotism as banal nationalism that is present in everyday life. It manifests in many different ways. For example, in the use of the national flag at sports events, in singing national songs at gathering. These reminders, or flaggings (Billig 1995: 38), are so numerous and so familiar to us that we rarely consciously noticed them. Another reason why we barely noticed them is because:

Banal nationalism operates with prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which, in so doing, inhabit them. Small words, rather than grand memorable phases, offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making »our« national identity unforgettable. (Billig 1995: 93)

In the case of banal nationalism, the main nationalistic rhetoric refers to “our patriotism” and “their nationalism”, where “patriotism” is necessary and beneficial and “nationalism” is dangerous and irrational (Billig 1995: 17, 55). Karolewski and Suszycki critically interpreted Billig’s banal nationalism as a top-down discourse used by political elites in order to establish and strengthen national identity among the population to get political support. Usually this includes the manipulation of political symbols such as flags, national anthems, national monuments and the introduction of national holidays. “By so doing, they socialise their citizens into bearers of loyalty towards the nation-state and simultaneously present themselves as bearers of the national will” (Karolewski and Suszycki 2011: 7-8). Billig claims the concept of
*banal nationalism* uses the principles of exclusion and “Othering” (Billig 1995: 78), and Karolewski and Suszycki add that political elites primarily make use of these principles. They see nationalism critically, pointing out the role of political elites. Juvan and Prebilič explain relations between nationalists and patriots with the following words:

> Every nationalist is certainly a patriot, committed to belonging to his own country and his own people. But every patriot is not necessarily a nationalist in the sense of seeking the compliance of the nation. It follows that patriotism ranks highly among positive global values; this is not the case for nationalism. On the contrary, nationalism has anything but a positive connotation and is often publicly condemned. (Juvan and Prebilič 2014: 60)

I fully agree with this observation. Among my interviewees patriotism was seen as positive and respectful feeling and something that was part of B-H, and nationalism was described as negative and dangerous, connected with Serbs, who attacked B-H. Again, this usage of terms was used in everyday conversations and as Smith (1993) elaborated, the term nationalism has a number of referents that do not always have a negative connotation (Smith 1983: 167-7).

Another way nationalism is expressed is through gender differentiations. Throughout history, men and women played different social roles and were differently presented in society. The fact is, women were always considered second best and were mostly seen as an object rather than a subject. The presence of women in political and public life was minimal and it took centuries before we got at least theoretical equality with men. In times of crisis and war, this dichotomy between genders is even clearer and more pronounced. As Kesić notes, the distinction between men and women appears in every war (Kesić 1999: 188) and many scholars see this differentiation as “gendered nationalism” (Bougarel 2007). Because gender, sexuality and nationalism are cultural and socially constructed, concepts such as state, citizenship and national identity, contribute to distinctions based on gender. Social divisions thus distinguish between masculine and feminine gender roles, where “the image of male hero defending his nation and his family is often complemented to that of the passive and powerless female victim /…/” (Bougarel 2007: 171). In the case of B-H this is exactly what had happened; gender roles were divided to defenders and victims, whereby men were soldiers defending their homeland, and women were victims, who suffered from physical and emotional violence. Due to that, their suffering was equalised with the suffering of the entire nation, and B-H women became, on the symbolical level, equalised with the B-H nation. As one interviewee said, women, who were raped or lost their family members, became the symbol of the suffering B-H nation.
1.2.4.1. NATION-BUILDING AND STATE-BUILDING PROCESS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

In B-H, the process of nation-building was very complex, as different ethnic groups with different religious beliefs live on its territory. Some of those ethnic groups formed independent national identities and we can speak of three different nation-building processes that happened on the territory of B-H. Looking back in history:

Bosnia was “that exotic country in the heart of Europe” – a land with a six-hundred-year heritage made rich with the intermingling of many cultures and civilizations. Multinational, multicultural, multireligious, its many communities – Muslims, Serbs, Croats, Hungarians, Jews – had lived together for generations. It was in Bosnia under the Ottomans that large number of Jews fleeing the Inquisition from Spain found welcome refuge, and there they had stayed, weaving another strand into the country’s variegated tapestry. (Ali and Lifschultz 1993: xii)

Its heterogeneous population was encouraged and rewarded for changing their identities depending in which empire they were living in. Scholars agree that the Bosnian Muslims are descendants of South Slavs, who converted to Islam during the four-hundred-year reign of the Ottoman Empire (Bringa 1995: 14; Wachtel and Bennett 2009: 25). Among the converts were mostly members of the Bosnian higher social class that later contributed to the development of Muslim national identity. Converting to Islam meant having tax benefits and other privileges or, as Malcolm wrote, “being a Muslim was certainly an advantage for anyone in the Ottoman state” (Malcolm 1996: 48). In this period all inhabitants in B-H were identified according to their religion. Slavic Muslims were named *Turci* (Turks), which had nothing to do with Turkish ethnicity (Maiocchi 2009: 215; Friedman 1996: 43). Despite the fact that the inhabitants of B-H shared the same territory, language, history, and to an extent also culture, religion became the most obvious distinguishing feature that was later used for national mobilisation of different religious groups.

When the Austro-Hungarian Empire occupied the territory of B-H in the period (1878-1914), the privileged status of Bosnian Muslims started to fade and the Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats started gaining political power for their nationalist ideas. The first wanted to establish the “Greater Serbia” and the latter desired the “Greater Croatia”. But the appointed Austro-Hungarian minister of finance and administrator of B-H, Benjámin Kállay (1839-1903), pursued and created a new national identity that was interreligious and inclusive of all Bosnian
citizens. The project was known as Bošnjaštvo, a term which Hoare translated as Bosniakism (Hoare 2007: 74) and can be understood as ethnoreligious pluralism (Džankić 2015: 48). With this project all inhabitants of B-H were given one name and with that, only one national identity. His idea was to extend the term Bosnian to people of all religious groups living in B-H. Kállay’s goal was to prevent the development of Croatian and Serbian nationalisms, which he considered dangerous for the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and B-H (Malcolm 1996: 148). As Aida Lipa writes:

To keep the Serbian and the Croatian territorial aspirations under control, the Austro-Hungarian administration sought to foster a feeling of national belonging to B-H, which was based not on ethnic or religious, but on territorial affiliation. They attempted to evoke a feeling of unity and patriotism amongst the various ethnic groups towards their mutual country. (Lipa 2006: 1)

However, as Hoare notes, “the policy of Bošnjaštvo failed to create a Bosnian nation, but it enabled the flowering of the national identity that had arisen from the particular position of the Muslims in Ottoman ruled B-H” (Hoare 2007: 74).

After the end of WWI in 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was founded under the Serbian prince regent Alexandar Karadordević (Bringa 1995: 23). This unification of most South Slavic ethnic groups into one political unit marked a new era in the development of nation-building policies among all groups, even in the territory of B-H (Džankić 2015: 52). In this period many different political organisations were founded to protect the interests of their members. Among them was the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation (1918) to support Muslim interests. According to Gjelten this organisation is considered as the forerunner of the Muslim party SDA (Gjelten 1995: 36), but the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation had a different social structure and political orientation as the future SDA, where the latter was definitely less pro Yugoslav as the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation.

After WWII, the Yugoslavian communist regime supported the idea that every nation gets their own territory, which supports Smith’s (1991) thesis that a territory is the fundamental feature of national identity. According to the popular saying, Yugoslavia was a country of six nations, five languages, four religions, three languages, two alphabets and one Tito. Because B-H was multinational, none of the ethnic groups were considered a majority, but importantly, the

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17 Volcic also refers to this popular saying in her book, but leaves out three languages and two alphabets (Volcic 2011: 26).
Bosnian Muslims were recognised, first as an ethnic group, then later as a distinct nation. In Yugoslavia the nation-building process was based on the communist principle of *brotherhood and unity*, promoting one supranational Yugoslav identity that overshadowed other national identities. Due to the Yugoslav federal system, each citizen of SFRY had a unique SFRY citizenship that was two-tiered: federal (Yugoslav) and republican (one of the six republics), (Džankić 2015: 56), meaning people had to balance between their federal Yugoslav and their republican national identities. In B-H many communist and those of mixed marriages and their children identified with the supranational Yugoslav identity (Džankić 2015: 13). In the 1980s, after Tito died, Yugoslavia faced major economic and political crises which intensified the relations between republics and caused a growth of nationalistic movements (Džankić 2015: 60).

When Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence and when the war broke out in 1991, three nation-building processes in B-H were enforced: Bosniak, Serbian, and Croatian. The first spread through the Muslim-inhabited part of B-H - in the *Federacija* (Federation). The Serbian ethno-national narrative emerged in Republika Srpska (RS) among Bosnian Serbs, and in Herzegovina, the Bosnian Croats asserted its own ethno-national aspirations (Kolstø and Jelovica 2014: 242). All three processes used similar strategies to build new nation-states.

According to Sokol, the first strategic step was aimed at destroying the common communist past (Sokol 2014: 107), whereby all three national groups sought to distance themselves from communist ideas, stating that after many “dark decades of communism” (Velikonja 2009: 9) all three countries were finally free of their shackles. In her book, *The culture of lies*, Dubravka Ugrešić describes the destruction of a common communist past as a “confiscation of memory” (2006), exploring how cultural spaces have changed in Croatia (after 1991) and how old Yugoslav symbols were replaced with symbols presenting *Croatianness* (Ugrešić 2006). Barahona de Brito defines the actions of reinterpreting the past and the propagation of new interpretative narratives used for legitimising a new political order as “politics of memory” (Barahona de Brito 2010). The politics of memory include all official practices that shape collective memory, and by doing so, also reshape the new national identity. In the case of Republika Srpska, the nationalist narrative centred around the “sacrifices” the Serbs made while being a part of Yugoslavia (Wachtel and Bennett 2009: 20-21). Additionally, the political party SDS and Radovan Karadžić tried to convince Bosnian Serbs that living together with Bosnian Muslims and Croats in B-H was no longer possible and that the only way to ensure their future was to pursue the formation of “Greater Serbia”, where all Serbs would be united in one state.
In the case of B-H, the narrative opposed the recognition of Bosnian Muslims as a nation (Stokes 2009: 83), and in the case of Croatia, the narrative was based on the pursuit of the hundred-year-old dream of independence for Croatian people (Sokol 2014: 117).

The second strategy used in the process of nation-building was the destruction of all non-Bosniak, non-Serbian and non-Croatian elements in each emerging nation-state, leaving behind ethnic cleansed territories. In practice this meant the destruction of religious buildings and historical monuments. Ramet summaries:

When Serbs blew up mosques and Catholic churches and when Croats destroyed mosques and other religious buildings, they were not, in fact, doing so to spread their own faith, but rather to destroy the architectural artefacts which established other people's history in the area and which helped members of other nationalities remember their past and hold on to their cultural identity. In other words, politics was primary, not religion. (Ramet 2002: 81)

The third and most important strategy was the transformation of national identities via the construction of new memories, based on nationalist Bosniak, Croat or Serb narratives that clearly excluded others. Religion and religious institutions played a significant part in this construction. People of B-H who have lived in national and religious mixed communities started to differentiate themselves according to Orthodox, Catholic or Muslim religion. Of course people differentiate themselves according to religion already before the war, but the conjunction of religious identity, politics and national identity became the fundamental factor throughout the war (Juvan and Prebilič 2014: 58). The thesis focuses on the Bosniak ethno-national narrative, and explores its development and identity dilemmas.

The Bosniak ethno-national narrative emerged out of the Muslim nation-building process in the 1990s and as Bougarel writes, this narrative developed conjointly with changes in national identity. The main agents of this transition were the nationalistic political party SDA (in the government-held territories the dominant political party), the IZ and the Muslim cultural society Preporod (Bougarel 2017: 141). The most visible signals of this process were the implementation of the neutral symbol with no reference to any nation before the war – the golden lily (fleur-de-lis) – and the reinvention of the name Bošnjak. It is interesting to observe how the name for the Bosnian Muslims of Slavic origin changed through history. There is written evidence for the use of terms Bošnjanin (14th century), Bošnjak (15th century), and later Bosanac (Maiocchi 2009: 215), to describe Bosnian Muslim of Slavic origin. These terms
were often interchangeable with the term Bošnjak. But there are differences between the people these terms refer to.

The term Bosanac (Bosnian) is used to indicate territorial belonging, and as Pettan elaborates, Bosnians are all inhabitants of B-H, regardless of their religious affiliation (Pettan 1996: 247; Hayden 2000: 122). According to Maiocchi, religious affiliation is the main distinguishing element among Bosnian people. The Orthodox religion is associated with Serbs, Catholic with Croats and Islam with the Bosniak (Maiocchi 2009: 220). The term Bosnian can also be used as an ethno-national description, for the purposes of differentiating between ethnic groups within a nationality, as for example Bosnian Serb, Bosnian Croat, Bosnian Muslim. This name of course excludes everybody living in Herzegovina. After the war ended, the strict division between ethno-national groups and their naming became inevitable and the term Bosniak “denoted one of the three constituent peoples in B-H, and thus pertains to the ethno-national domain” (Sokol 2014: 112). This definition differs from Benjamin Kallay’s, who used the name Bosniak for all inhabitants in B-H in the early 20th century. In the Yugoslavia era, people of Muslim religion were considered a religious group and were recognised as an ethnic group in 1968. Few years later, in 1971, they were recognised as a nation and were named Muslimani (Muslims), emphasising their cultural-religious affiliation (Balić 1993: 80; Bennett 2016: 31-2; Maiocchi 2009: 218). Gellner pointed out this did not mean that they were practising Islam, it meant, they were able to differentiate themselves from Serbs and Croats (Gellner 1987: 71). According to him, Bosnian Muslims have proved his argument that religion can transform into culture (Gellner 1987: 71-2). This identity discourse was causing great difficulties to the SDA party after B-H got independent and Adil Zulfikarpašić suggested the name for the nation to be Bošnjak (Bosniak). According to Zulfikarpašić this would bring a historical change and the possibility to become the state-building factor (Bougarel 2017: 107). Furthermore, Bougarel pointed out that the majority of Bosnian citizens wanted to keep the existing national names (Bougarel 2017: 107-8).

The use of the historic name Bošnjak and the adoption of Bosniak nationhood was later decided at the Sarajevo Assembly, organised between 27 and 28 September 1993 (Maiocchi 2009: 220). This gathering of intellectuals was not an official institution but had a big influence on the Bošnjački sabor (Bosniak Assembly) that decided to disregard the name “Muslim” and “give [the] nation its historical and national name, “Bosniak”, thus to link [themselves] closely to [the] country Bosnia, its continuity as a state and legal entity, to [the] Bosnian language, and to entire spiritual tradition of [their] history” (Musić 1995, as cited in Bougarel 2017: 143). They
were hoping to give the nation a non-religious name. This caused confusion in the Western media that could not perceive the semantic border between *Bosanski* (Bosnian) and *Bošnjački* (Bosniak), and could not find a synonym for *Bošnjački* (Maiocchi 2009: 225). They considered the term Muslim to be a name for the religious group and not a nation. After taking on a new name, the Bosniak were also in position to claim their territory and use this against the Serbs and Croats, who intended to follow their plans for creating “Greater Serbia” and “Greater Croatia”, rather than finding their place inside the Bosnian state (Maiocchi 2009: 226).

Both terms, Bosnian and Bosniak, gained their importance during the war because national identity became the main discourse in Bosnian society. Looking at the Bosniak narrative and the Bosniak nation-building project it becomes clear that while their theoretical idea was a multi-ethnic society which includes all ethnic and religious groups, the reality was different. “/…/ the Bosniak nation-building project with its religious practices and symbols excluded other groups and gave the image of an exclusively Islamic/Bosniak narrative” (Sokol 2014: 114). This exclusivity can be seen as nationalism that grew from hatred towards foreign rulers (namely the Ottomans and Austro-Hungarians in the 15th and 19th centuries) and hatred of other ethnic groups, namely Serbs and Croats that became more widespread during the war, referring also to atrocities committed during the WWI and WWII that were a part of collective memory.

**1.2.5. COLLECTIVE MEMORY**

Collective memory is inevitably related to national identity and nation-building. However, collective memory is also related to personal memories and nostalgia. This kind of memory is usually represented, reproduced and recreated through various sites: exhibitions in museums, building monuments, creating films and songs, writing history textbooks and organising commemorative events.

In order to clarify the concept of collective memory and explain the relations with other concepts of personal memory, nostalgia and national identity, this section will first elaborate on Maurice Halbwachs’ (2001) concept of collective memory. I then provide an overview of concepts related to collective memory, such as nation and national identity, personal memory, mythologisation, and nostalgia. The introduction concludes with some observations about collective memory in Croatia, Serbia, and B-H that are important for understanding the rest of this research thesis.

Maurice Halbwachs (2001) developed and elaborated the concept of collective memory in 1925, arguing that collective memory is a social construct, shared and disseminated by different
social groups, such as small communities, generations and nations. He claims that the past is not static but rather a dynamic matter, constantly being transformed and possibly manipulated. He asserts that collective memory cannot be equated with official history. Collective memory is different from the individual’s memory and exists beyond it; it preserves the living traces of the past, but only as long as the group of people, who created the collective memory, exists (Halbwachs 2001: 87). Furthermore, Halbwachs claims that each collective group has their own collective time and memory (Halbwachs 2001: 118), so it is possible that another group is not familiar with it. He argues that an individual does not remember images as presented in official history, but as they fit into the individual's present conceptions, which means that the conception of the past depends on the current social conditions. This research has shown that individuals have their personal/individual memory that is set apart from the dominant collective memory, but they also often accept the collective memories as their own.

Similarly, Marc Bloch argued that subjective, cognitive interpretations shape the collective memory and that events or things that individuals remember may be entirely personal (Bloch 2011: 151). These individual and collective memories were/are extremely important in oral history because they reveal how individual memories are constructed (Abrams 2010: 95). If collective memory is the shared memory of a special event or experience, it also helps in creating national identity, as people with the same experience talk about and remember the same events, honour the same heroes, and battles, and listen to the same music. This kind of shared memory of experiences is called cultural memory and is reflected in forms such as museums, archives, monuments, libraries, and mnemonic institutions. Cultural memory can be defined as an institution that is “exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms that, unlike the sounds of words or the appearance of gestures, are stable and situation-transcendent” (Assmann 2011: 17). Assmann also defines the concept of communicative memory, differentiating it from Halbwachs’s concept of collective memory and the concept of cultural memory. Assmann notes that communicative memory is a non-institutional memory that lives in everyday interactions and communication (Assmann 2011: 18).

Although the thesis does not delve into concepts of cultural and communicative memories per se, these types of memories are an integral part of my interlocutors’ memories of the past events. Decades have passed by between their personal experiences of the events and their current memories presented in the interviews. During this time, interviewees have furnished their personal memories with reflections, revelations, collective retellings and other contextual narratives that became a part of their memory of the event. In Croatia and Serbia, as well as in
B-H, cultural memory is more prominent than communicative memory because battles and heroes are still honoured on annual anniversaries and events\textsuperscript{18}. In B-H, several events are annually commemorated, for example the Srebrenica genocide, accompanied with the saying “\textit{da se nikad ne zaboravi i ne ponovi}” (never to be forgotten and repeated). Communicative memories came to life in conversations with my interviewees about the war and patriotic songs. Another phenomenon frequently surfaced during my interviews: nostalgia. Fred Davis, who wrote the first sociological book on nostalgia, notes that nostalgia is “a nice sort of sadness – bitter-sweet, or a joy clouded with sadness” (Davis 1979: 14). However, in the thesis I follow the definition Mitja Velikonja proposed, who described nostalgia as:

\begin{quote}
A complex, differentiated, changing, emotion-laden, personal or collective, (non)instrumentalised story which dichotomously laments and glorifies romanticised lost times, people, objects, feelings, scents, events, spaces, relationships, values, political and other systems, all of which stand in sharp contrast to the inferior present. (Velikonja 2009: 27)
\end{quote}

He adds that nostalgia is a narrative that mourns lost time, but also glorifies it in light of the unpleasant and unworthy present (Velikonja 2009). Additionally, some scholars distinguish between private and collective nostalgia. Boym, for example, claims that private nostalgia is based on personal, intimate memories, while the collective nostalgia relies on “images, symbols, and signs available to many different people within the same historical and sociocultural context” (Boym 2001, as cited in Volcic 2011: 127).

Both nostalgia and collective memory are related to mythologisation, whereby each ethnic group operates with several different myths related to their territory, history and ethnogenesis. Schöpflin (1997) writes that on the territory of Central and Eastern Europe several different myths can be found and some of them were also noticeable in the B-H, Serbian, and Croatian patriotic songs. The most often mentioned myth was the \textit{myth of territory}, claiming that a particular territory belongs to one particular ethnic group only (Schöpflin 1997: 28). Another myth is the \textit{myth of unjust treatment}, where the community is negatively treated by history and its exposed to big suffering (Schöpflin 1997: 30). \textit{Myth of ethnogenesis and antiquity} serves as an argument to justify that a group that was first on one specific territory has superior rights

\textsuperscript{18} One example of such cultural memory is commemoration of operation \textit{Oluja} (Storm) every August (Klemenčič 2009: 185). In Croatia this event is remembered as an act of national liberation concluding the Homeland war, whereas in Serbia this is remembered as a series of war crimes against Serb civilians in Knin (Baker 2015: 76).
over all other. Additionally, the myth also answers the question of where the ethnic group is from (Schöpflin 1997: 34). In all three countries the myth of kinship and shared descent that is linked to the idea that a nation is one big family appeared (Schöpflin 1997: 34). Smith argues that myths are a very important part in creating a nation because the concept of nation “cannot be sustained without a suitable past and a believable future, and this requires a community's history and destiny to be formed out of a whole cloth,” and myths help rediscover and appropriate the past (Smith 1997: 36). To be able to do that Smith writes about an idea of the “Golden age” (1997), saying this either political, economic, or religious idea covers “any kind of collective achievements from religious zeal to military expansion and economic success. It retained its original ideas of purity, authenticity and normative distinctiveness” (Smith 1997: 40). He adds that the “true Golden age” has to be located in the past of the ethnic community of nation and it possesses a definite historical location and clear geographical dimensions in the land of the ancestors (Smith 1997: 41-49). One can note all three nations, Croats, Serbs, and Bosniak referred to the above presented myths and Smith's idea of a “Golden age”. All above mentioned concepts will later be used in the analytical chapter of the thesis, where the interviewee's narratives are intertwined with analysed B-H patriotic songs.

1.3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Relations between music and war are still today a highly debated topic. There are a lot of academic works written about it (for example Pieslak 2009; Baker 2010; Pettan 1998). However, questions about how cultural production in multi-ethnic societies construct national identity in times of war are still under-researched. Additionally, poets, writers and artists have always been significant agents in the process of constructing national identity when writing patriotic/nationalistic poetry/novels/songs. Moreover, their works often evoke nostalgic and patriotic feelings (Özkırımlı 2002: 180). But the cultural production, as well experiences of nostalgia and patriotism are neglected in the scholarly discourse because of the sheer scope and interdisciplinary connections of the research topic. Scholars, who have addressed the topic usually focused on one specific spatial and temporal case study. Eric Gordy criticised this absence of region-wide perspective and according to him, scholars and practitioners must develop this region-wide knowledge in order to understand the wider picture (Gordy 1996).

To situate the thesis into the context, I focus on the existing literature about music and war in B-H, Croatia and Serbia in the 1990s. This approach opens the possibility of examining the broad context and the regional perspective.
Few academic works that have researched music and war in B-H have focused on one special segment of it. Nikolai Jeffs (2005) for example offers a unique analysis of Sarajevan alternative music scene and explores the transition of popular mainstream rock into alternative underground, examining the few bands that survived this transition. Jeffs’ study presents the evolution and the main elements of a scene that lived during the period when Sarajevo was under siege. Furthermore, Bosnian musicologist Ivan Čavlović wrote an article about “numerous patriotic songs, created by musicians in all larger B-H cities” (Čavlović 2001: 44). According to Čavlović, those songs had “very interesting text and music, and they were usually composed in the style of B-H rock music” (Čavlović 2001: 44). Both articles address specific music genres in the Sarajevan music scene, illustrating its diversity and productivity. In contrast to Čavlović’s and Jeffs’ studies, Laušević focuses on the traditional B-H song, sevdalinka, and the traditional Islamic religious song ilahija (Laušević 1996). A closer look to the literature on music and war in B-H, however, reveals a number of gaps and shortcomings. It shows that all above-mentioned scholars focus on specific segments of rich music production during the war in B-H, but have completely forgotten on patriotic songs art units produced. All three scholars address the question of cultural events and music genres, but do not pay a lot of attention to lived experience or narratives of local people. Although the methodology also differs from the one I use in the thesis, all three articles document historical events that give a great context to my research and supports the stories of my interviewees.

Both Svanibor Pettan (1998) and Catherine Baker (2010) research patriotic music in Croatia, offering the discourse analysis of Croatian patriotic songs in order to answer their question about nationalism, war and music. They both address the issue of nation-building in Croatia, elaborating it with the discourse analysis of several different patriotic songs. Both scholars propose a categorisation of songs, where Pettan compares the “official” and “alternative” music scene and Baker describes the most popular examples of patriotic songs, leaning also on Pettan's findings. Her research is important for me, because she combine historical research with participant observation and interview method, which makes her one of a few scholars, combining discourse analysis of song with ethnographic methodology. She brings some information about the background of the problem, starting with a simple fact that she was a cultural outsider when researching Croatian popular music. Her categorisation of popular music

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19 The Ilahiya (B-H ilahija) is a Muslim religious music form. Ilah means God and the adjective ilahi means godly or divine. Ilahija lost its popularity after WWII, but with the beginning of the war, the SDA political party used it as a political tool in forging Muslim national identity and uniting Bosnian Muslims. Islamic community and SDA promoted performances of ilahija for intentionally pointing at distinctions between Bosnian Muslims and other Slavic nations (Laušević 1996).
is based on seven different themes (Baker 2010: 23-32), where some of them accord to classification presented in this thesis. Baker's research and mine have many intersections and similar ideas, with one difference that I focus on the music production of art units and try to answer the question of national identity from the perspective of Bosnian and Bosniak nation-building processes.

Scholars in different fields conducted studies, journalist and “ordinary” people wrote eyewitness’s accounts and memoires about the war in B-H. A large number of existing studies in the broader literature have examined the war in B-H in general, many of them focus on besieged Sarajevo, causing that the literature on warfare and life during the war in other B-H cities is less consistent. This places Sarajevo at the centre of research interests, neglecting the importance of other B-H cities. Much literature has been devoted to various aspects of the war, and especially those, who lived through and survived the war, themselves wrote individual memoires (for example Filipović 1992; Prstojević 1993; Reid and Schofield 2012; Trebinčević 2014; Pezo 2015; Kebo 2016). Many foreigners, who lived in Sarajevo during the siege also wrote about their memories of the war (for example Carter 2005; Demick 2012; Sacco 2015). Their memoires give a historical context and support interviewees' stories, but a number of questions regarding cultural production and the question of national identity construction remain to be addressed because not all authors elaborate it in their writing. Among those who address it, gave a clear idea on disagreement with official political parties (for example Trebinčević 2014; Pezo 2015; Kebo 2016), while others focus on personal stories and survival strategies of individuals (for example Filipović 1992; Prstojević 1993; Reid and Schofield 2012).

Ivana Maček and Carol Mann were the only anthropologists conducting fieldwork in Sarajevo during the war. Practicing participant observation and conducting in-depth interviews, Maček made the most significant and the only ethnographic research about life in Sarajevo under siege (Maček 2001; 2007; 2009). In her comprehensive description we can find an approach to the importance of music that she briefly addressed as the resistance strategy, saying:

The need to resist the war also resulted in an amazing explosion of cultural life. Art was popular with Sarajevans not only because it was “imitating normality” but also because it was a means by which everyday common problems and traumas could be expressed and shared. (Maček 2007: 55)
And when Maček studied and presented everyday life in Sarajevo, Carol Mann (2006) conducted fieldwork in Dobrinja, the outskirts of Sarajevo. The book *Kućne amazonke: Otpor žena sa Dobrinije, predgrađa Sarajeva*, written in French and Bosnian presents the findings of her research, which is again, useful for understanding the historical context, but is sadly not addressing the question of cultural production.

Another important segment on war in B-H is represented in the literature is about the armed forces of B-H. In his book *How Bosnia armed* (2004), Attila Hoare explains the development of “the most enigmatic and controversial military phenomena to have appeared in recent history” (Hoare 2004: 13) and provides an explanation of how it emerged. He writes:

> Beginning life officially only in the spring of 1992 and in a position of apparent strategic hopelessness, it succeeded over the course of the next three-and-a-half years in fighting to a standstill the attempts of B-H’s larger and more powerful neighbours to destroy it. (Hoare 2004: 13)

Besim Spahić wrote memoires *Zenica na kraju stoljeća: Kako smo odbili razmjenu naroda* (*Zenica At the End Of the Century: How We Refused To Exchange the Nation*) (Spahić 1997), describing the situation during the war in Zenica, the ARBiH and the seventh Muslim brigade, which was a part of Third Corps. Furthermore, the leading expert on Bosnian Islam, Xavier Bougarel develops the “top-down” approach in his article and closely examines one category of B-H army that emerged after being obsolete in practically forgotten in Yugoslav times. The concept of šehidi - Muslim fallen soldiers - was reintroduced to B-H society in 1992, when it also became clear that the IZ and the Muslim oriented political party SDA want to Islamise the B-H society. Bougarel discusses two important segments that are also relevant for this research - the question of national and religious identity and its presence in the collective memory of B-H inhabitants (Bougarel 2007). His article about šehidi has provided evidence for my research and moreover.

All three mentioned works indicated the unusual development of the B-H army, addressed the question of nationalism and the role of religion, which are all topic I address in the thesis. Knowing that Spahić was a member of the SDA party, his memoires suffers from certain weaknesses when it comes to the question of nationalism and national identity, but despite that, his work is very important, because it is the only work dedicated entirely to the war in Zenica.

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20 Besim Spahić was a mayor of Zenica at that time and his account provides insights into political and economic difficulties the city faced during the war.
A closer look to the literature on music and war in B-H, however reveals a number of gaps and shortcomings. Except for individual authors who focused on specific segments of cultural and music production, there has been no thorough and holistic research conducted. Inspiration and motivation for that can be the Croatian Institute of Ethnography and Folklore Research and their collection of oral testimonies of victims and archive collection of archive of war TV programme and music production recordings (for example Čale Feldman et al. 1993; Jambrešić Kirin and Povrzanović 1996). Most studies about war in B-H have relied on warfare itself and were addressing the question of national identity in correlation with Dayton peace agreement and “creation” of three constitutive nations.

A more systematic and theoretical analysis is also required for the broader picture of cultural production in multi-ethnic societies in general, especially with a focus on construction of national identity. This thesis addresses a small segment of it, but it provides the basis for the “bottom-up” analysis.
2. METHODOLOGY

To adequately address the topic of this thesis, the most appropriate methodology consisted of a combination of qualitative research approaches, predominately in-depth interviews with a small group of people, and data analysis. First, I analysed archival data, such as documents, videos, and photos. Second, I conducted a discourse analysis of song lyric. This research formed a background for the most important aspect of my work: interviews with witnesses and participants of the art units in the B-H army.

Because there is no single “Bosnian war experience”, as the everyday life experience of the inhabitants of Sarajevo and Zenica varied extensively, only non-formal and semi-structured interviews with 28 people from Zenica and Sarajevo, who had different biological, social, economic, religious and national background, give a reliable account of the war experience. However, my interviewees all share one experience – they were creators of the cultural life during the war in B-H and in one way or another connected with the art units of B-H army.

The gathering archival data was mostly conducted on the internet (Facebook and YouTube pages), and consisted of searching for music video material examples. Additionally, I was able to access the archival collection of the Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (National Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina) in Sarajevo and the Bošnjački institut fondacija Adila Zulfikarpašića (The Bosniak Institute Adil Zulfikarpašić Foundation). I was denied access to the archives of the B-H Ministry of defence where they store documents related to ARBiH, which I will discuss later more into detail. Because of that, I focused on private personal archives of my interviewees. Fortunately, it turns out they all saved quite a lot of material from the war-time period.

2.1. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

The in-depth interviews constitute the core methodological approach used in this thesis. From 2011 to 2021, I have conducted 28 interviews\(^1\), mostly with respondents from two Bosnian-Herzegovinian cities: Sarajevo and Zenica. I also interviewed one person from Tuzla\(^2\). All of my interviewees were involved in the ARBiH or the cultural life in both cities, and importantly, they are of different national and religious backgrounds. Main demographic indicators, such as

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\(^1\) The list of all conducted interviews can be found in the Appendix 1, where the interviewees’ names are anonymised due to personal data protection.

\(^2\) The city of Tuzla was and is one of the largest urban centres in B-H. In 1991 131,861 inhabitants lived there, from which 47.6 per cent were Muslims, 15.4 per cent Serbs, 15.5 per cent Croats, 16.7 per cent Yugoslavs and 4.8 per cent Others. As one of the biggest industrial centres in B-H, Tuzla has a long tradition of salt and coal mining, and as scholars pointed out, the local government of Tuzla did not follow the nationalistic trend during the pre-war political crisis (Armakolas 2011).
age, sex and education, were also important because they represent the heterogeneous society in both cities. The goal was to present stories of people, who were not only directly involved in the production of patriotic songs, but were also involved in their transmission and reception.

More interviews have been conducted in Sarajevo than in Zenica, which brings up questions of relations between the centre and the periphery. However, the art unit in Zenica had at most 25 people, out of which three participated in my interviews, while the art unit in Sarajevo had around 300 members, 15 of them agreed to be interviewed; the percentages of perspectives from the centre and the periphery are therefore comparable. Although the ratio of people represented in the interview sample is small (5 and 12 per cent, respectively), this had been anticipated in the design of the study. Since the war ended, some members of art units died or had left Bosnia-Herzegovina and some did not want to talk about the topic. Another problem was the fact that no one collected and systematically preserved materials produced by the art units’, and as the headmaster of the Zenica Museum commented:

Regarding the art unit in Zenica, some materials could be found in the Bosnian National theatre, as many members of the art unit also worked in the theatre. Or maybe in the magazine Naša riječ. Zenica museum was devastated and closed during the war. Later, the former director never paid attention to any other artefacts except for pictures, so he never took any measures in collecting material of that kind.

I conducted interviews in Sarajevo between 2011 and 2019. They were recorded and later transcribed. The majority of my interlocutors were first unknown individuals to me and I contacted them based on recommendations from common friends. Some interviews were conducted with people, who were familiar with the war situation in Sarajevo or cultural life in the city more generally, but did not participate in the art units.

The interviewees belong to different age groups: the youngest were teenagers during the war and are now, 25 years after the war ended, adults in their early 40s. Other interviewees were in their mid-thirties during the war and are now mostly retired. As already mentioned, they were of various socio-economic, educational and ethnic backgrounds. They self-identified as Bosnian-Herzegovinian, Serbian, Croatian, Bosniak, Jew, and some considered themselves Yugoslav. All interviews were conducted in Bosnian language and took between two and five

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23 "That kind" (With this, the museum curator) refers to musical notations, audio and video recordings, personal narratives, concert programs, etc.

24 In 2011 I conducted interviews only in Sarajevo and use the result for my undergraduate thesis. Those interviews are relevant because they give an insight into the cultural production in Sarajevo during the siege, and even more important, the proved a basis of interviewees, who also recommend other people related to the art units.
hours. One interview was conducted in two parts as the interviewee felt too emotional and tired from talking (by that point we already talked for three hours). Only a couple of interviews took place in the interviewee’s home; we usually met in a café close to their home or work. That was sometimes inconvenient because of the loud music in some cafés, which caused difficulties when transcribing the recordings. To get the interviewee’s perspective on key events and historical facts, I prepared a questionnaire in advance. During the interview I asked additional questions, particular to each interviewee. After several interviews, I developed my own guidelines for choosing the appropriate questions. These guidelines were meant to encourage my interlocutors to talk freely, as well as make them feel comfortable with discussing sometimes difficult memories and events. We started the conversation with basic questions about the interviewee: when and where were they born, where they live now, what is their education and job, what was their life like during the war. Then we discuss seven thematically different topics:

- General information about the war
- Cultural life in Sarajevo/Zenica and B-H
- Patriotic music production
- ARBiH
- Art units
- The role of religion in the army and in B-H society
- Nationalism and patriotism in the army and in B-H society

I asked five interviewees from Zenica the same questions. Three of them were members of the Third Corps art unit and two interviewees were employees in the Zenica museum. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic some interviews were conducted via e-mail correspondence or via Skype. An additional interview was conducted with one person, who lived in Tuzla during the war. He was asked similar questions, however, with a special focus on Tuzla’s music scene.

2.2. DATA GATHERING IN THE ARCHIVES

In order to understand and analyse song lyrics and responses from my interviewees, I analysed newspaper and magazine articles from archival records and private collections, following Anderson's statement that newspapers are an important instrument of nationalist imagination in the concept of imagined communities (Anderson 2007). In the national archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo I consulted the entire war collection of the daily newspaper
Oslobodenje published from March 1992 to December 1995. I was specifically searching for articles related to the cultural life in Sarajevo and throughout B-H. I also reviewed other newspapers and magazines like Avaz, Corridor, Vječerne novine, Ljiljan and Žena 21. In those magazines articles were very pro-Bosniak oriented, which made me assume they were under governmental influence and control. On the contrary, newspapers Slobodna Bosna, Dani and Odjek had a more critical approach to the war. Religious communities, as well as minority associations also published their own magazines. For example, the Slovenian association in B-H published a magazine called Zora Cankarjeva. Catholic church published Hrvatska riječ and Stećak, the Orthodox church published Bosanska vila, and the Islamic community published Preporod, Sumejja, Kabeš and Kevser (Maček 2009: 138).

One detachment of the newly-established ARBiH was also a publishing centre where each corps published its own newspaper. Because of the desire to show their success, and spotlight brave soldiers and activities within units, almost every army unit started to publish its own newspaper or magazine. Sadly, not every army unit could engage professional journalists to write the articles, therefore the quality of what was written varied significantly. Comparing all published newspapers, one aspect became obvious: they all promoted the B-H army, presented different aspect of the life in the army (for example sports, religion, culture), they dedicated a significant part to social problems of soldiers, and a couple of pages to poetry. At this point, this demonstrate Anderson’s (2007) observation that newspapers are important in reproducing nationality and feelings of groupism (Brubaker 2004).

In the Bošnjački institut fondacija Adila Zulfikarpašića (The Bosniak Institute Adil Zulfikarpašić Foundation) I found 13 different newspapers different divisions and corpses of B-H army published. More than thirteen newspapers were printed and published during the war.

25 The newspaper Oslobodenje (Liberation) was first published as an antifascist publication during WWII, and was written in both Latin and Cyrillic scripts, symbolising a common Bosnian-Herzegovinian heritage (Bartulović 2013: 262). It was the only newspaper published throughout the war (Maček 2009: 137), which my interviewees confirmed. Being published, printed and distributed every single day during the war, newspaper’s editors showed Sarajevans and the whole world that this internationally recognised newspaper is not going to die (Kurspahić 2010: 173). By existing despite everything, it demonstrated a significant element of Bosnian identity that transcends nationality, religion and ethnicity - the inat (spite). This character trait shows and proves that one is capable of existing no matter what. In Oslobodenje one could read news from Sarajevo, as well as from other parts of B-H. The first pages were dedicated to the battlefield news and the statistics of dead and wounded. Next pages were dedicated to sports, culture and obituaries. When reading the newspaper in the Archive of B-H, I was surprised that sports and cultural events were never announced in advance, but were always announced retrospectively. Interviewees explained that this was a security measure.
however, not all of them were accessible in the archives. Here is the list of all newspapers I analysed:

- Patriotski front, glasilo 1. korpusa Armije BiH,
- PL novine,
- Patriotski list glasilo 3. korpusa ARBiH,
- Prva linija, list Armije BiH\(^{26}\),
- Biser, glasilo 2. viteške brigade 1. korpusa OS BiH,
- Informativni bilten 303. viteška brdska brigada Zenica,
- Igmanska oluja, jubilarni časopis 4. viteške motorizovane brigade,
- Gazija, glasnik 143. lahke brigade 12. divizije 1 korpusa,
- El-Liva, list 7. i 37. Muslimanske brigade,
- Časopis Prodor, list boraca 105. motorizovane brigade, Sarajevo,
- Časopis Bedem, mjesečnik 102. motorizovane brigade, Sarajevo
- Časopis Garnizonski informator, glasilo Komande garnizona Zenica
- Časopis Naša Bosna, list operativne grupe “7 Jug”, trećeg korpusa armije BiH

With the focus on newspapers published in Sarajevo and Zenica, I first reviewed the official army newspaper titled *Prva linija* (*The First Line*). In all 19 editions of the *Prva linija* I found 35 articles and news segments relating to cultural life or art units. In some articles there was a short announcement about where the art unit performed and in some articles their work was presented in more detail. Second, I reviewed the only volume the First Corps in Sarajevo published – the newspaper *Patriotski front*. On 60 pages of the newspaper, six articles contained information of cultural events. One was written about the mosque built on the mountain Igman and another about a brave woman Fadila Odžaković – Žuta, to whom a member of the art unit Hanka Paldum\(^{27}\) dedicated a song, glorifying her bravery and dedication. In general, the newspaper focuses on the news from the First Corps. I also reviewed the newspaper *Patriotski*

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\(^{26}\) First Corps general Vahid Karavelić explained that *Prva linija* was a very important newspaper for the army. It was first published on 8 December 1992, and a new issue came out every 15 days (or every month, depends on the supplies). The first pages of the newspaper were dedicated to the news from the battlefield, new laws and commands from the *Glavni Štab*, interviews with important generals and commanders, and presented different units of the B-H army, among them also art units.

\(^{27}\) Hanka Paldum (1956 Čajnice, B-H) is known as one of the best sevdalinka singers in the region. She also recorded them for the archives of Radio Sarajevo. In collaboration with Meho Puзиć and Omer Pobrić she recorded several songs, among them many patriotic songs. During the war she stayed in Sarajevo and worked as an active member of the First Corps art unit. Some examples of here songs are *Jedna si jedina Armija B-H, Žuta Fadila, Bosna je majka moja, Dino Magoda, Sarajevo heroj je grad.*
**list** (Patriotic gazette), published by the Third Corps in Zenica. All 22 volumes encompassed forty articles with information on the work of the art unit, religion, and culture.

Since the art units were a part of the ARBiH that was under the command of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Ministry of Defence, I filed an official request to access to its archives in October 2018, assuming that all documentation on the existence and work of art units might be stored there. My request was denied with the explanation that the Ministry does not give information to civilians. In our interview, the former First Corps commander, general Vahid Karavelić, commented on this gesture, saying:

> Don’t worry, they will not let me in either, even though I signed most of documents stored there. I think the archive workers do not have an overview of the documents’ contents and they allow access only via court requests.

Therefore, I rely on certain documents from the archives mentioned and published in secondary literature and on private archive collections of my interviewees. Some archival documents were published in books written by ARBiH army generals and commanders. Among them were Rasim Delić (2007) and Vahid Karavelić (Karavelić and Rujanač 2009). Delić presented the historical development of the war, with special focus on the army and army’s hierarchy and organisation and Karavelić focused on the formation of the First Corps and its fighting operations. After the war ended, each corps released its own monograph, presenting the historical development and fighting achievements of the corps. In a book about the Third Corps from Zenica, a few pages are dedicated to the art unit, which is of great value, as other books do not mention art units whatsoever (Kurtić et al. 2014).

Hasib Mušinbegović and Osman Kavazović edited and published a very significant book in 2002 that influenced this research: *Drugi Korpus slobodi pjeva: Patriotske pjesme, vojni emblemi* (Second Corps Sings to Freedom: Patriotic Songs and War Emblems). The authors collected 379 patriotic songs, composed and sung on the territory under the Second Corps’

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28 The newspaper *Patriotski list* was first published by the *Press služba trećeg korpusa* (Third Corps press agency) in Zenica in February 1993. The newspaper came out twice per month and focused on the work of the Third Corps. In each volume, a section was dedicated to culture, sports, self-defence and DIY survival tips. A few pages were also dedicated to Islam and the questions of religion and Qur’an.

29 Professor of political science Hamdo Čamo criticised the book saying authors used the opportunity to write a book about themselves, spent the tax-payer’s money and forgot to write the historical facts (Čamo 2017). After reading the book I could not completely agree with the critics because I found a lot of validated historical facts, like names of the First Corps commanders, Mustafa Hajrulahović - Talijan (1.9.1992-18.8.1993), my interviewee Vahid Karavelić (18.8.1993-16.8.1995) and Nedžad Ajnadžić (16. 8. 1995-16.12.1995) (Čekić et al. 2017: 439-41). At the end of the book there was a list of referees working for the Directorate for moral questions, informative-propaganda activities and religious questions and among them were also some of my interviewees.
control. Additionally, the book contains 281 photos from the front line and 117 war emblems, which is a stunning collection. Soldiers and local people composed the majority of songs presented in the book, dedicating them to other soldiers, commanders, and different army units. The songs sing about real people and places which makes them an important source for analysis. The book’s reviewer, Salik Kulenović, himself a member of the Second Corps, emphasises the importance of the book by saying:

When the Serbian-Montenegrinian aggressor attacked, I witnessed this powerful and magnificent fight of the Bosniak nation for its survival in the one and only homeland. Despite extremely tough material conditions due to the ammunition and arms embargo, young independent Bosnia-Herzegovina provided a resistance towards a superior aggressor. Reading those songs, I never came across any stanzas where the hatred or revenge would be promoted. Patriotic songs were “spiritus movens” for our people. (Kulenović 2002, as cited in Mušinbegović and Kavazović 2002: 5-7)

In his review, Kulenović is clearly romanticizing and idealising not just the fight between ARBiH and the VRS, but also Bosnian people and their artistic engagement. It is obvious he talks about the Bosniak as the only nation that has the right to live in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He reluctantly mentions other nations living in Bosnia-Herzegovina, who accepted B-H as their only homeland. This book is important because it is the only example of collected patriotic songs of one Corps, which, on the one hand, provides the opportunity for further analysis and interpretations, and on the other, shows how rich the production of patriotic songs was in the first place.

For Western scholars the war in B-H is no longer considered a relevant topic but for B-H historians and journalists it still is. Each bookshop in B-H, and especially in Sarajevo, has a special section dedicated to the war in several foreign languages. The market is saturated with books about the war or different events related to the war but so far, no Bosnian-Herzegovinian or foreign scholar has made a holistic study of the music production during the war. Catherine Baker confirms this, saying that popular culture in wartime Bosnia-Herzegovina, presented a more complex and surprisingly rarely studied case (Baker 2015: 118). This thesis thus breaks new grounds, addressing a research gap and contributing new knowledge to the understanding of the war.
2.3. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

To study the language and its relation to social and cultural context J. R. Firth (2020 [1935]), Michael Halliday (1989), and John Sinclair (2004) each proposed different interdisciplinary research approaches to discourse analysis (Paltridge and Hayland 2012). They all focus on the notion of context of culture anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1981) proposed in order to discuss the relationship between the individual and society. They argue that in order to understand the meaning of what a person says or writes, we need to know something about the situational and cultural context in which they are located (Martin 2001, as cited in Paltridge and Hayland 2012: 3). The term discourse analysis was first proposed in the 1950s, when Zellig Harris introduced a way of analysing writing and connected speech (Harris 1952, as cited in Paltridge and Hayland 2012). Discourse analysis is interested in “what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about language, /…/ to do things in the world” (Johnstone 2002: 3). It is the analysis of language in use. Discourse analysis considers the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used and is concerned with the description and analysis of both spoken and written interactions (Paltridge and Hayland 2012: 3).

In this section I will outline the key elements of the discourse analysis Paltridge and Hayland (2012) proposed and provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of songs' lyrics in chapter seven. Additionally, I will also present Evgeniya Aleshinskaya's (2013) key components of musical discourse analysis. According to her, discourse analysis can be understood as an interdisciplinary study that includes relevant social, linguistic, psychological, gestural, ritual, visual, technical, musicological, and historical aspects of the analysis. Her approach to musical discourse analysis is based on Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003) that rests “upon the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language” (Fairclough 2003: 2). In chapter seven I predominately employ Aleshinskaya's (2014) proposed method and vocabulary for discourse analysis.

Paltridge and Hayland’s approach to discourse analysis “examines patterns of language across texts and considers the relations between language and the social and cultural context in which it is used” (Paltridge and Hayland 2012: 2). They claim this kind of analysis considers what people mean by what they say, how they work out what other people mean, and the way language presents different views and different understandings of the world (Paltridge and Hayland 2012: 12). In their work they also introduce a concept of discourse community,
describing a group of people, who share specific activity, specific communication and shared goals, values, and beliefs (Paltridge and Hayland 2012: 15-6). In my two case studies a discourse community are two art units and its members.

According to Barbara Bradby (2003) there are three ways of applying discourse analysis to studies of popular music: 1) the study of song lyrics as performed language, 2) the description of discourses on or about music, and 3) the analysis of music as discourse (Bradby 2003: 67). In her general view on musical discourse, Aleshinskaya presents four stages of analysis, emphasising stages of production (Aleshinskaya 2013: 427). In the thesis I am more interested in the components of musical discourse as social practice, which are:

“Semiosis\textsuperscript{30}, “social agents”, “social relations”, “social context” and “text”. They are all interconnected and essential in musical discourse analysis: depending on the social context, social agents, who are in specific social relations, employ specific semiosis and produce a text, which is associated with a particular social context. (Aleshinskaya 2013: 428)

The social context determines communication between social agents, who are in certain social relations. It also determines what language (semiosis) they use (Aleshinskaya 2013: 428). As Gee says, social context is everything in the material, personal, mental, interactional, social, cultural, institutional, and historical situation in which social agents interacts with each other (Gee 1999). The next component of musical discourse are social agents, Paltridge and Hayland (2012: 15-6) named them discourse community and Aleshinskaya named them social communicators, referring to everybody who is somehow related to music. First on the list are musicians, vocalist, composers, conductor, producers, DJ's, and others (Aleshinskaya 2013: 430). Social agents have different levels of expertise, thus being professional, semi-professional and non-professional (Aleshinskaya 2013: 430), which was also the case among my interviewees, where some of them were professional musicians and vocalists, while others described themselves not as non-professional and amateur\textsuperscript{31}. Among different social agents different horizontal or vertical social relations are established, depending on the context. To communicate, establish and maintain those relations, they use specific verbal language, very often presented in verbal and musical text. As Aleshinskaya writes, “text is a product of social activity, a result of interaction of social practices and social agents” (Aleshinskaya 2013: 431).

\textsuperscript{30} Under the term semiosis, Aleshinskaya (2013: 431) defines the verbal language.

\textsuperscript{31} In the thesis I will use the term amateur musicians/singer/vocalist for those interviewees who described themselves as such. Experience from the fieldwork has shown that many amateur musicians are better at their craft than professional, but of course, the question of terminology in this case, is very subjective.
In the thesis I focus on song lyrics that I see as completed musical products with specific verbal language that characterised not just the social actors, but also social context and social relations among them.

Every text has its own grammatical structure. The analysis of patriotic songs in chapter seven will contain a discourse analysis, whereby different grammatical rules and forms will help explain the relations between social agents, texts, and social context. For an easier overview, these grammatical rules are explained in the table below.

Table 1: Description of grammatical forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anaphoric reference</td>
<td>Where a word/phrase refers back to another word/phrase used earlier in the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cataphoric reference</td>
<td>Describes an item which refers forward to another word/phrase which is used later in the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative reference</td>
<td>The identity of the presumed item is retrieved not because it has already been mentioned or will be mentioned in the text, but because an item with which it is being compared has been mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridging reference</td>
<td>Refers to something that has to be inferentially derived from the text of situation; that is, something that has to be presumed indirectly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition</td>
<td>Refers to words that are repeated in the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synonymy</td>
<td>Refers to words which are similar in meaning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonymy</td>
<td>Describes opposite or contrastive meanings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collocation</td>
<td>Describes associations between vocabulary items which have a tendency to co-occur such has combinations of adjectives and nouns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the analysis I will use combination of Aleshinskaya's (2013) and Paltridge and Hayland's (2012) approaches because the first helps me understand the relations between text and the
cultural and social context, and the second approach informs the analysis of individual texts and relations between them.

2.4. RESEARCH ETHICS AND MY PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT

I must admit, your topic is very unusually, like a compound of modern political-war history, cultural studies, music, and art. In our historiography we still do not have an adequate study on the topic you are researching.

These were the words of one interviewee, after I explained what I am interested in. He, like all other interviewees, was very happy someone was interested in their stories, culture, heritage and survival strategies. As a foreign researcher, it was often hard for me to find relevant interviewees, especially when the topic is so sensitive. The methodology I used was time-consuming and every time I conducted fieldwork in B-H the time frame of my stay was too short. Sometimes it was very hard to get in touch with some people and even harder to find a suitable time frame for the interview. I tried to interview respondents directly involved with the art units of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian army as much as possible, and search for additional materials in the archives based on what they told me.

Before every interview I asked interviewees for their consent for recording and publishing their stories. The recordings were for my personal use only and the transcripts are in my private ownership. All interviewees said their statements can be published. They all considered music to be a very important segment of resistance towards the “enemy on the hills around Sarajevo” and are proud of their contribution. Because of the research ethic and the anonymity that some of my interviewees desired, I will not use their names. Those who allowed me to refer to them by their name and title will be identifiable according to their preferences.

In a multi-cultural and multi-religious state like B-H the question of national and religious affiliation is a bit more complicated than I first thought. The literature usually divides and labels inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina as “/…/ members of three officially recognised nationalities - the Serbs, the Croats and the Muslims. Each of three nationalities corresponds to one of three religions – Serbian Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Islam” (Sorabji 1989: 9). And as a scholar I had to be very careful not to fall for this simple categorisation. Because of that, I faced one personal dilemma – for example, whether to ask my interviewees about their national and religious identity, or not. But as this is one of the main questions in the thesis, I had to know how to they identify themselves. Therefore, I tried to ask this question somewhere in the middle of the conversation (if they did not mention this by themselves), as a totally random question.
Many of them identify themselves as Bosanci (Bosnians), not specifying their religious affiliation. Robert Hayden claims this was a self-descriptive category that now heard less and less often (Hayden 2000: 122). As my interviewees said, Bosanci are people living in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Bošnjak (pl. Bošnjaci) are those Bosnians of Muslim religion (Bougarel 2009: 117). Not all of my interviewees answered all my questions. The questions that were more provocative and referred to either nationalism or religion were sometimes ignored. But that was not a problem because other interviewees answered them sharp-tongued. They never asked me to stop recording, one interviewee even said, I must hear about the good and the bad side of the war. And at the end of the interview, they never let me pay for the coffee.

During the research process, including the fieldwork conducted in Sarajevo and Zenica, I have faced several moral dilemmas. As a researcher I am aware that objective research in humanities is not possible and I agree with Hyland’s words that “almost everything we write says something about us and the sort of relationship that we want to set up with our readers” (Hyland in Paltride and Hayland 2012: 27), but I do my best to look at the things critically. In 2011, when I was studying and living in Sarajevo, I had the chance to get familiar with everyday living conditions, bureaucracy and social interactions between people. After conducting my first interviews, I often felt frustrated, listening to people explain all the horrible things they survived. I felt a sense of hopeless anger and realised that I need to avoid falling into the “nationalistic hole” where everything is black and white. Further readings and interviews helped me understand the situation better. Within a year I conducted a lot of informal and formal interviews, read a lot of literature, and today, I am in a position, where I understand why the wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia happened, and admire everybody who lived through them. I understand how military hierarchy functions and how important music is. All these personal dilemmas are a normal part of the ethnographic research and I know that the knowledge and experiences I gained are now a part of this thesis.

When narrowing the research on the B-H army art units I noticed they played a minor role compared to the entire army machinery. Previous studies have almost exclusively focused on other aspects of war in B-H and as far as I know, no previous research has investigated the work of art units and their role in national identity construction. From 2010 onwards different professors and former generals started to write books about the army, its genealogy, structure, operations, tasks, victims, awards, assignments, but only one mentioned the work of their art unit. At that point I faced another scholarly dilemma, questioning the importance of my research topic, as no one so far thought it might be. After conducting more interviews with important
army generals, commanders and popular musicians, I started to appreciate the advantage of an unexplored field. Everyone I talked to was convinced I was doing a good job and researching something that was an important part of the warfare, but other scholars and writers considered less pertinent. Breaking new grounds is a difficult but honourable task, and I am glad to have an opportunity to research and write about the art units of the B-H army and their production of patriotic songs.
3. MUSIC IN TIMES OF PEACE AND WAR

If we understand music as socially accepted sound, organised in patterns, we can develop the understanding of functions of music and notice what an important role it pays in people’s lives. When creating music, we also create messages that are incorporated in tones, melodies and rhythms that the listeners receive. John Blacking claims that “music cannot make people act unless they are already socially and culturally disposed to act,” or in other words, listeners must have a specific experience already, in order to be able to understand music (Blacking in Byron 1995: 35-6). Seeing music as a kind of culturally rooted language, we can study the functions music has in people’s lives. In the previous section, I already mentioned some of these social functions of music. From studying different classifications of these functions, however, it is possible to deduce that the use of music for human happiness, mental health, and comfort is present and has been researched in different cultural, socio-economic, and ideological contexts. The need to express feelings and emotions with and through music is present in all temporal and spatial spheres and there are numerous studies proving that (for example, Byron 1995; Gaston 1968; Pieslak 2009; Povrzanović 1993; Žanić 1998).

In times of crisis and war this need for expressing ourselves is even bigger and stronger because releasing emotions that permeate all human activities also releases different positive and negative tensions. One negative tension is for sure fear, which has an important social role as a cultural factor. “It can lead to the confirmation and support of mandatory values and norms, but is potentially also a perception of freedom – freedom of choice, and the rejection of existing values and the creation of new ones” (Povrzanović 1993: 121). Throughout history people were exposed to different kinds of crisis, from pandemic diseases, such as the plague in the 14th century in Europe, to economic recessions, like the market crash in 1929 and armed conflicts or wars, such as the war in B-H that I study in this thesis. Crises are often related with the expansion of art and music, as people have the need to express their feelings, thoughts and emotions that help them deal with the existing situation. In the next section I will elaborate on practical examples of performed music, related to their functions.

Music has been an integral part of army and navy life since the earliest days of troop movements and military manoeuvres. With the growth of battlefields and the complexities of warfare the need for effective communication also grew. As Hart writes: “/…/ in the midst of conflict, /…/ music found a home; music and sound could provide organization and clear guidance when the human voice was too faint to be heard. And it provided additional benefits: comfort, remembrance, triumph and mourning” (Hart 2020). According to Pieslak “the beating of drums
or trumpet calls might have one struck gear in military opponents, but the music may also have been intended to inspire soldiers, to signal commands, and manoeuvre troops” (Pieslak 2009: 78). Armies first instruments were percussions, brass and wind instruments (drums, fifes and bugles) because they could produce the loudest and most penetrating sounds. Those instruments were used either on the battlefield, giving a fighting signal or playing at parades, celebrating martial success. Of course, soldiers also played instruments in their units, however, the types of instruments they played depended on the geographical position of musicians. Instruments that accompanied soldiers on fronts all over the world were banjos, accordions, guitars, mouth organs, gusle and many other smaller instruments that were easily carried along to the front line and back home. Music is always connected to different political agendas, it is a useful instrument of propaganda, it has the power to generate and support conflict, and motivate group actions. And throughout history, numerous cases have shown that music more often supported the conflict that worked to reduce it (Bergh and Sloboda N.d.: 2). During wars, songs have been composed in order to commemorate important events and battles, to honour individuals. They were a political statement, a tool of remembrance and a tool for expressing feelings and sorrows.

On the next pages I will elaborate on relations between music and war focusing on the territory of the former Yugoslavia in four specific time frames because each of them influenced B-H music in different ways and that was noticeable in the songs produced in the period from 1992 to 1995. I will do so because it is essential so see war songs in their many contexts (Vidić Rasmussen 2007: 62), and the following chapter provides exactly that. Music history and general contextualisation are important for understanding of above-mentioned B-H music production. They show the development of cultural production in multi-ethnic societies in times of war, starting with the Ottoman Empire, continuing with WWI and WWII and ending with the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The section about music in Yugoslavia offers a transition between two wars, and is important because the Yugoslav music production had a direct impact on local people in B-H and their taste in music. Besides that, Yugoslav music promoted the coexistence of different nations with its “nationally neutral character” (Laušević 1996: 120).

I will start this contextualisation with the era of the Ottoman Empire because this period influenced B-H music tradition the most. It introduced new music genres (mehterhan)32,

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32 The term mehterhan comes from Arabic and means “majesty”, “bigger”. The most significant instruments in the mehterhan were two types of zurnas (aerophone instrument with double reed), kurrenay (horn with a curved end), davul (bass drum), nakkare (small drum), cymbal and other percussion instruments (Talam 2010: 1).
sevdalinka, ilahija), new instruments (most known was *saz*\(^{33}\)) and new musical practices (practiced in everyday life and religious rituals). It also introduced a new religion – Islam. Next, I will present musical practices and examples from the times of WWI and WWII because some songs from this period, although banned after WWII ended, returned to the music repertoire during the Yugoslav wars, presenting nationalistic aspirations of both Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats. In the end of the chapter, I will briefly elaborate on the most significant and popular examples of Serbian and Croatian war music production because those examples support the statement of my interviewees, who claimed, B-H popular patriotic songs were not nationalistic compared with Serbian or Croatian.

### 3.1. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman army conquered and occupied the territory of today’s B-H, then the Kingdom of Bosnia, in the early summer of 1463 (Malcolm 1996: 43). The territory was annexed to a non-national entity in which its inhabitants identified themselves according to their religion. Being Muslim had advantages in the social and economic life, so many B-H inhabitants soon converted to Islam. In the period from 1463 until 1878 the Ottoman administration and military presence contributed to the development of Bosnia’s multinational character (Hoare 2007: 41). Aside from administrative and political influences, Ottoman musical practices and instruments found their way to B-H inhabitants. However, we must acknowledge the diversity of musical expressions between rural and urban Muslims (Laušević 1996: 122). Muslims living in cities were much more susceptible to new music genres than those living in the rural areas. The most famous musical practice people were getting to know, were the Ottoman military marching bands – *mehterhan*. The *mehterhan* military marching bands played martial tunes during military campaigns, but they also performed at ceremonies organised for various everyday life purposes. *Mehterhan* consisted of 5-7 *kat*, each *kat* involved one instrument (Talam 2010: 1). The core of the band were janissaries, members of the elite military Ottoman infantry forming the Sultan's guard, who were often Christians converted to Islam. *Mehterhan* music soon became part of the everyday life (Kos 1998: 31). It had an important function – “it raised the spirits of the soldiers before the forthcoming battle, it motivated them, and at the same time, it also intimidated opponents because of its noisy sound” (Talam 2010: 1).

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33 *Saz* is a string instrument from the family of *tamboura* that can have eight, ten or twelve identical strings. The sound is produced by picking the strings with a plectrum that is usually made of bull horn. Traditionally, *saz* players were usually men.
Other music genres introduced to the urban Muslim population were *sevdalinka* and *ilahija*. The first genre is an urban love song, and the latter is a religious hymn. They are used in a narrative form and have a very strong ethical, religious and educational message, which helps with remembering the basic ethic norms through singing. Usually, women sang them to their children instead of lullabies, “transmitting the basic moral and aesthetic values of Islam” (Laušević 1996: 124). If *sevdalinka* was more common in the urban area, *ilahija* was present everywhere, both in the urban and rural areas of B-H (Laušević 1996: 127).

### 3.2. THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN OCCUPATION

After the occupation Sarajevo quickly became a cultural centre in the region and the Austro-Hungarian administration put a lot of effort and finances into the capital city's cultural development because they wanted to diminish nationalistic propaganda coming from Croatia and Serbia (Lipa 2006: 1). Lipa emphasised that:

> New administration used a Western type of cultural institution to support the development of a Western type of culture and education, as well as the following cultural instruments: exhibitions, *Nada* magazine, and the publication *Die Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bosnien und Hercegovina* (Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture: Bosnia and Herzegovina) (Lipa 2006:1).

Inhabitants of B-H were getting familiar with Western types of music, such as operettas, military bands and gypsy music (Paćuka 2014: 24). Major socio-political changes caused the transformation of the entire B-H society and as Paćuka writes, women started to participate in cultural happenings regardless of their unequal position in society (Paćuka 2014: 38). They became more involved in professional musical life as performing artists and/or pedagogical staff in schools, but the number of them was still very low, because patriarchal oriented B-H society did not want to see women on stage, but in the kitchen taking care of the children and other family members. One of the first female pianist of Croatian origin giving a performance of Western art music was Milena Mrazović, playing compositions by Franz Liszt, Richard Wagner, and Carl Czerny in Banja Luka on 31 May 1881 (Paćuka 2014: 26). With the introduction of new music traditions, the old ones slowly disappeared or transformed. Imamović writes that:
Old poetic standards, social functions of songs, oral tradition and *mekam* atmosphere slowly gave way to the Western cultural code, which incorporates the remains of the Eastern culture into its own nomenclature (Imamović 2017: 67).

One of those songs was also *sevdalinka* that originates from the private sphere. During the Austro-Hungarian occupation this music genre “hit the stage” with the first public performance of *sevdalinka Jutros rano* (Early in the Morning) (Imamović 2017: 71). Additionally, Imamović also emphasises that the process of cultural exchange went both way, explaining that Austro-Hungarian military orchestras also performed Ottoman marches and they considered that as a common practice at that time (Imamović 2017: 71).

Unfortunately, this period remains briefly addressed in the literature, causing the lack of information on the music life in B-H. Only a few works in literature (Lipa 2006; Pačuka 2014, 2019; Imamović 2017) demonstrate the A-H influence on B-H music tradition, where others (for example Malcolm 1996) focus on political and administrative perspective of the occupation.

### 3.3. WORLD WAR I

When the Austro-Hungarian army bombarded Belgrade on 28 July 1914 (following the assassination of archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914), the Balkan front opened. Both Serbian and Bosnian soldiers fought on both sides of the front; some on the side of the Serbian kingdom, others on the side of Austro-Hungarians. The poorly equipped Serbian army defeated the Austro-Hungarian army at the battle of Cer in August 1914. This victory was later commemorated in the song *Marš na Drinu* (March On the Drina). Stanislav Bičinski composed this march for the military orchestra *Muzika kraljeve garde* that performed patriotic songs and marches throughout WWI (Dujović 2016: 144). “The music of the Serbian army’s orchestra played an important role in the preservation of national identity, as part of the celebration of major religious and national holidays in allied countries, as a means of cultural diplomacy in its own right” (Aleksić et al. 2019: 251).

The Serbian folk song *Tamo daleko* (Over There, Far Away) was composed in 1916. The lyrics revolve around themes such as loss, and longing for the distant homeland. As Hudson writes

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34 Stanislav Bičinski (1872-1942) was a Serbian composer, pedagogue, conductor and organiser of many music events in Belgrade. He composed *Marš na Drinu* (March On the Drina) in 1915, which celebrated “Serbian military triumphs at Cer and Kolubara” (Dujović 2016: 145). The march was composed in the major key, and a jaunty melody in the form of a Serbian *kolo* (Hudson 2003: 162). Soon, the composition was played at every concert of the military orchestra. After WWI finished, Bičinski continued with his activities and was active on several fronts in the cultural life of the capital city of Belgrade (Dujović 2016: 151). He died during WWII.
“the theme of the song ‘Tamo daleko’ is one of Serbia’s greatest ordeals of the First World War, when the Serbian army and its dependents were forced to retreat through Serbia and Albania, crossing the Adriatic to safety in Corfu, before returning to Serbia and eventual victory via the Salonika front” (Hudson 2003: 160). The song contains three main motives: the primordial sense of identity, yearning for family and nation, and pride (Hudson 2003: 163-5), and it became “a potent symbol of Serbian cultural and national identity; the melancholy of the loss of homeland would, through victory at the end of the WWI, be transferred into a great sense of national pride” (Hudson 2003: 164). Sting instrument gusle accompanied long epic poetry where this national pride was often expressed. Other themes expressed in music were also heroism, victimisation, stubbornness, aggression and victory. More importantly, long epic poetry gave voice to an “ethnic identity characterized by a sense of uniqueness and collective solipsism, tinged with a triumphalism that would echo throughout Serbia” (Hudson 2003: 160). Additionally, Hudson notes that these songs were described as narodna muzika (folk music) and not as Serbian military songs (Hudson 2003: 160).

3.4. WORLD WAR II

The Axis invaded and occupied Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941 and a few days later, on 17 April 1941, Yugoslavia unconditionally surrendered to Germany (Friedman 1996: 120). As a response to occupation, several different paramilitary formations were established throughout Yugoslavia. The NDH[^35] occupied the territory of B-H which led to a fight between three major paramilitary formations; četnik, ustaša, and partisan[^36]. All formations started to make their own music, promoting their ideologies, which again proved that music is a powerful tool of propaganda (Pettan 1998: 178).

The most popular ustaša song was Evo zore, evo dana (Here Comes the Dawn, Here Comes the Day) (Ceribašić 1998: 126), was written in the summer of 1942, when the special unit of NDH called the Crna legija (Black Legion), fought in the battle of Kupres. The song is mentioning the commander of Crna legija Jure Francetić and the Drina river. As Gravora writes, music in the NDH became the “servant of the regime”, whereby classical, traditional and popular music served as a means of propaganda. To all those genres new sounds of B-H

[^35]: Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (The Independent state of Croatia), established on 10 April 1941 and dissolved on 6 May 1945, was a puppet state of the Nazi regime. It occupied the territory of today's Croatia and B-H. This Ustaša fascist regime was run by Ante Pavelić. More about it in Matković (1994).

[^36]: More about Croatian ustaša, Serbian četnik and partisan in Thompson (1999: 363-4); Markowitz (2010: 19); Friedman (1996: 126-7); Ramet (2002). The ustaša and the četnik were collaborating with the Nazi regime, while the partisan fought against them and were responsible for the liberation of Yugoslavia from the fascist forces (Pettan 1998: 10).
traditional music were added, showing that the occupied territory of B-H is practically NHD (Gravora 2009: 310).

Another song, praising the massacres *ustaša* committed over the Serbian population in concentration camps Jasenovac and Gradiška was *Jasenovac i Gradiška Stara* (Jasenovac and Old Gradiška). There is no clear date about the origin of this *ustaša* rousing-song, as Baker describes it (Baker 2010: 162), and some internet source claims the song originates from the WWII and was performed by different singers in the 1990s and afterwards (Javna istina 2008). Both, Baker and Javna istina claims Marko Perković Thompson also performed the song and some journalists claimed he is the author of the song, although Thompson denied that (Baker 2010: 101; Javna istina 2008). He emphasised the song was not part of his repertoire and that “the Homeland war was a psychological war in which everyone san all sorts of things and all sorts of things happened” (Županić et al. 2007, as cited in Baker 2010: 162).

On the other side, the četnik in Serbia created many songs glorifying the četnik movement, particularly their leader, Dragoljub “Draža” Mihajlović. Although the song *Tamo daleko* was composed during WWI, it was still often sung during WWII. Another very popular song was the march *Marširala kralja Petra garda* (King’s Peter Guard Was Marching). In his study, Ivan Čolović claims that in the 1990s folk singers in Serbia adapted many old četnik songs37, adding to the repertoire songs about the Battle on the Kosovo field and its heroes Dušan, Lazar, Marko, Kosovka girl, empress Milica and her daughter Olivera (Čolović 2007: 102-3). He also notes the similarities between old četnik and partisan songs from the WWII period, in which singers in the 1990s only change the names of villages or cities and ideological symbols, while the melody and lyrics remained the same (Čolović 2007: 108-9).

Yugoslav communist politician Edvard Kardelj pointed out the importance of traditional music, saying it has an emotional power to bond people (Strajnar 1986: 182-3) and therefore, each bigger partisan unit had its own accordionist, who played traditional music and accompanied the unit (Strajnar 1986: 185). This happened at the beginning of the war in 1941, but as the movement became more organised in 1942, trained musicians joined partisan units and choirs were organised to sing combat songs that became – along with traditional songs from various

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37 Their titles were *Sprem’te se, sprems’te se, četnici* (Get Ready, Get Ready Četnik), *Marširala kralja Petra garda* (King Peter’s Guard Was Marching), *Durišiću, mlad majore* (Young General Durišić), *Živ je Draža, umro nije* (Draža Is Alive, He Did Not Die), *Od Topole pa do Ravne Gore* (From Topol to Ravna Gora), *Na planini, na Jelici* (On the Mountain, On Jelica), *Istruli mi dunja u fijoci* (Quince In a Drawer Went Rotten), *Nad Kraljevom živa vatra seva* (Above Kraljevo Fire Is Sowing) (Čolović 2007: 107-8).
parts of Yugoslavia – the pillars of partisan musical practice (Ceribašić 1998: 118). Already in summer 1941, the Bosnian partisan sang their hymn *Po šumama i gorama*38 (Through the Forests And Mountains) (Hoare 2007: 235). Other very prominent and popular songs were *Oj Kozaro* (O, Kozara), describing the battle on the Kozara mountain, and *Padaj, silo i nepravdo* (Fall, Force and Injustice), which was also an adaptation of an old song from the Croatian island Hvar. These examples demonstrate that Bosnian partisan songs about mountains, forests, rivers and other features of the landscape always emphasised that this land belonged to all Bosnians (Hoare 2007: 237). But they also sang about important victories and battles that partisans won in the fight against the enemy. Additionally, they also sang and adapted foreign revolutionary songs, such as songs of the international workers’ movement, songs of the October revolution, or the Spanish civil war. These songs were either translated or sung in their original language, but often the lyrics were also modified in order to better fit into the new context (Ceribašić 1998: 119).

25 May 1945 was marked as the official end of the WWII in Yugoslavia, and partisan were declared as the official winners. The Communist party of Yugoslavia, under the undisputed leadership of Josip Broz Tito introduced the ideas communism, self-management, and the ideological slogan *brotherhood and unity* as the three pillars of the new state (Ramet 2002: 4; Mojzes 2011: 132). Fast technological development and modernisation marked the post-WWII era, which lead to the development of new social categories and, on the music scene, to new music genres that had one basic function - entertainment.

3.5. YUGOSLAV POPULAR MUSIC

To understand the background from which B-H patriotic songs during the war emerged, I will explore the development of the B-H music scene after WWII. I focus specifically on 3 movements and sketch the outlines of the rock’n’roll music scene. Rock’n’roll, like patriotic songs, was a kind of resistance music; an alternative that was influenced by the Yugoslav openness to the West, rather than by its ideological and socio-political ties with the Eastern bloc.

The newly established state, in which different ethnic groups found their home, was ideologically, politically and economically rooted in communism and socialism. The *brotherhood and unity* ideology was introduced to address the national question, which was the

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38 The song *Po šumama i gorama* is a *contrafactum* (or an adaptation) of an old Red army song from the Russian Civil war and WWI titled *Po dolinam i po vzgoriam.*
biggest issue Yugoslavia was dealing with at the time. A new symbolic world and imagery were created, for which the Yugoslav “superculture” used “all the arts in creating this imagery, but music’s unique ability to address and affect large numbers of people gave it an extremely important role” (Laušević 1996: 118). Laušević presents three “supercultural musical umbrellas”: the revolutionary songs, the work of cultural and artistic ensembles and popular music (Laušević 1996: 118). Revolutionary or patriotic songs were devoted to the socialist revolution itself and were produced “to suit the varied tastes and music background of Yugoslavs” (Laušević 1996: 118). They sang about the partisan movement, socialist development and the cult of the president Tito, and were “maintaining social cohesion and developing patriotic feelings and a socialist Yugoslav identity” (Laušević 1996: 119). They became part of the regular repertoire of choirs to spread the official narrative in the process of the mythologisation of WWII memories (Hofman 2015: 33). Similarly, the songs about Tito contributed to the creation of his personality cult, in which Tito was seen as the father of the Yugoslav nation. Songs Ko je Tito? (Who Is Tito?), Tito je vaš (Tito Is Yours), Druže Tito, mi ti se kunemo (Comrade Tito we Swear To You), were just some of the many. Yugoslav musicians composed and performed songs dedicated to a country where everybody was equal, living in peace and harmony. One of those song was a Milutin Popović’s song Jugoslavijo (Yugoslavia) from 1977, composed in the NCFM style. Jugoslavijo soon became the unofficial anthem and was performed literally from the Vardar river to the mountain Triglav, from national park Đerdap to Adriatic Sea (Hofman 2016: 129-30).

Yugoslav nations became familiar with each-other’s culture and music because the government founded and supported cultural and artistic ensembles and groups. Learning traditional songs and dances promoted the local identity. With the increase of music production, the demand for music recordings also grew and the first Yugoslav record company Jugoton was founded in 1947 in Zagreb. Many Yugoslav musicians recorded their records at one of the gramophone record companies, that started to bloom in the 1960s (Hofman 2016: 134). In 1959 a recording company PGP RTB was established in Belgrade, followed by the Sarajevan Diskoton (1973), and the Slovenian ZKP RVLJ (1974). All mentioned record companies in some way helped promote Yugoslav culture and national identity. With the dissolution of Yugoslavia, many record companies lost their costumers and businesses, and for example Sarajevan Diskoton burned to the ground during the war.
After the dispute with Stalin in 1948, Yugoslavia opened to the West, which enabled Western popular culture and music to influence Yugoslav popular culture and music. In the 1950s and 1960s, many different music genres grew on the Yugoslav music scene, starting with jazz (vocal and instrumental), and continuing with rock’n’roll. With the development of mass media, new bands and musicians were able to present their work to 20-million people big Yugoslav audience. Relations between the communist regime and popular culture were ambivalent – on one side, popular music was censored if songs were perceived as threatening to the socialist order (Laušević 1996: 120) and, on the other side, acknowledged when they promoted the state or addressed topics that were not directly related to the authorities or the social order. Rock music had an important social and political purpose in the late 1970s and 1980s because it often provided a socio-cultural critique and presented the problems and realities of every Yugoslav. *Novi talas*, *New primitives* and *New partisans* were three music movements that emerged in this period. The first two appeared in Zagreb and Belgrade and the latter in Sarajevo, which had the reputation for being “the most Yugoslav city of Yugoslavia”, while B-H was deemed “the most Yugoslav province in the sense that it was the most harmoniously multicultural” (Mišina 2013: 192). This also contributed to the development of a rich and diverse music scene in the country.

Already in the 1960s some of the most important Yugoslav bands were established, such as the B-H groups *Indexi* (1964) and *Ambasadori* (1968), the Serbian group *Korni grupa* (1968), and the Slovenian group *Kameleon* (1969). Many music festivals were organised all over Yugoslavia; the B-H singer Zdravko Čolić often participated in them and so paved his solo career in music. Yugoslav popular music blossomed in the 1970s and two rock’n’roll centres emerged - Belgrade and Sarajevo (Ramet 2002: 132). The most popular bands were *Bijelo dugme*, *Azra*, *Riblja ćorba*, *Leb i so*, *Rani mraz*, *Buldožer*, *Laibach*, and *Parni valjak*, all giving a great contribution to the development of the unique Yugoslav music scene.

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40 *Novi talas* (New Wave) took their inspiration from genres like Rockabilly, heavy metal, trash metal, speed metal, and death metal that came to Yugoslavia at the end of the 1970s (Ramet 2002: 133).
41 The official birth of the *New primitives* movement was 21 January 1980, when in one of the basements of Košćevo’s residential area in Sarajevo a new club *Zaborav* opened. In this club, the group *Zabranjeno pušenje*, whose lead vocal Nele Karajlić self-proclaimed the band as the initial organisers of the movement (Vidić Rasmussen 2007: 84), often gave concerts. *Zaborav* was a meeting point for everyone interested in new (philosophical) ideas, new ways of thinking and new music (Mišina 2013: 160-1). *Zaborav* can be translated as *oblivion*, which is another brilliant indicator of the movement’s sense of black humour, sarcasm in irony.
42 See Mišina (2013).
Sarajevo was one of the centres of pop-rock music from the establishment of group Indexi in 1964 until the end of 1980s. This period was also known as the Sarajevan pop school. The reputation of the school continued in the 1970s with famous bands, such as Bijelo Dugme, Ambasador, and Vatreni Poljubac. A decade later, in the 1980s, the most popular bands in Sarajevo were Plavi orkestar, Crvena Jabuka, Zabranjeno Pušenje and the singer Dino Merlin. Songs of Sarajevan pop school bands were described as “the music for socialising with friends, with simple chords easily accompanied with an acoustic guitar” (Šavija-Valha 2000: 171-2). This statement is not entirely true, as many bands experimented with new sounds, different instruments and music genres.43 The New primitives and the New partisans movements were active in the 1980s, very politically engaged and addressing not only the social problems of Yugoslavs, but also satirically presenting the mediocrity of their everyday life through music, theatre and film. Šavija-Valha describes this movement as the first real phenomenon of the resistance of raja44 against the papki45 (Šavija-Valha 2000: 173), where the first describes the alternative culture, and the latter signifies the mainstream culture. The movement New primitives with Elvis J. Kurtović, Zabranjeno pušenje, and Bombaj štampa, can be characterised as counter-culture (Bennett 2001: 25- 40).

The movement New partisans that emerged in the mid-1980s can be seen as a logical extension of the New Primitives movement and it deployed “a poetics of the patriotic as a means of offering a form of socio-political critique of the Yugoslav socialist community in crisis and a potential remedy for it” (Mišina 2013: 191). The desire for an “original Yugoslavism” can be sensed in many Bijelo dugme’s46 songs, where the most prominent were Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo (Spit And Sing My Yugoslavia), Hej Sloveni (Hey Slavs), Lipe cvatu (The Linden Is Flowering), and Čiribiribela (Mišina 2013). The band Plavi orkestar saw Yugoslavism as a means of “popular-cultural intervention” that was most visible in songs Smrt fašizmu! (Death

43 For example, Indexi recorded a song Boj na Mišaru where we can hear two traditional instruments that are usually not played together, the saz and gusle (Janjatović 2007: 105).

44 The Arabic term raja describes a serf, or a poor person, and is a general word for subjected people. In Sarajevo, young people used the word for “my friends”, “my people I hang out with”. Raja was cool and listened to popular music (Šorabj 1989: 39-40; Malcolm 1996: 49; Šavija-Valha 2000: 170-1).

45 A person who listens to NCFM and is not as cool as raja (Šavija-Valha 2000: 172).

46 Goran Bregović established Bijelo dugme in 1974. He was known for sympathizing with traditional melodies of B-H and linking them with rock and progressive rock melodies. Because of that, some music critics labelled the music as pastirski rock (shepherd’s rock) or sevdah rock (Ivačković 2013: 128). The music of Bijelo dugme addressed all social groups and was very popular among the Yugoslav youth. They were also seen as the link between two opposite poles in the Sarajevan society, between raja and papki (Šavija-Valha 2000: 173). As the most commercially successful rock group in Yugoslavia, they had a very big impact on Yugoslav popular culture and some of its members were popular even after the band broke up in 1989. One of them was Mladen Vojičić - Tifa, the lead vocalist of the group between 1984 and 1985, who stayed in Sarajevo during the siege.
To Fascism!), and *Fa, fa fašista nemoj biti ti* (Fa, Fa, Don’t You Be a Fascist) (Mišina 2013: 215). Dino Dervišhalidović - Merlin considered the social and political problems from the viewpoint of the ordinary working-class people and addressed them from the same position. In the song from 1986, *Cijela Juga jedna avlija* (All Of Yugoslavia One Big Backyard), Yugoslavia’s multi-ethnic society, socialism and partisan are celebrated. According to Dervišhalidović, cultural nihilism and cultural snobbery were destroying the Yugoslav society, and he was fighting it with “moral-ethnic partisanism” (Mišina 2013: 217-8). He was a First Corps art unit member for one year and made several very popular patriotic songs during the war.

As Mišina claims, the New partisans was the last socio-cultural musical movement in Yugoslavia in which music and musicians were committed to the idea of social engagement (Mišina 2013: 221). With the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980, economic, political, social crises and nationalism started to blossom in all federal republics, bringing along a new music genre, *Novokomponovana narodna muzika* (Newly Composed Folk Music, NCFM). Most popular B-H singers of NCFM were Šerif Konjević 47, Halid Bešlić 48, and songwriter and later, the First Corps art unit commander Nazif Gljiva. They were labelled as “new wave” singers, although their music had nothing to do with the new wave punk movement. All three Bosnian male singers, whose careers started in the early 1980s, updated the NCFM style. Their female counterpart was, for example, Lepa Brena, also of Bosnian background (Vidić Rasmussen 2013). All, above mentioned singers, and many others were representatives of the Yugoslav estrada 49. Yugoslavia was a large cultural space, where each republic had its own official and alternative music scene and developed various music genres. Of course, all nationalities nurtured traditional music, and as I demonstrated above, many bands combined traditional music with popular genres.

47 Despite his successful career, Šerif Konjević never joined the First Corps art unit, but he sang many songs in support of the ARBiH and the defence of Bosnia. In one of his songs from 1993, he addresses his son, just like M. Puzić in the song *Pamti sine dane ratne,* but with a totally different message, which was unique in the B-H patriotic music production. In Konjević’s song *Vukovi* (Wolves), the father demands from his son to revenge his death. Baker relates this song with a typical setting of a man’s departure from his family and the inevitable situation that forced him to take up arms (Baker 2015a: 177), but I argue the song has a very powerful message that was not usual in B-H.

48 Halid Bešlić (1953) is a Bosnian folk singer or narodnjak. He recorded more than 17 studio albums, many singles and performed all over the world. He often collaborated with Nazif Gljiva, as they both shared not just enthusiasm for music but also the same political opinion, as they were/are both social-democrats. Bešlić was not a member of any art unit because he lived in Germany during the war, but he was a very active performer, raising money for B-H at more than 500 humanitarian concerts all over Europe.

49 Archer (2012) defines and describes estrada as musical labour for Yugoslav show business, where estrada is a field of production in popular music, usually associated with a group of very popular artists in one country. We can speak of local and global estrada.
3.6. MUSIC OF YUGOSLAV DISSOLUTION AND NATIONALISTIC POLITICS

Because of a growing international debt and big inflation people in Yugoslavia started to become more discontented. Drakulić reported in 1987: “nationalism has started boiling in this country, like a steam kettle, which is now whistling loudly, becoming our only reality” (Drakulić 1987: 171). In the 1990s, the ways of making and consuming music in the Yugoslav space have changed, bringing new hybrid music genres such as NCFM, *turbofolk* and new covers of old četnik and *ustaša* songs. Many songs were expressing old unsolved traumas, and aggressive and nationalistic rhetoric. Musicians were incorporated into state media systems in order to participate “in patriotic initiatives, singing songs that to greater or lesser extents expressed the dominant and ethnocentric collective narrative of the conflict” (Baker 2013: 428).

The function of raising national awareness replaced the primary function of entertainment and in this way, the music was intended to send a message to the domestic population about who they are (and who they are not), while also serving as an instrument for presenting the country to a global audience. All this was possible because television and radio stations started broadcasting specific music. Soon after the war began, the majority of public media fell into the hands of the newly-emerging national governments (Thompson 1999). Even though censorship\(^\text{50}\) was not part of the official politics, many radio and TV editors practiced censorship out of carefulness, for fear of losing their jobs, or due to their nationalistic beliefs. “Loyal” musicians and their songs were part of the programme, while the music of controversial musicians was banned. The media was part of the front line and as Thompson claims, it played a major role in fuelling conflict (Thompson 1999: xi). As I already mentioned, with the increased production of patriotic songs, the functions of music changed and media played a big part in this process.

Outlining the history of music development from 1989 to 1995 in Croatia and Serbia is important in this chapter because it contextualise presented examples of music and it shows how political changes and politics itself influenced music production. It also shows what kind of music was produced in Serbia and Croatia and how it influenced Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs who also listened to this music. The contextualisation of B-H music development will thus be elaborated in the analytical part of the thesis.

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\(^{50}\) Censorship is an attempt to intervene in the artistic expression of the musicians before the music is published or directly after it, with a desire to repress it or change it (Cloonan 1999: 225).
3.6.1. CROATIA

Croatia and Slovenia both declared their independence on 25 June 1991. Franjo Tudjman, also a founder of the political party HDZ, became the first president of Croatia. His main idea and wish was the unification of the entire Croatian nation, and so, the fulfilment of the “thousand-year-old dream” of forming an independent Croatian state. This new process of Croatian national identity-building was based on ethnic differentiation from other nations and affirming “Croatianess” (Polić 2019: 42). Other processes in building the new national identity included the creation of the new Croatian language (that differed from the official Serbo-Croatian language), expressing the importance and role of religion and Catholic church, imposing myths of Croatian historical narrative and the idea of Antemural Christianitatis. Tudjman tried to renounce Croatia’s Balkan identity by expressing the country’s superiority over Serbia and B-H. Milica Bakić-Hayden named this phenomenon nesting orientalism, noting that it was evident in Yugoslavia and its successor states, where the designation of the “Other” had been appropriated and manipulated by those, who have themselves been designated as such in orientalist discourses (Bakić-Hayden 1995: 922). Moreover, she claims that republics, who were formerly a part of the Habsburg monarchy (namely Slovenia and Croatia), saw the Southern states, formerly under the Ottoman Empire, as the “Balkan burden” and therefore “improper” (Bakić-Hayden 1995: 922-4).

The process of Croatian nation-building affected all public media. Those under government control changed their names, many adding adjective ‘Croatian’ to their title. For example, the Radio Televizija Zagreb (Radio Television Zagreb, RTZ) became Hrvatska radio-televizija (Croatian radio-television, HRT) (Thompson 1999: 150). The programme promoted the Croatian national identity-building movement, and celebrated and encouraged brave Croatian soldiers. One example of such TV show was Gardijada, played on HRT. The show was popular among younger generations because they could vote for their favourite patriotic song (Čale Feldman et al. 1993: 42, 59). And there were many of them as Baker notice:

Between August 1991 and spring 1992, the months of fiercest fighting in the Homeland War, almost every active professional musician in Croatia joined in a wave of patriotic popular music production. New patriotic songs provided the material for fundraising cassettes and concerts and filled the gaps between filling news items on Croatian state

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51 Here the problem of Croatian Serbs living in Knin was exposed. Orthodox Serbs, who lived in this territory since the time of the Ottoman Empire were first refugees and were later absorbed into the troops of the Croatian Military, defending the border area. When Croatian army launched the operation Oluja (Storm) and Bljesak (Flash) in August 1995, many Serbs from Knin fled to Serb-occupied Western Bosnia (Ramet 2002: 230-3).
television (HRT), which had itself tendered for patriotic music in late August 1991 and sponsored many sound and video recordings. (Baker 2009: 36)

But not all radio and TV stations were under government control. A great example was the local radio station in the North-Eastern Croatian city of Osijek, *The Yellow Submarine radio station*\(^\text{52}\). Croatian armed Forces were in charge of the radio station that broadcasted various music genres, from classical music to Western popular music, from Croatian patriotic songs to provocative songs. The *Yellow Submarine* directly promoted music composed in Osijek during war-time allowing individuals to compose songs and express their feelings (Hadžihusejnović-Valašek 1998). Many of those song later served as propaganda, as encouragement of civilians and soldiers and for demoralising (irritating) the enemy (Hadžihusejnović-Valašek 1998: 168).

Povrzanović (1995) mentions that after the initial shock of having the war on their doorsteps, most Croatian intellectuals and artists chose to act, rather than stay still. She notes that in addition to composing, performing at aid-concerts, shooting photos, painting, and writing became a way of resistance and a means of dealing with fear, which was practically the same what Maček (2009) noticed for Sarajevo. Throughout Croatia popular musicians stood together and produced a great variety of patriotic songs, giving Croatian ethnologists and anthropologists plenty of material for studying how “hundreds of new patriotic songs fitted into the symbolic culture of Tudjman’s Croatia” (Baker 2015: 117). Polić notes:

> Nearly all musicians of all genres engaged in creating a series of patriotic songs in order to contribute to the “defence of the homeland”. Incessantly broadcast on the national television and radio stations throughout the country, their song verses were instantly memorised by the predominately receptive audience. (Polić 2019: 40)

Among them was also a well-known Croatian artist Tomislav Ivčić. Scholars agree that his song *Stop the War in Croatia* marked the symbolic birth of Croatian wartime patriotic music production (Polić 2019: 43; Prica 1993: 48; Pettan 1998: 18; Baker 2010: 19-20). Its main goal was to arouse sympathy, particularly within the Diaspora and the European Union as it was sung in the English language. More specifically, the song drew attention of the European Community to its responsibility for the suffering of civilians in Croatia and also to its capability to intervene and end the conflict (Polić 2019: 44). Next to Croats, Bosnians and Serbs also

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\(^{52}\) The name of the station and its music jingle – the signal – were adopted from the well-known song by *The Beatles, Yellow Submarine* (Hadžihusejnović-Valašek 1998: 170).
believed in vain that the West would rush to intervene and put an end to the conflict. Everybody was puzzled for quite some time when this did not happen (Iordanova 2011: 50).

The most popular Croatian patriotic songs were recorded on the audio cassette *Rock za Hrvatsku* (Rock for Croatia) in 1992. The cassette contains seventeen songs from different musicians and bands and represents different musical genres. Among those songs, six sing about homeland, three about heroes, three about peace, two about communication with the enemy or/and with the rest of the world, and one sings about love. There are two songs in the compilation, in which the main topic is not clearly visible.

The six songs on the compilation all have one thing in common – the enhanced sense of community and collective identity, caused by the amplified feelings of existential and territorial threat (Ileš 2019: 343). Another song about homeland *Hrvatska mora biti slobodna* (Croatia Must Be Free) is one of the few that is clearly blaming Slobodan Milošević and the Četnik for the suffering of Croatian people. Next to a song *Moj dom* (My Home), they are both negatively oriented towards the Serbian population in Croatia. The song *Moj dom* has an easy pop melody and lyrics that openly and directly threatened the Serbian population in Croatia. Two words are used in the chorus that indicate the differences among Croatia’s inhabitants: *Komšija* and *susjed* both refer to a person living next door, a neighbour. *Komšija* is a term of Ottoman origins, mostly used in B-H and Serbia, and the world *susjed* is preferred in the Croatian language, again pointing to cultural differences among nations. The whole song is very descriptive and direct, especially considering that the idea of the compilation *Rock za Hrvatsku* was to promote “anti-war songs”.

Another theme often present in Croatian songs is peace, where all singers emphasised that singing about peace was their contribution. Josipa Lisac, who sang the song *We’re gonna be free*, or *Sloboda i mir* (Freedom and Peace) performed in both Croatian and English languages said:

> We lived in unstable times then, and we all wanted to contribute to the peace. I watched how cities were destroyed and how our land was drowning in chaos and horror. I wanted to contribute somehow. (A. A. 2011)

To mark and commemorate occupied cities, Lisac sings about Vukovar, Šibenik, Gospić, Vinkovce, Sisak, Petrinju, which is similar to Paldum's song *Junak do junaka*, where several Bosnian towns are listed. With this act both singers also marked the territorial position of their homelands.
On the compilation was just one love song: an adaptation and interpretation of the well-known war-time song *Lili Marleen*. Seven actresses from Zagreb recorded the song *Čekam te* (I am waiting for you), singing about a gentle and intimate farewell between a man and a woman. It is a classic story, where he goes to the front, and she promises to wait for him. The song has eight stanzas, six of them are an intimate expression of desire and love the woman feels towards the man, and the last two turn towards patriotic sentiments, projecting a better future for Croatia once it achieves its freedom (Pettan 1998: 21). Expressing determination to fight for the homeland and optimism in the last stanza, saying love should win, made the song very popular and it is still occasionally broadcasted on Croatian national radio and television. Actresses often visited the front lines and performed for the soldiers. To make a stronger impact they wore the Croatian army uniforms.

On the contrary, there were three songs singing about heroes and at the same time one song also mentions *ustaša* and the NDH period. The Croatian ethnomusicologist Naila Ceribašić notes that “there is much more frequent presentation on the Croatian side of the soldier who is defending his family – mother, wife, children, old folks, and home” (Ceribašić 1995, as cited in Schäuble 2009: 178), which was also visible in the most popular and controversial Croatian patriotic song: *Bojna Čavoglave* (Čavoglave Battalion) from 1992 (Pettan 1998; Baker 2009: 40). The singer Marko Perković - Thompson fuses the rock genre marked with Catholic and historic themes, Croatian folklore elements and Croatian nationalism with overt use of the language of NDH, starting the song with četnik greeting “*Za dom spremni!*” (Prepared – for (defence of) Homeland). The song immediately became popular, not just in Croatia, but also in B-H, where Alen Mustafić used the melody to make a song *Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada*.

When hearing the name Band Aid, many people think of a charity super-band, in which popular musicians perform together for a good cause. Due to their popularity, they usually get a lot of media attention and are therefore able to gather more money. During the war, Band Aids were very popular, especially in Croatia as for example *Hrvatski Band Aid* (Croatian Band Aid) with the song *Moja domovina* (My Homeland). The HRT, supported this project that premiered on 15 September 1991 (Baker 2010: 20). Another Band Aid was *Franjevački Band Aid* (Franciscan Band Aid), where Franciscan monks made as song *Molimo za mir* (We Pray For Peace). It was not surprising that they appeared on the music scene, as religion became an essential part of the Croatian nation-building process. Even some cities had their own Band Aids, for example *Šibenški Band Aid* (Šibenik Band Aid). Duets were also very popular, where usually a male
and a female musician came together and recorded a song. Musicians also often visited the front lines, composing and performing songs instead of fighting and thus embodying the motto “my song is my rifle” and “song as a weapon” (Baker 2013: 417). Baker also points out that many musicians were organised into ensembles and performed for the soldiers on the front line, as is evident from the photographs, where the musicians were dressed in army uniforms.

According to Ptičer and Slović (2014) Croatian army had “artistic units”, called Satnija hrvatskih umejtnika (Croatian artist’s unit), established at the end of summer 1991 and functioned until March 1992. Like B-H artists who volunteered for the ARBiH, Croatian artists, too, joined the Croatian army voluntarily. Because many of them volunteered, they were signed into the art unit. Their commander was the writer Josip Pelada, who explained that the main task of the unit was to “visit the front lines and to form newspapers and radio-stations and to encourage soldiers. Additionally, they also filmed the life on the front lines, for documentary and reporting purposes” (Ptičer and Slović 2014). Around 250 artists were divided into smaller groups of 10 people. The unofficial anthem of the unit was the song Čekam te (analysed earlier in this chapter). The sparse information about the art unit, however, suggest that the members of the unit were mostly established older and younger theatre actors, writers and poets. Singers were (likely) not part of the unit. Both Croatian and B-H art units had the same main goal – to boost morale among soldiers- whereby Croatian were more focused on documenting events from the front line, and the B-H art units were focused on the musical programme.

The majority of patriotic songs were composed with the idea that sovereign Croatia deserves popular music that reflects its cultural identity. This was connected to Herder's idea from the early 18th century that distinguishes people according to their popular and folk music (Baker 2010: 58). In Croatia traditional music became associated with the plucked lute called tamburica (tamburizza). And because a lot of tamburica groups and ensembles played traditional music this instrument became the Croatian national instrument. Two ensembles were very popular: first the Tamburaški Band Aid (Tamburizza Band Aid), performing the song Ponošna Hrvatska (Proud Croatia), and second Zlatni dukati. Both of them actively participated in the nation-building process. The tamburica ensemble Zlatni dukati was also very active and popularly associated with the political party HDZ even before the war. Laušević notes:

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53 The well-known among them were Josipa Lisac and Guido Mineo and their songs We're gonna be free, or Sloboda i mir (Freedom and peace) performed in both Croatian and English languages.
All three warring parties have resorted to traditional music genres to spur nationalistic feelings and create new typical national sound while, at the same time, using popular music idioms to boost morale and image of the young soldiers. (Laušević 2000: 296)

But it was not only traditional and popular music that boosted morale. As Vidić Rasmussen noticed, Croatian paramilitaries usually recorded and produced and recorded old *ustaša* songs that were known for their hateful, obscenity-filled portrayals of adversaries, including the international mediators involved in the conflict (Vidić Rasmussen 2007: 61-2). Some old songs were adapted to the new circumstances and usually the lyrics changed just a little bit to include references to the new leaders and soldiers. The songs were cheaply produced and of poor quality with lyrical content that fell into three categories: *insults* directed toward political leaders of the opposite sides, *threats* of sexualized violence, and *claims* about the historical ownership of particular areas of land (Gordy 1996: 130-1). They were performed and broadcasted over the radio during the war in B-H.

Observing the Croatian popular music scene, it is clearly visible that the whole production of patriotic songs was well organised and the majority of musicians actively participated. They produced songs with themes that were important in that moment, singing about the most significant nation-building elements such as religion, tradition, Croatianness in all possible forms, and about peace. Other thematic clusters were religion, homeland, land/soil, enemies, historical events and gender roles, but also narratives about the nation and its enemies and current politics (Baker 2009: 36; 2010: 23-37). Traditional music, popular music, old *ćetnik* songs were all part of the repertoire, and to make those songs even more efficient and visible, authorities eliminated traces of Serbian culture in music, film, theatre and language in Croatia, making it seem as if they never existed (Thompson 1999: 358).

### 3.6.2. SERBIA

In comparison to Croatia and B-H there was no armed conflict on the Serbian territory, however, Serbia accepted hundreds of thousands Serbian refugees from both countries (Milin 2008: 91). The influx of new people, new traditions and different music tastes affected Serbian cultural life and music production. The backbone of the Yugoslav music industry, *zabavna muzika*54 (Vidić Rasmussen 2007: 60), was replaced with NCFM and *turbofolk*. Several scholars (for example, Milin 2008; Gordy 1996; Čvor 2014) researched these changes on the

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54 Several different genres were represented under the name, for example pop and rock, traditional music, classical music and jazz.
socio-cultural and music levels in Serbia after the war had finished. They focused on different aspects of the war and music production, but the main focus was placed on the question of nationalism.

Slobodan Milošević and his Srpska demokratska stranka (Serbian democratic party, SDS) won the elections and he became the first Serbian president. His nationalistic rhetoric was based on anti-West, anti-Albanian and anti-Muslim rhetoric, supported with Orthodox religion and Serbian national identity (Vogel 2017: 41). Due to international isolation, Serbia suffered on economic, social and cultural levels, drowning in misery, poverty and despair. Inflation was so high that it pushed more than half of Serbia’s population into poverty, although the country was officially not in war.

The absence of popular Western music provided a chance for the development of the local music scene. Because of their political orientation, Serbian rock, pop, and jazz genres disappeared into the underground music scene. This was an opportunity for another genre to rise – turbofolk. Scholars have different opinions on what turbofolk actually is. For example, Collin (2001) describes it as mixture of indigenous Balkan disco and techno-pop music mixed with traditional melodies (Collin 2001: 78), while Čvoro (2014) notes that “it borrows elements of oriental and Mediterranean melodies that are channelled through electronic dance rhythms and fused with MTV-style video presentation” (Čvoro 2014: 56). Both agree that performers are usually scantily dressed, sexually provocative women, singing about love, passion, death, sex and money, and aim to provide an escape from reality. Additionally, turbofolk also glorifies the idea of the Greater Serbia, brave soldiers, willingness to die for the homeland, and the idea of saving Serbian brothers in Croatia and B-H (Collin 2001: 55). Some scholars (Collin 2001: 75; Gordy 1996) relate turbofolk with the regime of Slobodan Milošević and his supporters, such as Arkan, responsible for the ethnic cleansing in Eastern Bosnia (Collin 2001: 75), and his wife, Svetlana Ražnatović - Ceca, known as the turbofolk queen (Galijaš 2011: 264-266) and the incarnation of Serbian nationalism (Vogel 2017: 78). Gordy argues that Milošević’s regime endorsed turbofolk and sabotaged rock music in order to destroy cultural alternatives to the narrow-minded nationalistic worldview (Gordy 1996). Atanasovski does not agree with him though, pointing out that turbofolk found its place in the private market and was never an official and state-sponsored representation of the nation (Atanasovski 2016: 490-1). According to Čvoro, turbofolk was closer to the rural and poorer population and was used as a negative label suggesting nationalism, rural primitivism, backwardness, kitsch culture and orientalism (Čvoro 2014: 56). Scholars are not clear on whether turbofolk influenced nationalistic politics.
of Slobodan Milošević or vice-versa, but as Galijaš notes, this music was dominantly present in the media, which allowed the genre to mobilise the majority of population for nationalistic political ideas. The emotional aspect of music created not just cohesion among the people; it also justified the war, rising fighting morale and spreading hate (Galijaš 2011: 269-70). Because of all that, and also because of the song lyrics, I agree with Galijaš and also with Gordy, who claimed *turbofolk* was part of the nation-building process in Serbia in the 1990s.

Svetlana Ražnatović - Ceca was the most popular *turbofolk* singer, but also a very controversial figure in the Serbian *estrada* because of her criminal husband Arkan (Čvor 2014: 65); interestingly, this did not affect her popularity all over the Balkan region. Her songs sing about (unfulfilled) love, suffering, betrayal and revenge - themes that were popular on all sides of the front line, despite the fact that all of Serbian songs were banned from the public media in Croatia and B-H. It is important to stress that *turbofolk* songs were not nationalistic oriented, although they were seen as a part of the Serbian nation-building process. My interviewee Fuad pointed out that Ceca’s song *Kukavica* (Coward) had a very stimulating effect on ARBiH soldiers, it boosted their fighting spirit enormously. The interviewee Aleksandar also remembered that *turbofolk* was often heard on the front line and Čvor reports that soldiers from opposite sides traded tape cassettes with *turbofolk* music (Čvor 2014: 90). He also emphasised that *turbofolk* songs were different from Serbian “war songs” that were openly nationalistic and chauvinistic and often related to četnik’s songs. On the contrary, *turbofolk* songs describe things that were, especially during the war, out of reach for regular people and soldiers (Čvor 2014: 57).

My interviewees relate *turbofolk* music with the nationalistic rhetoric and politics of the Serbian president Slobodan Milošević, pointing out that this was a genre of low quality and cheap lyrics. The absence of meaningful lyrics was replaced by the visual presentation of female *turbofolk* singers and their sexualised bodies in video clips, where women were beautiful, sexual and passive objects. Men in video clips were handsome muscular soldiers, warriors, defenders and great lovers which was a clear sign of gender differentiation. According to Vogel, these images did not present real life and put *turbofolk* singers in a submissive “de-personified” position, where their bodies were just sexual objects (Vogel 2017).

My interviewees were not so familiar with the Serbian *turbofolk* music scene, but many of them mentioned Serbian singer Baja mali Knindža, who was known for his nationalistic songs and supported Milošević’s regime. The name Baja mali Knindža refers to the Croatian city of Knin, the capital of Serbian para-state Srpska Krajina (Galijaš 2011: 284-7). Two interviewees talked about his song *Ne volim te Alija* (I Do Not Love You Alija), in which hatred towards the Bosniak
is explicitly expressed. In the song, the B-H president Alija Izetbegović can be read as a metonymy for the enemy, and is without a doubt, labelled as the “Other”, responsible for the beginning of the war. Avdo commented on the singer:

I remember a couple of those terrible songs. They all contained hate speech. In the song *Ne volim te Alija*, he sings that Drina will be full of dead mujahedin. The text goes /…/ I don’t love you Alija because you are Balija, you have destroyed our peaceful dream. River Drina will carry hundred mujahedin every day /…/ Now compare these songs with the song *Ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću* (Carry the Flag, Dragan Vikić), or with *Baščaršijo ranjena* (Wounded Baščaršija), compare messages those songs were carrying. Another song Baja mali Knindža recorded was /…/ Hajrudine, Hajrudine, do you want some dried bacon from the attic? /…/ that is a pure insult for Muslims, who do not eat pork. Serbian songs were extremely nationalistic and offensive towards Muslims.

Other interviewees shared the same feelings about Serbian songs, also emphasising they could often hear them on RTV Pale because it broadcasted signals to Sarajevo. Interviewees were also saying those Serbian songs all had a similar message, where the lyrics were excluding and humiliating the “Others”, and exalting their own nation. Serbian songs were nationalistic, chauvinistic and offensive, and in some cases, religion was involved, as in the case of another song by Baja mali Knindža, in which he sings “Mi imamo srce lavje, mi volimo pravoslavje”, meaning, we have a hear of a lion, we love Orthodoxy (Čolović 2007: 127).

Serbian popular patriotic music production also focused on male heroes only and heroines were never mentioned. Among the Serbian soldiers, heroes presented the backbone of the war discourse that was based on bravery and honour and was defending Serbian symbols and the Serbian soil Ceribašić 1995, as cited in Schäuble 2009: 178). Being brave and ready to expose yourself to danger was a sign of being a *pravi muškrac* (real men) and not *mamina maza* (“mommy's baby”).

In addition to Serbian classical music and rock that almost completely ignored the war in B-H, and *turbofolk* that sang about love and desire, another genre became popular during the war: old *četnik* songs performed in the NCFM style. Songs once prohibited in Yugoslavia emerged again in the 1980s because of the political and economic crisis. Some audio cassettes were

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55 Pale is a small ski resort about 20 km south-east of Sarajevo, where during the war the RS had its seat of governance (Rieff 1995: 30).
recorded already in 1989, presenting the most popular songs: *Oj Srbijo iz tri dela, uskoro ćeš biti cela* (O, Serbia from Three Parts, You Will Soon Be Whole), and *Slobodane, mili brate* (Slobodan, Dear Brother) (Čolović 2007: 102). Among the most popular singers were Aleksandar Filipović Alfi and the Bajić brothers. Filipović’s most famous song was *Oj narode* (Hey, Nation), whereas the Bajić brothers composed a song *Evropska demokratska pesma* (European Democratic Song), listing all Serbian enemies (Čolović 2007: 116-7). The singer that sang about the current situation of Serbs in the Knin area, but also about the četnik and partisan battles and reviving the past, was Dragutin Knežević Krunica56 (Čolović 2007: 112). Serbian folk singers loved singing about their heroes and some of them considered Arkan as one of the biggest heroes. The singer Miodrag Ž. Ilić sang a song *Poem velikom borcu* (The Song For a Great Warrior) and Svetomir Ilić - Siki’s hit song was *Arkanove delije*57 (Arkan’s Delije). Both songs were dedicated to officially recognised war criminals, but for Serbs they were heroes who sacrificed themselves for higher goals (Čolović 2010: 73). Many members of these paramilitary formations were also football fans and hooligans, and they modified football cheering songs into fight songs with new functions. Some of those songs became part of the Serbian war folklore (Čolović 2010: 127). Other Serbian singers who Stanković chose the nationalistic side and started to perform song with nationalistic lyrics supporting Slobodan Milošević were Bora Đorđević, Oliver Mandić, and Simonida Stanković (Ramet 2002: 266).

Even though Milošević tried to present Croatian and Bosnian Serbs as victims of the Croatian and Bosnian nationalistic regimes, demonstrations against him and over the question of democracy were organised in Belgrade on 9 March 1991 (Collin 2001: 4; Ramet 2002: 156). Part of this protest was also the Serbian rock band Rimtutituki with their “politically engaged music” (Milin 2011: 213). Their song *Slušaj vamo/Mir, brate mir* (Listen Here/ Peace, Brother Peace) (Collin 2001: 52) became very popular among the anti-war and peace-seeking youth. In addition to Rimtutituki, a Novi Sad singer-songwriter Đorđe Balašević also stood on the side of peace. Another supporter of peace was Rambo Amadeus (Vidić Rasmussen 2007: 67). He

56 Dragutin Knežević Krunica (1940-2006) was a Serbian poet and writer born in Knin, Croatia. Some of his biggest hits were *Nema lepšeg znaka od kokarde* (There Is Nothing More Beautiful Than Cockade), where *kokarda* means a metal-made emblem that Serbian soldiers wore on their caps in the 19th and 20th century. Other songs were *Vojvoda Tankosić* (Duke Tankosić), *Vojvoda Momčilo je dobre volje* (Duke Momčilo Is in A Good Mood), *Ko to nezna šta kokarda znači* (Who Does Not Know What Cockade Means), and *Četiri živa četnika* (Four Četnik Alive). Krunica also wrote an epic biography of Draža Mihajlović that consists of three hundred verses united under the title *Čića Dražo, da te nije bilo srpsko bi se ime ugasilo* (Uncle Dražo If It Weren’t for You, Serbian Name Would Have Faded Away) (Čolović 2007: 112).

57 Delija is a word describing a Serbian hero.
showed his disapproval of the new regime, saying “when Milošević appeared, Serbia and Rock’n’roll had died” (Collin 2001: 85).

Slobodan Milošević controlled the majority of public electronic and printed media. This allowed him to spread state propaganda, promote “Serbnianness” and the idea of “Greater Serbia” because about 69 per cent of the population relied on television as their primary source of information (Ramet 2002: 340). Additionally, Milošević emphasised the role of religion, saying that the Serbian Orthodox Church is the “spiritual basis for the most essential component of the national identity. With this act religion assumed a significant role in weaving the tapestry of hate” (Ramet 2002: 254). After Milošević manipulated the citizens of Serbia and controlled the public media and religious institutions, independent media such as the news magazine Vreme (Time), the TV station Studio B, and the radio station B-92 practically had no opportunities to show the Serbian people what was really going on in Croatia and B-H. The hate speech against B-H and Croatia from government controlled public media was too loud (Collin 2001: 45). As Maass notes, “the most amazing thing about the role of television was that it not only had the power to form people’s opinions, it could change those opinions overnight” (Maass 1996: 226-7). Successful negative propaganda toward everything non-Serbian, censorship, and fake news were present on a daily basis. Studies also show that radio stations in Belgrade broadcasted mainly traditional nationalistic songs, alongside with četnik songs from WWII, or their new interpretations, and contemporary songs (Hudson 2003: 167-8).

Because the war did not rage in Serbia, cultural institutions continued to function and gave the appearance of normal life (Milin 2011: 210). As Milin notes, Serbian classical musicians were “caught between the need to express their patriotic feeling and the fear of being regarded as glorifiers of the war, [however] most composers did not let any of those emotions penetrate into their music. Therefore, the music could not be linked in any way to the surrounding catastrophe” (Milin 2011: 213). And even after the war ended, music compositions were rarely dedicated to the war.

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58 Radio televizija Srbije (Radio-Television Serbia, RTS), daily newspaper Politika (Politics), tabloid Politika ekspres (Politics Express), weekly magazine NIN, and newspaper Borba (The Battle).
4. GENERAL HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT ON WAR IN B-H

The thesis' research question deals with the question of cultural production in multi-ethnic societies and the information presented on the following pages will help to elaborate on the historical and cultural context needed for understanding how local people negotiated the question of national identity, which was different from the official politics. In this chapter, I therefore briefly explore the most important events in the timeline of the war, as they inform the living situation of musicians and people living in Sarajevo and Zenica. The chapter is therefore roughly divided into two parts: in the first part I discuss the most pertinent events, actors and circumstances in Sarajevo; I focus on cultural events and electronic media. In the second part, I conduct a similar investigation about the general situation in Zenica, with the focus on cultural events and media. These details are crucial to keep in mind for the discussion on music production and examples of patriotic songs that I address in chapter seven. Furthermore, this chapter demonstrates that the war had affected people differently in Zenica than it did in Sarajevo, arguing that research in Zenica (and other places in B-H) deserve closer attention, as the events there importantly influenced the music production in B-H.

In November 1990 the first multi-party elections took place in ex-Yugoslavia’s ethnic most diverse republic, a country where more than 4.4 million people belonged to twenty ethnic groups (Thompson 1999: 210). Three main nationalist parties won and formed a pre-election coalition: Alija Izetbegović’s Stranka demokratske akcije (Party of Democratic Action, SDA), representing the Muslim, won 36 per cent of seats in the Bosnian parliament; Radovan Karadžić’s Srpska demokratska stranka (Serbian democratic party, SDS) won 30 per cent of the seats; and Stjepan Ključić’s Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (Croatian Democratic Union, HDZ) won 18 per cent of the seats (Calic 2009: 122). In the referendums held at the end of February and beginning of March 1992, people voted for the “sovereign and independent B-H, a state of equal citizens and nations of Muslim, Serbs and Croats and others who live in it” (Thompson 1999: 212). Most Bosnian Serbs boycotted the referendum, but on 3 March 1992 B-H declared its independence (Ramet 2002: 206). A month later, on April 6, B-H was recognised as an independent country (Calic 2009: 124). Serbia and Croatia did not want B-H to be an independent country, so Serbs and Croats in B-H self-proclaimed their own para-states and nation-building processes. Serbs founded Republika Srpska (Calic 2009: 123) and Croats

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59 According to Kurspahić these results were a kind of ethnic census, as the majority of the population voted for their national party (Kurspahić 2010: 112).

60 The referendum lasted for two days, on 29 February and 1 March 1992.
established *Herceg-Bosna* (Bennett 2016: 63). These two para-states, each with their own leader, Mate Boban in *Herceg-Bosna* and Radovan Karadžić in Republika Srpska, served the interests of the major political parties (HDZ and SDS) in expanding their sphere of influence, ensuring the economic prosperity of the party and its leadership and in suppressing other nations, as well as internal opponents (Bieber 2000: 275).

When the war started in Croatia in 1991, the people of B-H still believed that a further escalation of violence will not happened in their homeland. They expected that their country “would avoid the war that raged in Croatia because people of all nationalities and religions lived more or less harmoniously with each other” (Mojzes 2011: 163). My interviewee recalled:

> We were so surprised about what was going on in Croatia that we did not see what was going on in front of our doors. The Serbs were setting up heavy artillery on the hills around Sarajevo, setting up barricades in the city and we did not get it. We did not believe someone could do something to us.

But the war soon moved to B-H. Interviewee Damir said, it did not start in all cities on the same date. For example, on 3 April 1992 Bosanski Brod and Kupreš suffered from open fire between Serbian irregulars shooting at Bosnian Muslim and Croats (Ramet 2002: 207). The second biggest city, Banja Luka, fell into *Vojska Republike Srpske* (Army of Republika Srpska, VRS) hands under the command of Ratko Mladić just a month later, almost without a shot being fired (Rieff 1995: 17, 80). Many cities in Eastern Bosnia were occupied, people were killed or expelled, their property was confiscated, valuables belonging were stolen. The term *etničko čišćenje* (ethnic cleansing) entered the vocabulary soon after the war began, describing a set of grave human rights and humanitarian law violations (Calic 2009: 117). First the ARBiH and HVO armies fought together against the VRS, but after the increased tensions between them, another front opened, and from 18 October 1992 to 23 February 1994, the ARBiH fought against HVO and VRS. Hoare writes:

> The HVO, as the Bosnian Croat counterpart to the Patriotic League, was formally founded on 8 April 1992 and consisted of about 132,000 troops. It was to make an important contribution to B-H's defences at the start of the war, but ultimately its organisation structure, the ideology of its leaders and their loyalty to the Tukdman

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61 *Hrvatsko Vijeće Odbrane* (Croatian Defence Council, HVO) was the official military formation of the Croatian Republic of Herceg Bosna existing between 1991 to 1996. The HVO was also defined as a constituent part of the ARBiH (Hoare 2004: 54).
regime in Zagreb were to lead in into rebellion and conflict with the ARBiH. (Hoare 2004: 64)

On 11 July 1995, the VRS army invaded two “safe areas”, Srebrenica and Žepa. They forced more than 30,000 people to flee and killed more than 8,000 male Srebrenica detainees in just a couple of days (Calic 2009: 128). After that the UN took action and started bombarding VRS positions. The war was officially over on 14 December 1995, when the Dayton peace agreement was signed. Bennett summarises the numbers, saying:

When the Dayton Peace Agreement came into force, some 1.2 million Bosnians were living as refugees abroad, with another 1.2 million internally displaced within Bosnia. Of the 3 million people remaining in the country some 2.4 million or 80 per cent were dependent on humanitarian aid. The precise number of dead was unknown, but at least 30,000 were missing. (Bennett 2016: 9)

4.1. WAR IN SARAJEVO

On 6 April 1992 peaceful demonstrations took place in Sarajevo's city centre; between 50,000 and 100,000 Bosnians of all nationalities and religions came out the streets and demanded loyalty to Tito’s *brotherhood and unity* and a united multinational B-H (Malcolm 1996: 235; Maček 2001: 200). Snipers from paramilitary formations of the SDS political party were hidden in the Holiday Inn hotel not far away, and started firing at the crowd. They hit their first targets, Suada Dilberović and Olga Sučić, who became first official victims of the war. In the following days, heavy artillery, sniper activity, and rocket fire in the surrounding hills continued around the clock. Water, gas and electricity were being shut down and supplied to the households, sometimes for only a few hours each day, adding to the inhabitants' sense of powerlessness (Baker 2015: 67). Food was running out; medical supplies were gone. People were leaving the city, trying to escape from the war. They left disappointed and humiliated (Perković 2011: 101).

Sarajevo endured the longest siege in modern history. Around half a million of people were forced to live under constant threat of enemy fire and a lack of food, water, heating, medicines. Those who had stayed were constantly attacked by the VRS and the Serbian paramilitary forces, who did not allow food, medicine, water, electricity, fuel and hygiene-maintenance supplies to

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62 The ICTY ruled in 2007 that genocide had occurred in the Bosnian town of Srebrenica in July 1995, but the Serbian state could not be held responsible for the actions of the VRS and the paramilitary groups, even tough they were providing them with weapons and ammunition (Džankić 2015: 121). More about Srebrenica genocide in Mojzes (2011); Calic (2009).

reach Sarajevo (Karahasan 2010: 64). Sarajevans were dealing with constant bombardments, shelling, deadly snipers' shootings, hunger, thirst, lack of money, lack of opportunities and lack of dignity. My interviewee remembered this war-time:

I lived with my parents in a three-storey building. We spent most of the time hidden in a cellar with our neighbours and we shared everything: food, water, coffee, heating. We had an old guitar which was totally out of tune. Nonetheless, we sang all kinds of songs, ranging from *sevdalinka* to popular songs from *Bijelo dugme*, *Parni Valjak*, Tereza Kesovija. We did not care about the nationality of the singer. We were always listening to the news and patriotic songs on the radio. I like those. I studied at home, it was dangerous to go to school. Learning by candlelight was tough when you heard explosions and felt the detonations near you. But I really wanted to learn and not get behind in my knowledge. We all received humanitarian aid once a week. We never spent as much time together as we did in almost four years of war. I was bored a lot because I had to stay at home all the time.

*Sarajlije*, the pre-war population in Sarajevo (Stefansson 2007: 59) were known for their *Sarajevski duh* (Sarajevan spirit), through which spite, the need to resist, and humour came to the forefront. It is not a surprise that soon after the war began cultural life started to flourish as well. My interviewees all mentioned different cultural events, like theatre plays, art exhibitions, concerts. Even a beauty pageant, *Miss opkoljenog Sarajeva* (Miss besieged Sarajevo), was organised in 1993. Maček notes that art was important at the time because it was “imitating normality, but also because it was a means by which everyday common problems and traumas could be expressed and shared” (Maček 2007: 55).

In almost four years of war most of the infrastructure was destroyed and the former city hall and national library *Vijećnica* was burned to the ground at end of August 1992, and with it the majority of books and manuscripts, some dating back to the Ottoman Empire era (Ramet 2002: 264). Many massacres happened, mostly when people were waiting in lines for water or bread. The most significant massacres happened in the city’s most popular market – *Markale*:

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64 David M. Berman (2005) researched the newly established school system in Dobrinja, a part of Sarajevo that was *dvostruko pod ospadom* (twice under siege) for 75 days in the beginning of the war. In Dobrinja, the Civil defence (CZ) and individual teachers, professors and other civilians organised *haustorske škole* (stairway schools), giving pupils and students the feeling of normality (Maček 2007). Furthermore, Berman writes about “pedagogical patriotism, where civilians, teachers and students do their best to reconstruct an educational system under siege that enables the children to go to school” (Berman 2005).

65 The Third Corps art unit dedicated a song to this - *Majka znanja* (mother of knowledge) - that I will analyse in more detail in chapter seven.
First in February 1994 and in August 1995 (Maček 2009: 200). This second event convinced NATO to order air strikes against the Serb positions (Mojzes 2011: 171). In the early summer of 1994, the B-H army build the Tunel spasa (the tunnel of salvation) connecting the besieged Sarajevo with the free-territory on the other side of the airport runway. During the siege 11,541 people were killed (Pezo 2015: 320).

4.1.1. CULTURE IN SARAJEVO

Sarajevo's cultural scene before the war was very diverse, like in any other European city, but with the beginning of the war all cultural institutions and events were shut down and cancelled. Public life disappeared, life was happening behind four walls and people were struggling to survive. After the first shock was overcome, individuals started to organise different cultural events and gave their contribution to the lively cultural life when Sarajevo was under siege. Those events also contributed to the national identity awareness, showing that people distinguished between patriotism and nationalism and did not always agree with nationalistic rhetoric of the B-H government that tried to implement the Bosniak national identity in public life. People engaged in what one of my interviewees called “cultural resistance”. This term aptly describes the work of cultural institutions, artists and audiences during the war. They engaged in activities such as theatre plays, performances, art exhibitions, concerts and festivals in order to keep their spirits high and remain optimistic about the future. Presented examples will add a historical context to the analysis of analysed patriotic songs and interviewees' memories.

In the newspaper of the Slovenian association in Sarajevo, Zora Cankarjeva, Zekić wrote that in the spring and summer of 1993, cultural events were going on daily, regardless of the danger that life in the besieged city was bringing with it (Zekić 1993: 22). Organisers of those events often collaborated, meaning that for example, the Philharmonic orchestra performed at an exhibition opening, or that the ARBiH art unit organised a concert in the city centre. All this diversity of artistic events maintained a “normal life” in the city. It was also a way for artists to express and share their common everyday problems, as well as their traumas and fears. Many performances, concerts and exhibitions featured an anti-war message. Two Bosnian rock
musicians Srđan Jevđević and Amir Beso staged the musical *Kosa* (Hair) in *Kamerni teatar 55* (Chamber theatre 55) in November 1992 (Ramet 2002: 266). A member of the NGO organisation Serious road trip, Bill Carter, remembers the cultural life in Sarajevo with the following words:

Occasionally there would be a gallery opening. Or a fashion show, or a modern art show and of course there was the production of musical *Hair*. Actors performed this musical daily and there was always enough people who wanted to see the play. And there were other shows as well. Like the time Susan Sontag came to Sarajevo and directed Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*. (Carter 2004: 205-6)

Several musical ensembles continued with their work, playing a repertoire that included old and new music compositions. One of my interviewees, Dževad Šabanagić, a lead violin and a founder of the *Gudački kvartet Kamernog teatra 55* (String Quartet of Chamber Theatre 55) explained:

During the war our quartet held 250 concerts. We were under siege, bombardments happened every day, but we played our music. Even though this seemed impossible, we performed for our people in Sarajevo. We had concerts in churches, in the National theatre, but usually in *Kamerni teater 55*, as this was the safest place. We tried to give something very special to the public: spiritual food, mental health, and resistance. They needed all of that. I walked about 10 km per day, as we had rehearsals every day. We always played for free, or for food or cigarettes. We loved performing for those people. It meant more than life; it was our mission. It was not just us, other artists, too, contributed to the resistance. So much culture and art happened during the war. Psychologists would call that “umjetničko ludilo” (art’s insanity).

He was proud of the achievements of his quartet, but in the same breath, also astonished about it. He claimed that music has a special power, a function of emotional expression (Merriam 2000), where those who are performing and those who are listening, are experiencing special

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Teatar (Sarajevo War Theatre), giving people a much needed parallel imaginary world into which they could escape (Mustafić 2018: 316). Mustafić states that artists, who were not mobilised, continued to create art, as that was their job, occupation and profession. “In Sarajevo at that time, theatre meant even more than life,” he said (Mustafić 2018: 318).

68 Dževad Šabanagić was born in 1945 in Sarajevo, where he also graduated from the Music Academy. His main instrument was violin. Due to his tendencies and love for chamber music, he founded the *Gudački kvartet* in 1968. Members of the quartet changed, but during the war-time period the group consisted of Hrvoje Tisler (second violin), Dijana Ihas (viola), Miron Strutinski (cello) and Dževad Šabanagić (lead violin). Their repertoire was based on classical quartet music from Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Grieg.
emotions. Šabanagić also emphasised that music works as a cure (Hamer 2013: 32-6). Not only did Šabanagić talk about his work, he also pointed out the changes happening in the society when people were beginning to live their “normal” lives again.

Some might think that life in Sarajevo was dead, but no, quite the opposite, we were indestructible and our will was made of iron. As soon as the grenades stopped falling people left their shelters, women were beautiful and tidy, always dressed like they were going to a wedding. Artist were making art and people were visiting concerts, exhibitions. Although death was so close, life was indestructible. We just wanted to live a normal life.

This need for normal life was essential for Sarajevans, whose lives were constantly in danger. Sarajevans defined normal life as the life they lived before the war, which mostly corresponded to “secure employment, good living standards, social welfare, relative social equality, socialising connected to travel and leisure, consumption, inter-ethnic co-existence, an expectation of unproblematic reproduction of such a life” (Maček 2007: 39). During the war they lived, as Maček defined it, the “imitation of life” (Maček 2009: 9). Visiting cultural events, dressing up and keeping up with appearances was part of Sarajevo social norms long before the war started. New conditions demanded new adjustments and Šabanagić noted the growth of religion and nationalism in the Sarajevan society, which was sponsored by Bosniak, Serbian, and Croatian nationalistic political parties. He said:

Politics changed people and it was also responsible for the war. Before the war people used to hang out, religion and nationality were not important, politics divided us. I was always strictly against it.

At this point his opinion meets the opinion of Salo Baron, who pointed out that nationalism can be grasped only in the context of definite traditions in which religion played the dominant role (Baron in Aleksov 2008: 39). Religion became a “key marker” in B-H and in Sarajevo (Maček 2009: 148), and Šabanagić claimed that this marker had a negative role because “it divided the nation even more, as each group started to make its own politics, and exclude other nations”. The String Quartet of Chamber Theatre 55 fought against nationalistic politics and the prejudiced mind-set of people with the best weapon they had - with classical music - added Šabanagić.

During the war the Sarajevski filharmonijski orkestar (Sarajevan Philharmonic orchestra) was also brought back to life. Their first concert, a traditional New Year’s concert, took place on 30
December 1993, as Nuhanović explained. He was also the leader of the military orchestra and said in the interview:

The Sarajevo philharmonic orchestra was founded in September 1993. It was quite a challenge to find 50 musicians living in Sarajevo, but we somehow managed it. The first concert was on 30 December 1993, a New Year’s concert. Reša Arnautivić was conducting, Amila Bašić was singing and the concert hall was full of people. On 14 June 1994, Zubin Mehta conducted Mozart's Requiem, and with it we wanted to show that one can have a Catholic ceremony for the dead in the Muslim city. This was the biggest event in the city that was not related to any kind of tragedy. We did a good job.

The visit of Zubin Mehta and the performance of Mozart's Requiem was the biggest event and achievement of Sarajevski filharmonijski orkestar during the war and it carried a big symbolical message. Not just playing classical music, but also playing a Catholic requiem mass for the dead was a way for Sarajevans to present themselves as a multi-cultural and multireligious city and society, leaving nationalistic discourses behind and striving to be a part of Europe.69

Another orchestra that also continued with its work was Kamerni orkestar RTVBiH (B-H Radio and Television Chamber Orchestra) under the baton of conductor Spaso Berak. His wife Ljubica Berak, a famous and popular folk music and sevdalinka singer, elaborated on the work of the Kamerni orkestar:

My husband, Spaso Berak, was a producer of folk music at Radio Sarajevo. When the war started in April 1992, he told his co-workers, musicians, the following words: /…/ “my dear people, the war has started. Let us organise ourselves into an orchestra, otherwise we will all stay without work. Let us give our contribution to the defence, each of us can give something. I will compose patriotic songs, my wife, Ljubica Berak, will help me, and with music we will fight”. Those were his words; I still remember them by heart. And so it was. Spaso spend a lot of time on the radio, working on music, and when he came home, he brought materials for me to compose patriotic songs. Spaso also initiated SAREST - Sarajevska ratna estrada (Sarajevan war music scene). This was

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69 Conductor Zubin Mehta visited Sarajevo in June 1994 and conducted Mozart’s Requiem with the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra in the demolished Vijećnica (Rame 2002: 264; Čavlović 2001: 44). My interviewee, who was a singer in the opera’s choir, was critical about the event because it was broadcasted live in Italy, Japan and the Middle East, with the aim to raise money for refugee aid. He was angry because “someone earned good money from it. What we got was enough to buy a few kilograms of flour, and not even a litre of sunflower oil.” He saw the “backstage picture”. Interestingly, he was the only one, who complicated the activities of famous visitors from the West. He also pointed out this was not the only way of profit-making during the war; people did different things to earn money in war. More about it in Andreas (2009).
a project that strove to give musicians and singers work, and to protect them from getting killed. Quite a lot of singers became part of this project, among them Zehra Deović, Beba Selimović, Hanka Paldum. We all got two songs we had to rehearse at the start, one patriotic and one from the revitalisation. This means, one old song that we gave a new life. My husband Spaso was very active in both projects, really.

Some of the SAREST members were also active members of the First Corps art unit, and Ljubica Berak was one of them. She was born and raised in a Serbian Orthodox family, always emphasising that in her case, religion never played an important role when it came to the question of loyalty to B-H. Her husband was Muslim and their marriage was, like many others in Bosnia and across Yugoslavia, intermixed70. She said her family was mixed like many other families in B-H and to her religion was always a private matter.

Many festivals were organised for the people of Sarajevo, among others Sarajevska zima (Sarajevo Winter) and Sarajevo Film Festival71. Both festivals presented another way of how Sarajevans fought against abnormal circumstances. At both festivals, Western classical music and Western film production was played, reflecting Sarajevo's cosmopolitan past and its close connection to the West. With this act, Sarajevo artist wanted to “influence Western governments to intervene on the Bosnian side, but tried to keep themselves separate from the state” (Baker 2015: 118).

During the war, many foreign musicians and singers, like Joan Baez72 and Bruce Dickinson73 visited Sarajevo. They all wanted to show their support to people; as one teenager remembers Bruce Dickinson’s concert, saying “during the concert, the war stopped. Even if for a couple of

70 In 1993 Mustafa ef. Cerić became the new ‘reis-ul-ulema’ (Muslim religious leader) of a newly established Islamic community in B-H. He was a passionate opponent of mixed marriages and fond of religious indoctrination (Juvan and Prebilić 2014: 70). He tried to push through a bill banning mixed marriages in 1995, but people took to the streets of Sarajevo and the bill failed (Ramet 2006: 431). Additionally, Cerić linked the Bosniak cause to B-H, saying B-H should be a nation-state for the Bosniak, since Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs already had their own countries, Croatia and Serbia (Bosnia’s Dangerous Tango 2013).

71 Film and theatre director Haris Pašović organised the first Sarajevo Film Festival in October 1993 under the name “Beyond the end of the world” (Gjelten 1995: 232-3).

72 Joan Baez visited Sarajevo in April 1993. My interviewee, Želimir Altarac - Ćićak helped organise her visit in Sarajevo and said Baez gave a concert on 14 April 1993 in the cinema Imperial. She sang a song by Kemal Monteno Sarajevo ljubavi moja (Sarajevo My Love) together with local musicians: Amir Beso - Lazy, Srdan Jevđević, Boris Bačević, Paul Pesco, Dragana Ilić, Igor Zerajic, and Samir Ceramida.

73 Bruce Dickinson visited Sarajevo in December 1994 together with Chris Dale (bas) and Alex Elena (drummer) and gave a concert for a couple of hundred Sarajevo teenagers in Bosanski kulturni centar (Bosnian Cultural Centre). More about it in Vulliamy (2012) and Carter (2004). The story how Dickinson came to Sarajevo and gave a concert motivated the Bosnian director Tarik Hodžić to make a documentary in 2017, titled Scream for me Sarajevo. Hodžić explained, he wanted to present a story of Sarajevo teenagers, who visited the concert. One of them remembers the concert in the documentary with the words: “I followed Bruce Dickinson’s work and music since I was ten years old. And now, in the hardest moment in my life, in these horrible circumstances, he comes to my hometown. If war was possible, why Bruce would not be possible? God is almighty” (Hodžić 2017).
hours, they tried to console the Sarajevans” (Hodžić 2017). When Tom Gjelten wrote about the everyday life in Sarajevo during the siege, he also wrote about the “real heroes” of Sarajevo, mentioning several artists and athletes, who greatly contributed to the cultural resistance during the war. He wrote:

The heroes of Sarajevo were not only Juka Prazina and other militiamen, who fought in the trenches at the city’s edge but also Mirsada Burić, who trained to represent her country in the 1992 Barcelona Olympic by running defiantly up and down the shell ravaged streets of downtown Sarajevo. And Vedran Smajlović, a cellist for the Sarajevo Opera orchestra, who for twenty-two consecutive days sat in a chair at the site of the breadline bombing on Vasa Miskin Street and played Tomaso Albinoni’s Adagio in commemoration of the twenty-two people who died there. Zdravko Grebo, a former law professor at Sarajevo University, who during the war set up a private radio station called Radio Zid, or Wall, whose mix of modern music, news programs, and provocative talk shows was intended to keep Sarajevo’s “urban style and civilized environment” intact. (Gjelten 1995: 153-4)

Between 1960s and the 1990s Sarajevo was considered to be “the cradle of Yu-rock” (Kovač 2001: 169), or the centre of “Balkan rock” (Muršić 2008: 93), providing a launch-pad for groups like Indexi, Bijelo dugme, Zabranjeno Pušenje, Plavi orkestar, and many others. During the war, this ex-popular music was pushed into the background, seldom played on national radio or television because it had to make space for patriotic songs.

Each Yugoslav republic started with the nation-building process, following the idea of a “homogeneous state”, meaning one state, one nation, and in this state there was no space for other nationalities and its music. By playing “their own music” and creating their own national music scene, they showed that there was no place for the supranational Yugoslav identity. In the case of B-H, people had to become a part of Bosniak, Serbian or Croatian national identity group (Baker 2015: 120). Consequently, a totally new music scene was established in Sarajevo during the war. As some popular musicians, who were on the scene for decades, left Sarajevo, the empty space was filled with new singers and bands. The former dean of the Music Academy in Sarajevo, Ivan Čavlović, describes this turn in music life: “during the war, larger cities had what is called a music life, and which lived through numerous music events that were organized in the afternoon hours and in protected venues” (Čavlović 2001: 44). Čavlović refers not only to all the concerts of classical and popular music, visits of foreign musicians and conductors, but also to new music scene, populated with patriotic songs in the B-H rock genre that started
to appear in every B-H city. According to him, such music was only popular during the brief period between 1992 to 1995 (Čavlović 2001: 44). Almost every popular musician starting with Dino Merlin, Amra Dacca, Nazif Gljiva, Mladen Vojičić - Tifa, Hanka Paldum, Hasiba Agić, Ljubica Berak, Henda, and Safet Isović, composed/performed a song dedicated to either B-H, or to a specific army commander of a specific army unit. Due to the general mobilisation for men, many musicians became regular soldiers before they became part of art units, but some female musicians (for example, Ljubica Berak and Hasiba Agić) volunteered for the ARBiH. When art units were established, they contributed to the development and diversity of Sarajevo’s music scene.

The music scene in Sarajevo during the war can be divided into two groups: the official scene (popular musicians and singers who created and performed patriotic and traditional songs – among them also art units of ARBiH); and the alternative scene (young teenage musicians, playing rock, punk, and hip-hop). This division was also necessary because different musicians engaged in different activities and had different perspectives on the rise of nationalism and religious identity. Singers such as Dino Merlin, Mladen Vojičić - Tifa, Amra Dacca, Faruk Jažić, Hasiba Agić, Zlatan Fazlić - Fazla, Davorin Popović, Ismeta Dervoz, Safet Isović, Nazif Gljiva and the bands Bosnian Band Aid, Macbeth and Bombaj Štampa represented the official music scene, while the bands Mjesečari, Sikter, SCH, Protest and Tmina represented the alternative scene. Singers from the official music scene sang songs glorifying the nation or the army of B-H. In contrast, the alternative scene musicians looked critically at the war and the political situation. The frontman of the band Sikter, Enes Zlatar, recalled:

Music scene during the war was a source of fantastic ideas and energy that kept us, young people, in a more or less normal state of mind. Concerts in Obala and Sloga were some sort of an escape from the war and horror into a normal world of club culture and going out in the evenings. (Tanović 2018)

Sarajevo’s music scene was, as already mentioned, very lively and reminiscent of any Western music scene, where different music genres coexisted and developed side by side. The official music scene focused on its production of patriotic songs in different music genres and the First Corps art unit contributed many patriotic songs. The alternative scene was popular among younger generations, whose main motivation was to escape and forget about the war with the help of music. Jeffs wrote:
During the war, a genuine “underground” has been operating in Sarajevo—in its most literal meaning of cellars, garages and different improvised shelters, in time of a total struggle for survival. For those young people this was the crucial moment of the struggle. For many of them, a guitar in a hand had the same weight as the gun that awaited them in the trenches after rehearsal. (Jeffs 2005: 4)

4.1.2. ELECTRONIC MEDIA IN SARAJEVO

During the war, people listened to the radio because the flow of information was better than on television, and as one interviewee said, it was easier to find the batteries for the radio transmitter than a generator for the television. As the mass media played an important role in spreading music and information, I briefly discuss the infrastructure and the programming that remained active during the war. I also briefly discuss the work of two radio station, Radio Zid and RTVBiH because both contributed to the development of Sarajevo’s alternative and official music scene. All main producers were stationed in Sarajevo. Before the war, they were transmitting their programme all over B-H. From the beginning of the siege their scope was limited to Sarajevo. The siege made it difficult to broadcast, publish and distribute news (Maček 2009: 137). Nevertheless, eight independent FM radio stations broadcasted their programming (Thompson 1999: 217), however my interviewees mentioned five of them; Studio 99 (Studio 99), Radio Zid (Radio Wall), Radio Vrh Bosna (Radio Bosnia Peak), Radio M (Radio M)74, and Radio Stari grad (Radio Old Town). Those private radio stations reached a small group of listeners due to the destroyed transmitters and other infrastructure. Programming was different from station to station, some transmitted news from the battlefield and from the political scene, while others specialised in world’s music trends.

Radio Zid gained its importance and popularity among the youth because it played alternative music genres, and it offered a mixture of popular music, critically presented international and domestic news and their own shows. It started broadcasting in March 1993 and it soon became Sarajevo’s favourite radio station for alternative and popular music (Thompson 1999: 238; Jeffs 2005). The mission of young DJs, journalists, and the manager Zdravko Grebo was to promote multiculturalism, tolerance, and to fight against the war and all nationalistic ideas (Jeffs 2005:

74 Mušan Topalović - Caco and his criminal gang destroyed this radio station because they broadcasted Serbian music (Thompson 1999: 221). Similarly, Carter writes that Radio M claimed to be “independent and free to play whatever kind of music they wished. And they did. Rock, reggae, blues and pop. They also played local folk music, and they didn’t care if it was Serbian, Bosnian or Croatian. That is until one day when they played a popular Serbian folk song, /.../ Turns out one of the warlords in town – and there was several of them – didn’t like hearing Serbian song and threw a grenade into the control room” (Carter 2004: 91).
5). The radio’s most popular show was called “No Sleep till...” and presented new domestic and foreign bands and their music. Radio Zid was especially significant for teenagers because it gave them the feeling of normality and it allowed them to vent out their frustrations and anger through music. The feeling of normality was established through the promotion of international popular music genres of that time, for example grunge, punk, metal, hip-hop and alternative rock (Kurtović 2012: 206). Radio Zid organised a concert called Rock Under Siege on 14 January 1995. The event brought together bands playing hard rock, metal and punk. Perković claims that this war rock’n’roll was the most obvious indicator of the desire for life (Perković 2011: 101). The venue of the event was the basement of the Sloga discotheque. One of my interviewees visited the concert Rock Under Siege and he described it this way:

This was a competition of 15 or 16 bands, playing hard rock, heavy metal and punk and presenting their own songs. I don’t remember all the bands, but Tmina, Sikter, Fresh Fish and Protest were there for sure. The atmosphere in the Sloga discotheque was amazing. Like there was no war. This event was one of the best things that happened during the war.

The founder of the group Protest, Damir Nevesinjac, said his group had similar feelings about the concert, believing it was the best performance in their career (Islamagić-Mulahmetović 2014). The aforementioned music genres and bands, including the group Protest, quickly became popular, and Radio Zid assumed its role as the main representative of the Sarajevo “popular-alternative” music scene. The name “popular-alternative” comes from the local understanding of different genres: hard rock, heavy metal and punk were considered alternative genres before the war, but during the war, they became popular because they were able to adjust to new circumstances, but also remain alternative in their political stance (Hamer 2013: 25-6).

Mobilisation through music also occurred on the B-H national radio and television called RTVBiH75, where the production and broadcasting of traditional music, such as sevdalinka and ilahija, and of patriotic music was incorporated into the programme. My interviewee worked as an editor-in-chief at the traditional music desk of RTVBiH and she remembered how the war period changed the programming on the radio and also the organisational structure. “We would broadcast live non-stop,” she explained. “I was including a lot of patriotic songs in the shows I prepared, but as an ethnomusicologist, I also placed special attention on traditional music as well”. Because she wanted to contribute her part and be useful, she continued working for the

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75 Before May 1992, RTVBiH was called Radio and Television Sarajevo but after the B-H government took over the station was renamed (Thompson 1999: 234; Kurspahić 2010: 121).
She often wondered about how to prepare a programme or a show and what kind of music she should play because she was aware of all the many functions music had. She said:

I made a programme where sevdalinka was broadcasted because it was my goal as ethnomusicologist to present the traditional music of B-H. And in the radio archives I found a lot of audio cassettes where sevdalinka was recorded with saz and I got permission to play it in one of the broadcasts I was working on. People were happy to hear the dissonances and sharp metallic sound of it on the radio. Usually that kind of sound was unsuitable for radio, but people loved the show. It happened that traditional music gained a patriotic connotation, which of course was not my goal. Next to sevdalinka, new patriotic songs were made in pop and rock genres. We played a lot of patriotic songs to encourage the people. That was important for me and for them. I believe that our patriotic spirit kept us going.

Bosnian government invested significant efforts in promoting particular music styles and traditions and banning those that did not mesh with its perspective. Traditional music genres sevdalinka and ilahija, were transformed in order “to awaken the national identity” (Karača Beljak 2005: 174). Sevdalinka and saz were nationalised – they became exclusively the music genre and the instrument of the Bosniak. ilahija and kasida (Sufi chants) that were traditionally related to Muslim religious life were performed in concert halls during political rallies. In B-H and Croatia, Serbian music was banned from the government-controlled radio and television stations and censorship was part of the daily routine. Laušević writes about self-censorship, whereby editors deliberately skipped Serbian music and other “inappropriate” music (Laušević 2000: 290-291).

Similar changes happened on the national television channel RTVBiH, which was one of the few TV channels available in Sarajevo; other available channels were Hayat TV, Croatian TV (HRT), Serbian television (CTB) and Bosnian Serb television (PTPC) (Maček 2009: 137). One interviewee worked at RTVBiH. She explained:

With the beginning of the war many people left their jobs and because of these new working conditions we had to adapt the programme. Shows were still made, with a focus on Sarajevo. I worked because I was convinced I must fulfil my duty. The programme was made from old archive shows, such as Predanja, Smotri folklore, Priče iz grada, Udul bašti, and Show program. We also made new shows to lift the morale of the people. One such show was titled Za bolje stura (for better tomorrow). The title had to be
optimistic, we had to be optimistic. In many shows traditional music was present, we even invited singers to sing live on TV. Our TV station also filmed a lot of video clips of patriotic songs. They were very popular.

According to my interviewee, the TV programme had to cheer up the viewers because the daily news presented enough sadness. Another interviewee even said the TV programme never had any political shows because “this is what media are supposed to do, to make people forget about the war. To calm them down, to make them feel normal”. As already mentioned, RTVBiH filmed video clips for patriotic songs, for example for Vojičić’s song *Ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću* and Merlin's song *Vojnik sreće*. Later, these video clips were part of the TV programme and were broadcasted daily.

**4.2. WAR IN ZENICA**

The thesis presents and explains aspects of war outside of Sarajevo, demonstrating the rich cultural life in other B-H cities, focusing on a smaller B-H city Zenica as the second case study. One of my interviewees said, the situation in Zenica was much better compared to Sarajevo because the city was not under siege and was not exposed to constant shelling and bombardment. Similar to Sarajevo, Zenica received many refugees and suffered from many of its residents fleeing the city. Despite that, the cultural life was very lively, and presented examples will support the research question on cultural production in multi-ethnic societies by demonstrating again that local people supported the idea of Bosnian and not Bosniak national identity.

Zenica’s pre-war population was nearly 120,000 residents, of which around 22,000 were self-identified as Serbs. In 1992 SDA politician Besim Spahić took over the position of the mayor and stayed on this position until 1997 (Spahić 1997: 11). He always claimed he fought for the multicultural and multireligious Zenica and B-H. The first year of the war was rather peaceful, except for the JNA air strike bombardment of the steel factory which caused the production to close. Already in April 1992, about 6,000 Serbs and Croats from Zenica left and about 70,000 (mostly) Muslim refugees came, changing the ethnic structure of the city. New refugees also brought news about ethnic cleansing in Eastern Bosnia (Cockburn 1998; Spahić 1997: 13).77 Similarly, as in other cities, self-organised groups of people were first formations that defended...

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76 Former Zenica mayor Besim Spahić should not be confused with prof. Dr. Besim Spahić, a professor at Sarajevo University, who lived in Ljubljana during the war.

77 As Cockburn wrote, the situation in Zenica was so horrible that the luckiest refugees were those, who could live in overcrowded flats and houses. Those with less luck stayed in appalling camps stationed in cinemas, gymnasium halls or other big buildings that were for sure not suitable for living (Cockburn 1998: 184).
the city during the first attacks. One interviewee remembered the first day of war as “unorganized defence, based on lack of ammunition and weapons, lack of food, inexperience, and a general unpreparedness for the war”. She also remembered the first official civil victim in Zenica – a two-year-old Croat girl Matea Jurić, who was killed by a gunshot in the urban settlement of Bilimišće. One interviewee from Zenica remembered how the first alarm for danger went off on 18 May 1992. Few grenades fell on the city, but in comparison to Sarajevo or some other B-H cities, the situation was quite peaceful, she said.

With the outbreak of the conflict between the HVO and the ARBiH in 1993, the war started to rage in central B-H as well, and the front line came closer to the city. The HVO and the VRS blocked all the roads that lead to Zenica and set up checkpoints. The so called putevi spasa (roads of salvation) humanitarian organisations used to deliver aid, were blocked (Spahić 1997: 13). On 19 April 1993 HVO bombarded the city’s old bazaar, killing 15 civilians and injuring 50 (Spahić 1997: 15). Zenica was blocked from all sides, caught in the middle of a “double war” – ARBiH against VRS and ARBiH against HVO. This lasted until end of March 1994 (Spahić 1997: 15). During this time, the city was isolated and cut off from the rest of the world and each kilogram of humanitarian aid had to be transported to the city and pass several Croatian and Serbian checkpoints. Spahić wrote: “I have become the mayor of the city sentenced to death by starvation” (Spahić 1997: 15). In this period, when the city was facing with all those troubles, foreign media rarely reported about any other B-H city but Sarajevo. This changed at least for one day, when Victor Jakovich (the USA ambassador to B-H) visited Zenica on 14 September 1993, allowing Spahić to organise a press-conference to explain the situation in the city in the following days (Spahić 1997: 19).

In 1993 and 1994 the city suffered from a shortage of electricity and food (Spahić 1997: 19). One of my interviewees remembered the refugees, who came to town seeking shelter. She said local people did everything in their power to help them, but she added that the situation was quite tense most of the time. The main reason for tensions and fights between the locals and refugees was humanitarian aid. Refugees got food supplied by the Norwegian humanitarian organisation (NPA), while the local population depended on the scarce supplies from the municipality (Spahić 1997: 57). The situation got worse after November 1993, when the municipality of Zenica started with the so called racionalno snabdijevanje – food rationing – because they did not have enough for everybody in their reserves. Spahić paid special attention to the problem of discrimination and abuse, based on national or religious affiliation. He wanted to make sure everyone in the city had the same living conditions, no matter their national or
religious affiliation (Spahić 1997: 46). The inhabitants of Zenica were not the only ones feeling the “ruralisation of their city” that happened due to the big influx of refugees from rural areas. In Sarajevo the situation was pretty much the same (Stefansson 2007: 64). But ruralisation was not the biggest problem of both cities, the journalist Peter Maass reported of another, significantly bigger problem – the extreme Islamisation of society. Within a few months from the beginning of the war, women in Zenica started to wear the hijab and alcohol and pork became more difficult to purchase (Maass 1996: 241). Maass claims the SDA and IZ had the biggest influence on this process, which was also visible in the public administration, where some non-Bosniak people from Zenica lost their positions and jobs (which was similar to what happened to the Bosniak in Eastern Bosnia). Additionally, more mosques were built and secular buildings were turned into religious ones, and in the end the non-Bosniak people were (violently) exiled from the city.

4.2.1. CULTURE IN ZENICA

According to the local newspaper articles, much like in Sarajevo, cultural life in Zenica was very lively, although not present in the state-media and rarely discussed in scholarly literature. A particular aspect of the cultural life organised in Zenica was that often individuals or small groups organised actions and events, and singlehandedly supported the cultural engagement of people who stayed in the city. For example, in the newspaper PL Novine I found an article saying:

*Centar za Bosanske studije* (Centre for Bosnian Studies), *Narodna knjižnica* (National Library) and the *Glumačka četa Narodnog pozorišta* (Theatre Unit Of the National Theatre) are to blame that Zenica inhabitant can enjoy the cultural rich winter of 1993. Sixteen public cultural tribunes on contemporary themes, six premieres of theatre plays and concerts are attractive for more and more people every day. (Ivičević 1993: 9)

My interviewee Adnanin remembered that Slobodan Stojanović and Radovan Marušić were active in the Zenica theatre at that time and were responsible for the creation of the programme. Other interviewees confirmed his statement, emphasising not only the importance of the local theatre, but also the importance of the Third Corps art unit, as their music and theatre sections performed in Zenica and in villages that were under the command of the Third Corps. One interviewee reported that the *Bosansko narodno pozorište* (Bosnian National Theatre) worked and function normally throughout the war and many of the actors were also active members of the theatre group organised within the Third Corps art unit. This theatre group performed two
important theatre plays, both directed by either Slobodan Stojanović or Žarko Mijatović: U zemlji ljiljana (In the Land Of Lilies) and Djelidba (The Partition). My interviewee could not remember the exact number of performances but presumed the number ranges between 100 and 150 through the whole wartime period. When asked about the play Djelidba, she added:

Originally the play was about the situation after WWII, but in our adaptation, we presented a discussion between a Muslim, a Serb, and a Croat, about who will get what and how much from the humanitarian aid. Therefore, the title Djelidba fits perfectly with the situation we were in. Who will get what, how much will he get, who has the power, who won and who lost.

She also recalled the premiere of the theatre play U zemlji ljiljana. She said:

The premiere was in a school where a lot of refugees from Krajina region were stationed. The whole situation was so sad, one could cut this sadness, this pain with a knife. The whole story of the play was about how B-H is one united country with plenty of natural beauties that were stolen from us. In the play we had Catholic and Orthodox crosses, the Muslim crescent and the star of David. We recited poems from all famous B-H poets. The play was beautiful, but the atmosphere in that school was sad.

With this play, the theatre group wanted to show how multi-religious B-H is and that a big injustice happened to it. In the play, they presented B-H as a victim, hoping to get the attention of the international community.

One-person initiatives that contributed to the various cultural production in Zenica during the war were a very important sign that people wanted to live a “normal life” as Maček noted about Sarajevo (Maček 2007). Based on given examples it also became clear that local people negotiated the war-narrative differently than the ruling political party SDA. Fighting for a multicultural B-H society, the end of the war and normal life was visible in the following projects: Zenička škola stripa (The Comic Book School Zenica), the band Gluho doba, and the private television station ZETEL.

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78 The interviewee did not mention who the author of this play was, assumingly both directors were also the authors, since the play was made for the theatre group of the Third Corps art unit.
79 B-H poet and writer from the period of WWII Skender Kulenović wrote the play Djelidba that premiered in the National theatre Sarajevo in 1947. The play is a comedy depicting how inhabitants of a small B-H village were adapting to the new life and new regime after WWII finished. Due to its theme the play was often adapted to new circumstances and put on stage, as it was the case in Zenica.
Today's Zenica museum director, Adnanin Jašarević, initiated a comic book school in Zenica in 1994. It found its place in the Dom Mladih Zenica (Youth Home Zenica), as the youth home was financed by the International Rescue Committee, who also financed the printing of the comics and caricature books. Members of the comic book school were between ten and fifteen years old, and as the founder Jašarević stated in an interview:

One morning in 1994 I was drinking tea in the Youth home, together with Rankica, Davor and an American volunteer Sean. Then I saw a piece of paper. In that time, a piece of paper was worth more than gold. I was young then and full of ideas, wanting impossible things. And I proposed an idea to organise the comic book school. All three of them agreed, since we know that many young kids have too much spare time and nothing to do. Comic book school seems like a good occupation. It took me two days to find ten enthusiasts, nine boys and one girl, who were resilient and brave enough to draw in gloves when it was cold and to hide under tables during airstrikes. I could not give them food, but I know I gave them something beautiful in those ugly times.

The young hip-hop band *Gluho doba* also contributed to a more varied music scene and everyday life in Zenica. The band was established on 5 December 1993 and had five members: Adisa and Adis Zvekić, Almir Hasanbegović, Alan Hajduk, and Elvedin Džidić. Their song *Emina*, inspired by the well-known *sevdalinka* by Aleksa Šantić, became a big hit among the young teenagers and was later often heard on the radio, explained one interviewee. The video clip for the song was also made in 1993, showing the life of teenagers during the war. Although several Islamic elements were mentioned in the lyrics, both the song and the band promoted multi-cultural society also by using rap music in the song (*Gluho doba* 2014). Another interviewee mentioned the absence of local bands in Zenica and sees *Gluho doba* as a highlight on the music scene. Interviewee Adnanin added:

If you have no television or radio, and not many local bands, it is nice to see a play, a comedy, or listen to a concert of those enthusiasts who are giving their best and contribute to the cultural life in the city.

The band *Gluho doba* was a welcome change in the music scene because, as one interviewee stated:

During the war we listened to old music and because I was in my twenties at that time I liked listening to the new wave music from the 1980s. I noticed people loved to listen to a good old *sevdalinka*, even *kolo* was well accepted. You know, when we performed
for soldiers on the front line, they danced in the circle holding hands, like you dance *kolo* and they were happy. But for teenagers *Gluho doba* was a real hit. At least something new in those times of uncertainty.

4.2.2. MEDIA IN ZENICA

Željko Lincner (1947-2018) was the founder and the owner of the first private TV station in B-H. The name of the station was *Nezavisna Televizija ZETEL* (Independent TV Station ZETEL). It started broadcasting on 18 February 1992 and was, along with *TV Hayat* from Sarajevo, breaking new grounds in the field of private TV and Radio stations because of its special programme and the way it worked. It was considered an *urbana televizija* (urban TV station), for which about twenty-five young amateur reporters created the programme that was transmitted only in Zenica due to the poor infrastructure. An open and broad view of what was happening and the possibility to create their own shows differentiated ZETEL from national state-owned TV stations. Idriz Karamehmedović commented:

Private television ZETEL was the only window into the world during the war, employing young and ambitious people, full of motivation and desire to create and present objective news in war-torn Zenica. (Karamehmedović 2019)

The main vision of ZETEL’s staff was to promote antinationalism and pacifism, which was visible in their programme. They saw no relevance in national identity of their co-workers and their response to the nationalistic politics of SDA was:

*We do not fight with weapons but with moving pictures and words. We have chosen the right side, the side that is not calling for war, hatred, panic and chaos. On our side we have love, peace and friendship.* (Karamehmedović 2019)

ZETEL prepared and broadcasted shows with cultural, educational and entertaining content. At the beginning of the war, they followed all important domestic and foreign political events and presented them to their viewers on a daily basis. ZETEL was guided by the same ideals as *Radio Zid* in Sarajevo and promoted anti-nationalism and urban values of its listeners. One thing that differentiated them from *Radio Zid’s* philosophy was that ZETEL promoted and supported the work of the Third Corps art unit. Unfortunately, the archival data on ZETEL’s programme is unavailable, which makes every article on cultural event and every event itself that took place in Zenica even more valuable. Therefore, I want to stress that the work and cultural production

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80 The station stopped working in 1998 and according to one of my interviewees, a former employee, ZETEL’s archives were destroyed and sold.
of the Third Corps art unit was even more important, compared to the First Corps art unit in Sarajevo, where the offer of cultural events was bigger, and also more varied.
5. ARMIJA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE – ARMY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Parallel with all the cultural events that were presenting self-initiative actions and demands of local inhabitants mentioned on the previous pages, the B-H government had to organise its state-apparatus instrument in order to protect the people living in B-H. This chapter focuses on development of ARBiH, following the hierarchical and genealogical order. Starting with the chronology of the ARBiH's development will help understand when and how art units came to be, how they developed and what they produced. When presenting the stories of my interviewees I will also emphasise the importance and necessity of conducting fieldwork as a research method because the local population's view about different factors which influenced memory-making during the war sometimes differs from the official narrative.

Therefore, the chapter first presents the origin of the ARBiH based on my interviewees' personal memories and historical facts. Among my interviewees were high-ranked army generals and commanders, who were making decisions that later influenced not just the work of all art units and the whole production of patriotic songs, but also the lives of local people. Next, the chapter focuses on the transformation of JNA and the influences it had on the ARBiH. Special attention is given to development of the First and Third Cops and their art units, presenting their work and achievements. In order to set their work in a wider historical frame, the work of the military orchestra and the work of other art units are also briefly presented. This is important because it provides the needed socio-cultural context for the analysis of patriotic songs that follows in chapter seven. Additionally, this chapter also address the relation between ARBiH and religion because, although, the composition of the ARBiH was multinational and multicultural, during the years of combat soldiers developed specific belonging to Bosniak national identity. My non-Muslim interviewees confirmed that in practice non-Muslim soldiers had to prove their loyalty and gain the trust of comrades’ more often than Muslim soldiers did. And although the ARBiH was multi-ethnic and “officially built on the equality” amongst all soldiers, newspaper and scholarly articles (for example Bougarel 2017; 2007) had proven that ARBiH became more and more Islamised.

5.1. BEFORE THE FORMATION OF THE ARBiH

The defence of SFRY was based on two pillars: the JNA and the TO. JNA had its origins in the partisan anti-fascist movement for liberation during WWII (Aleksov 2012: 107), and was responsible for the defence of Yugoslavia at the time. The TO units were active in each republic and had, unlike the JNA, relatively few professional employees. Before the 1990s the TO units
were responsible for defence of the republics and autonomous provinces (Čekić et al. 2017: 56). The majority of my interviewees served in the compulsory military service in JNA before the breakup of Yugoslavia, while some started their military career there. JNA was also glorified to be the fourth largest military force in Europe (Aleksov 2012: 107). Because of that, people trusted the army and according to my Sarajevo interviewees, they were even more shocked when the army that was supposed to protect them attacked the city in 1992.

When Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence on 25 June 1991, JNA stationed their soldiers on border controls and airports in order to protect the borders (Donia and Fine 2011: 185). With the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the JNA practically became an army without a country and without people to defend. It also lost many of its generals and commanders, as for example the majority of B-H staff deserted the JNA and joined the Patriotska liga (PL)\textsuperscript{81}. My interviewee Vahid Karavelić was a commander at the Boris Kidrič barracks in Ljubljana when he got instructions to empty the place and prepare everything for the departure. He told me:

> After leaving Slovenia with trucks full of stuff we came to Zenica. It was 18 October 1991 and I deserted the JNA and joined the PL, as many other generals and commanders did. The PL was created on 10 June 1991. Due to my JNA experience, my knowledge was very useful when the ARBiH was later created and organised. In the beginning of April 1992, I was arrested and set to prison in Sremska Mitrovica accused of dissertation. I was locked and interrogated for 20 days.

Serbia considered itself to be a rightful successor of SFRY, so it usurped the JNA equipment, weapons, arsenal, and personnel. “JNA had become the Serb army and was under Milošević’s direct command” (Volcic 2011: 14). On 25 September 1991, the United Nation Security Council passed the Resolution number 713, placing an arms embargo on the Yugoslav territory with an attempt to prevent armed conflict. This had minimal impact on Serbia as they inherited the majority of JNA’s arsenal, but it had a huge impact on future ARBiH, making its armament practically impossible (Mojzes 2011: 170). Soon after B-H declared its independence, the JNA should have withdrawn from B-H. This was scheduled to happened on 19 May 1992. On that day “the JNA officially withdrew but most of the army stayed, together with all heavy weapons, ammunitions, supplies because they transformed into the VRS” (Andreas 2004: 29). Instead of

\textsuperscript{81} Patriotska liga (Patriotic League, PL) was a paramilitary formation under the command of SDA, formed in March 1991 as an independent Bosnian army. Its first commander was Sefer Halilović. The league had 98,000 members and was later joined with the TO, into what would soon become the ARBiH (Andreas 2009: 43; Delić 2007: 157-168).
leaving territory of B-H, they set up barricades on all bigger roads in B-H and set up camps in order to prepare the battlefield. Commanders and generals of Bosnian origin deserted JNA and joined the TO and PL, and Serbian commanders and generals took over the command of 90,000 JNA soldiers, who just changed locations and moved, as in the case of Sarajevo, to Pale and to the hills surrounding Sarajevo. B-H TO had only 50,000 members (Donia and Fine 2011: 202). Together with the paramilitary formation PL and Zelene beretke⁸², they were still outnumbered by the VRS. My interviewees stated that despite the superiority of the enemy, the motivation of Bosnians-Herzegovinians was much higher. They said that the majority of JNA and VRS soldiers were serving their military duty and did not really have a choice or a desire to fight. First TO members and later ARBiH soldiers were mostly volunteers, with a fighting spirit and a desire to defend their homeland. Having former JNA officers among themselves the union of PL, Zelene beretke and TO adopted the hierarchical structure of the JNA. Throughout the war this structure changed and developed, but in its core, it remained the same.

5.2. ORIGIN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARBiH

First defenders of B-H were small self-organised groups of neighbours – one interviewee said they called them haustorske brigade (entrance/front door brigades), as they consisted of people who lived in one building and sharing the same entrance. They were defending themselves, their families and buildings from gunshots and grenades, but also from other “defenders”, whose main goal was to rob empty apartments and shops in order to sell those items on many black markets. The most known “defenders” Jusuf - Juka Prazina⁸³, Mušan Topalović - Caco, and Ramiz Delalić - Ćelo⁸⁴.

Next to them the government organised more than 40,000 police officers with ammunition: they were members of the TO, the PL, the Zelene beretke (Čekić et al. 2017: 60; Gjelten 1995: 99). One interviewee recalled:

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⁸² Zelene beretke (Green berets) were another paramilitary formation founded in Sarajevo in early 1992 and were under the command of SDA. This group was significantly smaller than the PL; it had about 3,500 members. With time the group also joined the ARBiH (Delić 2007: 169-171).

⁸³ In our interview Glijiva never mentioned that he composed another song dedicated to a “hero” who was not seen as the most admirable person in the army circles. The song Sarajevo grade moj sounds very similar to Branioci Sarajevu but has different lyrics. In the song a leading Sarajevo criminal Jusuf - Juka Prazina is promoted as the son of the city, who will defend its city. Prazina became a national hero practically overnight (Andreas 2009: 46) and had an ambivalent position in the ARBiH.

We were unprepared for the war, living our normal lives and blindly believing that the war will not come to Sarajevo, but when it happened, we all participated in the best way we knew. We wanted to defend ourselves.

Alija Izetbegović ordered the general mobilisation of the TO, the MUP forces and the police reservists on 4 April 1992 (Čekić et al. 2017: 66; Gjelten 1995: 92; Hoare 2004: 58). In May 1992, the TO was transformed in to the “General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Republic of B-H” (Hoare 2004: 77). In the same month, on 22 May 1992, the General staff ordered the general mobilisation of TO, MUP and Civilna zaštitna (Civil Protection, CZ) throughout B-H. A week later, on 27 May 1992, the Presidency announced the formation of twelve TO brigades (Hoare 2004: 77). One month later, on 20 June 1992, the Presidency declared the state of war and commenced with general mobilisation stating that “every citizen who, with arms or otherwise, participates in the resistance against the aggressor, is the member of the Armed forces of the Republic B-H” (Džankić 2015: 62). Additionally, Article 153 of the 1993 Constitution declared that “every citizen of the country had both the right and the duty to defend the freedom, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and uniformity of the constitutionally defined B-H” (Džankić 2015: 62).

According to general Vahid Karavelić, the organisational structure of the Armed Forces of the Republic of B-H consisted of three segments: The Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina (ARBiH), Police forces (MUP) and CZ. The supreme command of the Armed forces was comprised of ten people: the members of the B-H presidency, the commander Sefer Halilović, the minister of inner affairs Alija Delimustafić and the president of the parliament Miro Lazović. The members of the GŠ of B-H army were Hasan Efendić, Sefer Halilović and Rasim Delić. The main headquarters of TO also had mixed leadership: one Serbian deputy (Jovan Divjak) and one Croat deputy (Stjepan Šiber).

The B-H government decided to form army forces in B-H on 4 July 1992. In practice this meant that the TO started with the transformation into the ARBiH (Čekić et al. 2017: 103). On 3 September 1992, the Presidency of B-H decreed the formation of five corps based on their geographical position: First Corps Sarajevo, Second Corps Tuzla, Third Corps Banja Luka

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85 *Civilna zaštitna* (Civil Protection, CZ) is a governmental organisation with the main mission to help people in an extraordinary situation (flooding, fire, earthquake, war, pandemic).

86 The B-H presidency was the only legitimate institution, recognised by the international community. It had ten members of different national affiliations: three Bosniaks, two Serbs and two Croats. Alija Izetbegović was the president of the presidency, Nijaz Duraković and Ejup Ganić represented the Bosniaks, Ivo Komšić and Stjepan Kljujić represented the Croats and Mirko Pejanović and Tatjana Ljujić-Mijatović represented the Serbs.
(Headquarters in Zenica), Fourth Corps Mostar and Fifth Corps Bihać. The Sixth Corps Konjic was established later in 1993, and the Seventh Corps Travnik was established in April 1994 (Hoare 2004: 112). The Army’s main headquarters were based in Sarajevo and each corps had its own directing staff. In terms of hierarchy, the army “consisted of corps, divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions, detachments, companies, squadrons and platoons” (Hoare 2004: 78), which included the members of PL, TO, MUP, Zelene beretke, and HVO (Hoare 2004: 52). ARBiH was organised on the same principles and hierarchy as the JNA, as most of the generals and commanders were working in the JNA before joining ARBiH. Each corps had its own Ured za moral, informativno propagandna djelatnost i vjerska pitanja (Office for Moral Questions, Informative-Propaganda Activities and Religious questions, URMIPDVP), which was responsible for organising different kinds of events. Among other activities they were responsible for the work of art units.

In the first months of the war the ARBiH was facing difficulties with receiving arms and ammunition. Deputy commander general Jovan Divjak stated in May 1992 that some 35,000 volunteers in Sarajevo possessed only 8,000 rifles (Andreas 2004: 37). In February 1995, Divjak said “we have more than 200,000 Bosnian soldiers, but only 50,000 were armed. Not one of our units is fully armed because of the arms embargo” (Hoare 2004: 112). Despite the arms embargo, B-H managed to buy/smuggle weapons from Slovenia, Germany and some Islamic countries, and is still today seen as “one of the most enigmatic and controversial military phenomena to have appeared in recent history” (Hoare 2004: 13). Despite the lack of ammunition and strategic hopelessness, ARBiH managed to protect the capital city Sarajevo and even conquered some lost territory (Hoare 2004: 13). As my interviewees claimed, motivated and patriotic soldiers, determined to defend their hometown and homeland, importantly contributed to ARBiH's victories. Gljiva remembers the words of the oath that soldiers repeated in the official oath pledge ceremony:

I pledge to defend the independence, sovereignty and unity of the Republic of B-H; that I shall in a conscientious and disciplined manner carry out all tasks and duties and that I shall defend its freedom and honour and be steadfast in that struggle.

Most of my interviewees joined the ARBiH voluntarily in the first days of the war. As one of them reported:

I lived in Velešići, this was the border area near the area Serbs occupied, and we had to defend ourselves. I voluntarily joined the Army in April 1992, as most people did. Some
people volunteered in theatres, musicians contributed on their own way. In the Kamerni teatar 55, an art unit was formed and many cultural events happened there.

It was important to contribute in any way possible. People often resented those who left Sarajevo, or who were hiding in shelters and basements, but the fact is, the real picture of soldiers and of the army was far from the idealised images showed on TV or in action movies. In reality, ARBiH never had enough money to pay salaries; the best the soldiers could hope for was a ration of cigarettes. According to Ivan, who was a soldier in Dobrinja:

We didn’t get money; our monthly salary was in cigarettes. With one package of cigarettes you could buy 100g of coffee. Luckily, I didn’t smoke, so I could exchange cigarettes for food or other stuff I needed. In Dobrinja things were more complicated because we were sort of besieged within the siege.

Social groups limited in time and space carries special memories on special events (Halbwachs 2001). My interviewees were a part of a special social group (ARBiH soldiers) and their individual memory about the war can be characterised as autobiographic memory (Halbwachs 2001: 57) that differs from the historical memory and from the official narrative about the war. And even though I usually talked with one interviewee at a time, all of them shifted from the first person singular “I”, to the plural “we”, when talking about their activities in the army, indicating the importance of the collective.

Although all of my interviewees were either members of the First or Third Corps, a few words in this section will be dedicated to other army corps, to help understand the context and development of the army more broadly. As already mentioned, the ARBiH was organised into seven corps. From those seven, the First and Third will be presented in detail, while others will be briefly mentioned. All corps (except the Sixth and Seventh) were established after the GŠ ordered the reorganisation of the TO units in 1992.

The Second Corps was founded on 27 September 1992. It had 4 commanders and its headquarters were in Tuzla. It was responsible for the defence of twenty-eight municipalities in

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87 Sarajevo singer-songwriter Mugdim Avdić - Henda lived in Dobrinja during the war and wrote a song Sarajevska raja (Sarajevans) in May 1992. The song was dedicated to three friends who left Sarajevo, with an excuse this was not their war. In this song a clear disappointment of those who stayed in Sarajevo was noticeable.

88 Some Sarajevans referred to those who were hiding in cellars with a derogative term podrumaši (cellar people), as they believed that such behaviour was not necessary “/…/ because in war there was no way to protect oneself” (Maček 2009: 44).

89 For example, the video clip for the songs Vojnik sreće presents soldiers as trendy action heroes with the best ammunition and weapon (Laušević 2000: 297-9).
North-East and East Bosnia. On the day it was formed the corps had 49,972 members, however, by the end of the war, this number grew to a total of 77,647 members. The city of Tuzla\footnote{In the elections in 1990, Tuzla was the only city in B-H where a non-nationalistic party won control over the municipality and was therefore seen as a success story because it rejected nationalism. This party was named Savez reformskih snaga Jugoslavije (Alliance of Reform Forces, SRSJ), and had been established by Ante Marković in January 1990 and disintegrated a year later.} was and still is the third biggest city in B-H. During the war it was besieged for ten months, but like Mostar and other cities, international media did not pay much attention to it.

The Fourth Corps was founded on 17 November 1992. It had four commanders throughout the war and headquarters in Mostar. It was responsible for the defence of six municipalities in Southern Bosnia. Between the date of its formation and until the end of the war, the Corps had between 18,000 and 20,000 members. In Mostar, the local TO and HVO fought against VRS. This changed in the autumn 1993, when, due to the political changes and disagreements between B-H and Croatia, the HVO started fighting ARBiH. The fighting reached its peak on 9 November 1993, when HVO bombarded the famous 20 meters high Stari most (Old Bridge)\footnote{The bridge was built in the 16th century and was the symbol of the Ottoman heritage in B-H (Ramet 2002: 264), connecting Croatian and Muslim parts of the city. After the bridge was destroyed the international politicians immediately reacted and the Washington peace treaty was signed in March 1994, ending the war between the Croatian and the Bosniak side.}. The First Corps art unit member Dino Merlin performed a song Moj Mostar (My Mostar), singing about the eternity of the bridge and the city (Pezo 2015: 130). I will analyse the song more into detail in subchapter 7.3.

The Fifth Corps was founded on 21 October 1992. It had two commanders throughout the war and the headquarters were in Bihać. It was responsible for the defence of municipalities in Bosanska Krajina in North-Western Bosnia and had 10,152 members. The area was surrounded by the HVO, the VRS, and the Bosnian business-man Fikret Abdić\footnote{More about Fikret Abdić in Donia and Fine (2011: 167-170); Andreas (2004: 41); Ramet (2002: 214). Vahid Karavelić described him as the “enemy from within, causing ARBiH more troubles than necessary”.} and his followers. “In the Bihać area Serbs fought Muslims, Serbs fought Croats, Croats fought Muslims, and Muslims fought Muslims (Mojzes 2011: 141). The area was an enclave, where about 180,000 people were forced to live in strained circumstances and endured hunger and privation for months (Ramet 2002: 232). From this perspective Bihać was in a similar position than Sarajevo, so the tasks of both corps were also comparable.

The Sixth Corps was founded on 9 June 1993. It had two commanders throughout the war and the headquarter was in Konjic. It was responsible for the defence of six municipalities in Central Bosnia. On the day it was formed it had 34,500 members, however, it was disbanded in
February 1994 because of its limited success on the front line. The Sixth Corps units were incorporated into the Forth and the Seventh Corps.

The Seventh Corps was founded on 7 April 1994. It had one commander throughout the war and its headquarters were in Travnik. It was responsible for the defence of municipalities in the Central Bosnia after the Sixth Corps was disband. It contained twelve brigades and helped other corps in the final actions before the Dayton Peace Accord ended the war in December 1995.

5.2.1. PRVI KORPUS - FIRST CORPS

As already mentioned, when first barricades in Sarajevo were put up and when the first shootings started, people reacted in different ways. Hasiba explained:

Then the barricades were set up in Sarajevo. Omer Pobrić was a real patriot and a good person. He decided to respond to this act in his own way, the Bosnian way. I helped him bake burek93 and everybody who passed by our barricades would get a slice. You know, only a pure Bosnian soul could react that way – feeding people. But then, sad events started to happen and we were all totally lost. It took time for us to realise the situation and organise our lives again.

With the transformation of the TO and the creation of army corps, B-H presidency made the decision on 18 August 1992 to establish the First Corps of ARBiH. This logistic and administrative organising took until 1 September 1992, marking this date as the official date of the establishment of the First Corps of ARBiH (Čekić et al. 2017: 123). Its first commander became Mustafa Hajrulahović - Talijan. His deputy became a former PL officer Vahid Karavelić (Hoare 2004: 48). Enver Hadžihasanović was appointed načelnik štaba Prvog korpusa (First Corps Headquarters Commander) (Čekić et al. 2017: 123). Later, Vahid Karavelić took the position of the first commander, and just before the war was over, Nedžad Ajnadžić took his place. The First Corps had its headquarters in Sarajevo and was defending twenty municipalities around Sarajevo. The main assignment of the First Corps was the defence of Sarajevo and later also the unblocking of the siege around the city (Čekić et al. 2017: 303). In total, the First Corps had 78.253 fighters organised in fifteen brigades94. My interviewees were soldiers in those brigades, saying each brigade was defending a particular part of Sarajevo

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93 Burek is a filled pastry made of thin flaky dough that can be filled with meat, cheese, potatoes, or spinach.
and the mountains surrounding it. They also pointed out that all brigades and units were praised in patriotic songs.

When looking at the general situation in the ARBiH, the First Corps can only be compared to the Fifth Corps in Bihać because both were isolated through the siege and were fighting not only the enemies surrounding them, but also enemies within the besieged city as well. In other words, the two corps had the same hierarchical structure and faced similar challenges, but each had their own means of tackling them. Both cities, Bihać and Sarajevo, were announced as “safe areas” in spring 1993, leading to an increase in population in both cities, due to the big influx of refugees (Ingrao 2009: 201-2).

5.2.2. TREĆI KORPUS - THIRD CORPS

The Third Corps was officially formed on 1 December 1992, even though the Presidency of the Republic of B-H decided to create the army Corps on 18 August 1992. The headquarters of the Third Corps should have been in Banja Luka but were temporarily set up in Zenica and stayed there until the end of the war. The Third Corps was responsible for the twenty-five municipalities. Enver Hadžihasanović became the first commander and stayed in this position for a year (November 1992 - November 1993). His successors were Mehmed Alagić (November 1993 - March 1994), and Sakib Mahmuljin (April 1994 - until the end of the war). Like other Corps, the Third Corps also had one URMIPDVP responsible for organising cultural, educational, religious, and sports events. Among the assignments of the URMIPDVP was also the organisation and work of the Kulturno-umjetnička četa trećeg korpusa (Cultural-Art Unit of the Third Corps) (Kurtić et al. 2014: 134).

Within the Third Corps, the 7th Muslim Brigade was established in November 1992, differentiating itself from other units by its religious affiliation. All members declared themselves as Muslim and were either B-H citizens or foreigners from different Islamic countries. They emphasised Islamic practice and the religious aspects of their combat (Bougarel 2017: 148). ARBiH general Halil Brzina stated that the Muslim brigade's aim was “to gather patriots of the Muslim nation to protect and defend religion, nation and state” (Juvan and Prebilić 2014: 71). Soon, the brigade turned to an elite army unit. By keeping the name “Muslimanska” it emphasised its religious and ideological nature similarly as, for example, the 9th Muslim brigade in Tuzla or 4th Muslim brigade in Herzegovina (Bougarel 2017: 148).

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Bougarel and Hoare claim that ARBiH became the site of various reislamisation practices (Bougarel 2007), and that it transformed from the “Bosnian army at its birth in 1992 to a Bosniak army by 1995” (Hoare 2004: 13). However, Baker states that the army was not solely Bosniak and had soldiers of other nationalities. It did however promote an “openly-Bosniak nationalist ideology and make increasing use of religious Islamic symbolism which became more present after a protracted political struggle over how closely to identify it with SDA” (Baker 2015: 63-4). Supporting Baker’s findings, my interviewees always emphasised that the army was multinational and multireligious. Their statement will be elaborated in the next subchapter, where I take a closer look at the new established relations between ARBiH, Islam, and national identity.

5.3. ARBIH AND RELIGION

As I explained in the first chapter, identities are fluid and multiple, whereby ethnicity and religion represent only one part of what makes up one’s identity. In the case of B-H, the national identity of its inhabitants was/is based on religion, or as Bieber notes, religious differences became the most important determining criterion in the B-H society (Bieber 2000: 271), although they considered themselves a secular society. During the war, religion became even more important and as Maček notes:

Although Sarajevans turned to their religious communities, which demanded an outward display of religiosity, their religious attitudes remained fairly open-minded. With the encouragement of nationalist political leaders, the war brought an increased public presence of religion as well as greater awareness of people's own ethnoreligious roots and reflection on the nature of personal religiosity. (Maček 2009: 162)

Bieber (2000), Bougarel (2007), and Ramet (2002) claim the increasing adoption of religion did not happen “overnight”. Radical nationalist and sectarian politicians promoted it in a bid to increase their own legitimacy (Bieber 2000: 277). According to Bougarel, reislamisation was a “top-down” authoritarian policy in which “political and religious leaders strove to impose their own conception of Islam and definition of Muslim national identity upon a largely secular population” (Bougarel 2007: 170). In B-H, Islamic religious instruction was introduced in schools, in mosques imams publicly spoke against mixed-marriages, and promoted the visual appearance of women in public in order to indoctrinate the Islamic belief (Ramet 2002: 255-6). At the same time the SDA tried to incorporate Islam into the new ideological criterion of selection. If you were (or could prove that you are) religious and a dedicated worshipper, you
could get a good position in the newly created political or military elite (Bougarel 2007: 170). The awakening of nationalism was also seen as an opportunity to bring religion into public life (Juvan and Prebilić 2014: 62). Because of this rapid and aggressive Islamisation of B-H society, other nationalities in this multinational state started to feel insecure. Croats and Serbs, despite staying in Sarajevo or Zenica, and defending the cities against VRS and HVO, felt threatened by the increasing presence of Islam, not just in public life, but also in the ARBiH that was supposedly multinational and multi-religious, albeit with a large Muslim majority.

Due to general mobilisation people of all nationalities and religions had to join the army. Rasim Delić stated in March 1991 that “the orientation and aim of the Army's activity is more important than its ethnic composition” (Hoare 2004: 105). The ethnic composition of the ARBiH was therefore heterogeneous, but the fact was that because the majority of B-H population was Muslim, and a lot of Serbs and Croats left B-H, the army was also predominately Muslim. Another reason for this prevalence of Muslim soldiers was the army’s formation: it arose primarily out of paramilitary Muslim troops such as PL and Zelene beretke (Maček 2009: 165). Many Serbs, Croats, and Jews stayed, not just in Sarajevo, but also in other cities, and defend them side by side with their co-residents.96

All of my interviewees, who were members of the ARBiH, agreed that the army was multinational and that the majority of its members just wanted to defend their hometown and their family, not focus on national and religious affiliation. They considered themselves as real patriots. First Corps general Vahid Karavelić explained the multi-ethnic system of the ARBiH saying:

I am Bosniak, my assistant was Serbian, there were many Croats in the army, but something like ninety per cent of soldiers were Bosniak. But that was not relevant, relevant was the fact that we tried to stay cosmopolitan and we fought for that the whole time. Sarajevo is not mine, and not from my former Serbian assistant, but from both of us and more important, from all of us. That made us different from JNA officers, who joined the Serbian army and wanted to make B-H a part of “Greater Serbia”.97

96 Interviewee Avdo Huseinović recorded a documentary film Junak umire jednom (A Hero Dies Once) in 2019 that was dedicated to the Serbian soldiers of the ARBiH. The film is a story about Bosnian Serbs who were all awarded with the Golden Lily award for sacrificing their lives for B-H, or for a special contribution and bravery. Some of them were Čedo Domuz, major Mihaipo Petrović, Radenko Abazović, Goran Stošić and others.
97 The way Karavelić explained that Sarajevo was and should stay multicultural, was similar as how B-H became the sixth republic of Yugoslavia, where none of the nations was in majority. Tito said, B-H was not just from Serbs or Croats or Bosnians, but was equally from Serbs, Croats and Bosnians at the same time. With those words the co-existence of three national groups with different religious affiliation was set in stone.
Interviewee Avdo remembered:

The army was absolutely multinational. A lot of Serbs and Croats stayed in Sarajevo and other cities and shared their destiny with the rest of the nation. Many Serbs died of Serbian sniper shots or grenades because, when a grenade or a gunshot comes from the hill, it does not look for one’s name and family name. Where it hits, it hits. That’s it. But again, the ARBiH was multi-ethnic in all segments of its organisation, even in the highest command. Many died and gave their lives and served with pride for B-H.

In Avdo’s words patriotism was present and Hoare writes that the Bosnian patriotism was the principal motivating force for Muslim officers of the ARBiH and not religious or ethnic identification (Hoare 2004: 88). But when the Bosnian government reported about victims of war, religious and ethnic identification mattered. The B-H leadership tried to present the Muslim population as the victims of the war, although many Serbs, Croats and people of other nationalities died as well (Maček 2009: 197).

When I interviewed two Serbian soldiers, both remembered the feelings of insecurity and mistrust when talking about their national identity. None of them primarily declared themselves as a Serb, but rather as Bosnian-Herzegovinian and/or Sarajevan. In our interview Jovan Divjak said:

My national identity changed multiple times, but not by my desire; from 1970 onwards, I was a Serb, then Yugoslav. At the first multi-party election in 1990 I declared myself as Eskimo. From 8 April 1992 on I declared myself as Bosnian and Herzegovinian. But in the independent B-H my self-identification did not exist. You could be either Serb, Croat or Bosniak – those are the three constitutive nations. If you didn’t consider yourself to be one of them, you fell into the category of Others.

With national labelling that followed, both of my interviewees got the label “Serbian” just like all other Serbs, who stayed in Sarajevo and had to prove their patriotism towards B-H on a daily basis. Mistrust and ostracism were additional issues they faced (Maček 2007: 51; MacDonald 2009: 415). One interviewee remembered that many ARBiH soldiers of Serbian nationality worked other military tasks, such as building bombs and grenades because Muslim commanders were afraid of a potential betrayal. With time and good work, my interviewee proved himself a good soldier and he earned the adjective “good” that was added to his national identity. He said, he became a “good Serb”, defending an increasingly Islamised Sarajevo. To that, the interviewee noted that music helped him stay “normal”, but in comparison with other soldiers...
he did not listen to patriotic music, but rather rock, metal and heavy metal. Among two “good Serbs” who proved themselves with their actions and work were Jovan Divjak and Dragan Vikić. Both were also very popular among Sarajevans.

The presence of religion was noticeable on all sides of the front and as Volcic claims, religion was a powerful part of the Serbian national identity since the collapse of Yugoslavia (Volcic 2011: 42). Croatia was no different in that matter. By September 1993, VRS destroyed all mosques in Banja Luka, among others two significant mosques of aesthetic and historical importance: the Ferhad Pasha mosque (built in 1583), and the Arnaudija mosque (built in 1587) (Ramet 2002: 256). They also destroyed Catholic churches and other buildings of cultural and historical importance (Ramet 2008: 182-3). On the other hand, HVO destroyed the Old Bridge in Mostar, and the Bosniak destroyed Orthodox churches in the Tuzla region (Ramet 2002: 264). This systematic destruction of culture and cultural artefacts is defined as culturicide.

Juvan and Prebilič (2014: 71) note that the ARBiH acted as the army of “Bosnians” at the beginning of the war. With the escalation of fighting, members of the Muslim nationality and religion started to dominate and the presence of Muslim religion soon became visible. Many Muslim priests, imams, joined the ARBiH (Ramet 2002: 255), the dead soldiers of Muslim religion were labelled as šehidi (Bougarel 2007). The ARBiH published newspapers and brochures promoting the Bosniak national identity based on Islamic beliefs (Bougarel 2017: 144). Further evidence for the Islamisation and radicalisation of the ARBiH was the presence of a couple of thousands Muslim soldiers from Arab countries, who leaned towards extremist Islam (Maček 2009: 143; Mojzes 2011: 169; Hoare 2004: 131; Maiocchi 2009: 222). They were sent to B-H from other Islamic countries and because of the weapons embargo, the ARBiH was obliged to rely on their help. Mudahedini (mujahidin) composed the 7th Muslim brigade that was part of the Third Corps in Zenica. According to an interviewee from Zenica, under the circumstances, the formation of such unit was not unusual. She said:

Inhabitants of B-H are a European nation, but we look differently at Islam as those foreigners, who joined the 7th Muslim brigade. They were stricter in everything and their ideas were foreign for most of us. I believe that during the war many people turned to religion, looking for answers and consolation, but going to extremes is never good. I was young then and because we knew where those soldiers were stationed, I avoided those places. Myself and other girls knew how to dress and how to behave, so as to not

98 One interviewee who declared himself a Croat, shared a joke, asking “what is the difference between the Orthodox and Catholic Church?” The right answer was “The Orthodox is still standing”.

cause troubles if they were around. In general, I believe it was dangerous for women during war to be in places where only men were present.

She also emphasised that a lot of Bosniak joined the 7th Muslim Brigade, due to one simple reason: the brigade had better equipment and the soldiers got more food during the day, which helped them feed their families. According to my interviewee:

People joined the brigade to get more food, clothes, not because of religion. They appeared scary because of their uniforms and a big sleeve badge with an Islamic oath Shahada on, that had a psychological effect on us. They prayed five times a day and often shouted Allahu ekber, but that was nothing unusual, each group had its own exclamation in that time.

The presence of foreign Muslim soldiers in B-H was a good reason for Serbia to try to present the war in B-H as a religious war, where Serbia was the one defending Europe from extreme Islam (Thompson 1999: 89). A vicious cycle of extreme nationalism, the involvement of religion into politics and vice versa, negative propaganda, and fear and destruction, consequently led to the use of the pejorative terms četnik for Serbs and ustaša for Croats that caused hatred among B-H inhabitants of different national and religious background.
6. MUSIC AND ARBIH

In the first two chapters, theoretical approaches on studies of popular music and its functions were presented and in the third chapter historical development of the musical practices that influenced war B-H music production were discussed. Additionally, the role of music and some of the most popular examples of Croatian and Serbian patriotic songs in the 1990s were also highlighted. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the position of music in the army, focusing briefly on the role of the military orchestra and examining the production of patriotic songs produced by two different art units in more detail. Through interviews different memories of my interviewees will shed light on the work of the First and the Third Corps’ art units, their formation, tasks, achievements, and production of patriotic songs. Furthermore, the work of the military orchestra will be presented, as the orchestra existed in parallel with the art units, had the same mission, but completed it in another way.

6.1. ART UNITS IN ARBIH

For the purpose of my study, I define an art unit as an organised group of professional or amateur artists, who perform their own artistic programme for others. An art unit can be a group of musicians making music, actors making theatre, or other artists, making art. Their main task is to create music/theatre plays/art that inspires and motivates other people. In the past this task was given to military orchestras, who motivated soldiers for the battle or dictated the rhythm when marching the streets. Performed marches usually had no lyrics which allowed the melodies to be interpreted in multiple ways.

As already mentioned, the ARBiH consisted of seven corps and each of them had an art unit. The ARBiH leadership acknowledged the importance and the functions of music - not just classical music that the military orchestra performed, but also popular patriotic that the art units performed. On the contrary, scholars paid very little attention to the role of music and its importance during the war in B-H. Therefore, I gathered the information about the ARBiH art units by conducting interviews and doing archival research. Most of the audio and visual materials I found either in my interviewees’ private archival collections or on different internet sites.

With the formation of the corps and the entire ARBiH in September 1992, art units were formed initially as prištabske jedinice (units next to headquarters). Following the army’s hierarchical structure, art units were independent when it came to producing patriotic songs, but the UPMIPDVP organised and coordianted their performances. Each UPMIPDVP had several
URMIPDVP in each corps, following the hierarchical structure. The offices of URMIPDVP were in general in charge of sharing information about the work of the army, analysing the enemy’s positions and work, organising different trainings for soldiers and army staff, and most importantly, talking about patriotism and giving moral support to soldiers and civilians. As already mentioned, they were also responsible for the work and performances of the art units. The last commander of the First Corps art unit Samir Zavlan commented on it:

The main goal of our work in the First Corps art unit was to boost morale among soldiers, and the UPMIPDVP gave us orders when and where we perform and also organised all logistic and administrative parts. The office referent was our superior. He gave us orders. For example, if one brigade celebrated their anniversary, or if the other liberated occupied territory we went there and performed. Once one unit invited us to perform because they got coal and they wanted to celebrate. But this was a more internal invitation, hehe.

My interviewee was the commander’s assistant in this URMIPDVP throughout the war. He explained his main assignment was to find ways of boosting morale among soldiers. He said:

Morale is one of the basic elements of combat efficiency. If you don’t have it, you have no fighting and no army. This was true for our army, which was created under impossible circumstances. High morale was essential for us. In the office for URMIPDVP we had different kinds of duties, relating to political, moral, religious, informative topics. That meant we shared information with soldiers, we talked with them, helped them solve their problems with housing, health issues, money problems, and similar. We had to find solutions for their problems.

One of the ways of accomplishing that was through music and art, and art units played an important role in the process. To take timely measures and to inform the units about the actions or tasks, the hierarchical way of communication was crucial. Vahid Karavelić explained:

The first assignment the UPMIPDVP and URMIPDVP had, was to distribute guidelines and instructions from the GŠ to each unit. Then they were responsible for informing soldiers about the war itself, about successful and unsuccessful combats, to explain the war to the common people, and to help soldiers solve problems. Most important of all was to boost morale in all possible ways and forms.

One way of boosting morale among soldiers was also via newspapers and magazines; almost every brigade had its own bulletins and magazine presenting its own work, accomplishments,
anniversaries and obituaries. These bulletins and magazines also served as a great source of information. All of my interviewees were united in the fact that local inhabitants also contributed to the high motivation for combat and defence. The numerous cultural events they organised were seen as a sign of resistance and patriotism. And so, the art units also organised events for civilians because they believed that it was important to motivate, comfort and stimulate civilians to contribute to the defence. Among those events two were very important, not just for civilians but also for the art units itself. As the interviewee from Zenica explained:

In 1994 we organised a celebration of the anniversary of the Third Corps in Zenica. We invited other art units to perform and show their work. We call such an event *smotra* (review) and all art units came, only the Fifth Corps was missing due to the besieged situation in Bihać. It was so nice to listen to beautiful patriotic songs.

The second event was organised on the third-year anniversary of establishing the Fourth Corps and took place from 22 to 29 November 1995; all art units gave a concert. On three locations (Jablanica, Konjic and Mostar) 15,000 listeners enjoyed fifteen concerts, in which 2,000 art unit members participated. The main goal of both events was to present the work of art units because each unit developed differently according to their specific circumstances, however, they all worked to boost morale and draw the attention of the international public to the war in B-H. Afterwards, Alen Gagula reported on the second concert in the magazine *Prva linija*; he summarised wishes and thoughts of art unit members, saying:

More attention should be given to members of art units and their work. Only this way, they could contribute to the defence of our nation, and through art the fight could be adequately valued. (Gagula 1995: 25)

Art units of each corps were established in different time frames, depending on several factors. For example, the Second Corps art unit was officially established in Tuzla on 19 March 1994, although its members were active on the music scene since the very beginning of the war. Forty members of different national backgrounds joined to form the *narodni orkestar* (traditional music orchestra), *zabavni orkestar* (popular music orchestra) and a theatre group. The Second Corps had its own music studio where more than 400 patriotic songs of different musical genres were recorded and produced. The most famous songs were *Ako Majku umrem ja za Bosnu* (Mother, if I die for Bosnia), *Baš na Bajram* (On Bayram), *Lavovi iz Teočaka* (Lions from Teočak), 114. *Brigada Zrinski* (114th Zrinski Brigade), 107. *Gradačačka brigada* (107th Gradačac Brigade), *Stara čaršija* (Old Čaršija), *Bosno moja* (My Bosnia), 1. *Tuzlanska brigada*
(First Tuzla Brigade). The art unit also organised a commission to collect old Bosnian traditional melodies and songs and bring them back from oblivion. The Second Corps art unit commander Maid Porobić said:

The main task of the art unit was to motivate soldiers of the Second Corps for battle, to compose patriotic songs and to nurture our tradition. This was the way we gave our contribution to the fight against the aggression over our homeland, pouring love and strength of our nation and our Army into song and poetry. (Porobić 1994: 29)

The Fifth Corps art unit was established already on 5 September 1992 and had the same mission. At first the unit was called Grupa za zabavno-kulturni rad (Group for Leisure-Cultural Work), but from 1994 onwards it was officially called Umjetnička četa petog korpusa (Fifth Corps’ Art Unit). Its work was based on three main activities: the first and main activity was to constantly encourage and raise the fighting spirit among soldiers and civilians with patriotic songs. The second task principle was to give public performances and humanitarian concerts of patriotic songs. The third task principle was to record and distribute audio cassettes with their own patriotic songs. One of the first composed patriotic songs was Cvijetaju ljiljani zlatni (Golden Lilies Are Blossoming). Well organised and enthusiastic composers, producers, singers and conductors of the Fifth Corps art unit composed and recorded more than 200 patriotic songs (Kličić 1994: 9).

6.2. UMJETNIČKA ČETA PRVOG KORPUSA – FIRST CORPS ART UNIT

When searching for information about the formation of the First Corps art unit, several ambiguities appeared. First, there were discrepancies between the memories of my interviewees and newspaper articles about the date of the units' formation. The second discrepancy was in the number of art units in the army: according to some, there were eight art units, one in each corps and an additional one under command of GŠ, while others said that there the GS did not have its own art unit. Regarding the second discrepancy my interviewees had different memories about it and Jovan Divjak for example said:

The art unit was part of the GŠ. The ARBiH had seven corps under the command of the GŠ. The Art unit was responsible for ceremonies when foreign delegations came to Sarajevo, or when we celebrated different anniversaries.

99 In the scholarly literature the war in B-H is described as a war, whereas my interviewees were mostly talking about agresija na B-H, (aggression on B-H), which originated in international law and the rhetoric Tito used, where terms like “resistance to aggression” or “struggle against fascism” were also common (Bougarel 2007: 175).
He claimed the art unit was part of the GŠ, but said nothing specific about the existence of two art units. Vahid Karavelić claimed the opposite:

I cannot remember that there was a special art unit of the GŠ. I know about the First Corps; I was its commander from August 1993 to August 1995. The art unit was a small but important segment. It was part of prištabske jedinice, meaning, these units were not for combat but for boosting morale among the 80,000 soldiers. Honestly, I don’t really remember all the members, but Nazif Gljiva, who was a commander for one year, then Hanka Paldum, or Dino Merlin - they were certainly members of the unit. Not all the time but in the beginning. My two former assistants from the URMIPDVP\(^{100}\) would know that better than I.

The popular musician Dino Merlin, who was a member of the art unit from its beginnings, remembered his colleagues and their mission:

Here there were Tifa (Malden Vojičić), late Davorin (Popović), and Henda, Hanka Paldum, Zaltko Arslanagić, Kemal Monteno, Ljubica Berak… My memories are two-sided. This was the period of hopelessness but also of determination to fight aggression. As all my raja who took arms and fought on the front line, I said I will fight with music, as my music is my rifle. (D. B. and A. Ć. 2012)

He does not say when the art unit was established. According to general Enver Hadžihasanović the art unit of GŠ never existed, which supports Dino Merlin’s statement. On the contrary, reporter Avdo Huseinović, himself an active soldier of the Prva slavna III. Viteška brigada said:

The art unit of the First Corps was active under the command of GŠ. This art unit became the symbol of all art units of the ARBiH. Why? Because it was a pleiad of the most important, the most prominent, and the most popular artists B-H had. Starting with Dino Merlin, singer-songwriter Nazif Gljiva, Hanka Paldum, Kemal Monteno, Mladen Vojičić - Tifa. Tifa recorded the most beautiful songs like Ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću and Grbavica. Here were also Rizo Hamidović and Meho Puzić. For a shorter period of time, I think for about six months, Zlatko Arslanagić, the frontman of the band

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\(^{100}\) The position of pomoćnik za moral, informisanje i vjerska pitanja (assistant for morale, information and religion questions) was appointed in 1993, and according to Bougarel, many imams were detached to fill these positions. Their main job was to organise religious life within the ARBiH and to promote the main precepts of Islam (Bougarel 2017: 147). As both of my interviewees stated, that was not always the case, so Bougarel’s statement cannot be entirely true.
Crvena Jabuka was also a member. He and Zlatan Fazlić - Fazla created a song Pjesma prijatelju (Letter for A Friend). They both worked on the project Sarajevo će biti, sve drugo će proći (Sarajevo Will Stay, Everything Else Will Pass). The Serbian singer-songwriter Đorđe Balašević wrote a part of that lyrics. Many patriotic songs were recorded in that time and many became very popular, but not all musicians, who recorded one were part of art units.

Regarding the date of the art unit’s formation Imer Pezo reported Mustafa Hajrulahović - Talijan formed the art unit on 24 June 1992. His idea was that “all musicians, singers, composers and actors must be taken out from their regular army units and be united in the art unit” (Pezo 2016: 129). And so, within two months, on 26 August 1992, singers, musicians, and actors officially pledged to serve as part of the First Corps art unit in the Holiday Inn hotel in Sarajevo. The art unit was divided into five detachments: artist-painters (led by Mirsada Baljić), folk-group (led by Nazif Gljiva), pop-group (led by Muhamed Fazlagić), actors (led by Josip Pejaković) and military orchestra (led by Emir Nuhanović). Throughout the war many people left the unit, among them also Dino Merlin and Nazif Gljiva, and many new people joined. The last commander of the First Corps art unit Samir Zavlan said:

I had written down every performance, every rehearsal, every member, when he/she joined the unit, and when he/she left the unit. But this was for my personal use, I wanted to be sure, you know, it happens very fast that you forget something. But I believe that on the state level, not all documents from the war period were so well organised and preserved as mine.

After listening to my interviewees’ stories and memories about the First Corps art unit and after reading many newspaper articles, I came to the conclusion that the First Corps art unit existed from 1992 onwards. Its members were famous Sarajevan musicians, who formed the core of the group, which later grew to become the First Corps art unit under command of Samir Zavlan. I believe that this was also the reason why some members of the First Corps art unit who joined later looked down at popular musicians who started the art unit, saying:

The original group setting consisted of important musicians who never performed, we later left Sarajevo numerous times and performed under irrational conditions on the mountains of Treskavica or Igman. I am sure those popular musicians never left
Sarajevo. I really don’t know for whom they were performing, I know, we *sitna boranija*\(^{101}\), performed everywhere, risking our lives.

My Interviewee’s anger was legitimate because those popular musicians were able to leave Sarajevo, while “regular” people could not. On the other hand, *sevdalinka* singer Hasiba Agić, who also stayed in Sarajevo throughout the siege, commented on the departures of her colleges with less anger:

Some left the city, yes, but I considered that I should not leave, my land needed me. I think it was our destiny, some were meant to stay, others were meant to leave. But we needed those who left, they helped us survive. I am sure, everyone gave its best in the defence of our homeland.

What Agić referred to was the significant financial contribution that people living abroad sent back to B-H. As Glijiva explained, he helped organise humanitarian concerts in Germany, where he lived after leaving Sarajevo. He was a part of a big event in the German city of Karlsruhe, where he performed popular patriotic songs next to musicians like Safet Isović, Halid Bešlić, Šerif Konjević, Dino Merlin, Seit Memić - Vajta, and Mladen Vojičić - Tifa. There were also members of the Third Corps art unit at this event, performing their repertoire (*Avdić 1995: 44*). The audience of 4.000 people consisted predominantly of refugees.

In Sarajevo I interviewed several members of the First Corps art unit and two of their three commanders: the first commander Nazif Glijiva and the last commander Samir Zavlan, singers Ljubica Berak and Hasiba Agić, and the actor Fuad Beganović. Although some of other interviewees I spoke with were also talented musicians and had played music before the war, none of them had joined the art unit. One of them explained:

Well, the circumstances were as they were; in the beginning I was busy first defending my neighbourhood, and then later with “hiking” on the mountains Žuć, Bjelašnica and Treskavica. I simply didn’t have time to make music. With me in the unit (1. Viteška) was a famous accordion player Perica Simonović\(^{102}\), he was more involved in music-making. He composed some songs for Hanka Paldum and sometimes he played the

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\(^{101}\) *Sitna boranija* is a label for an insignificant person without any influence and power. The Interviewee used it in order to express his positionality towards popular singers, who were, compared to him and other members of the art unit, in a privileged position.

\(^{102}\) Perica Simonović was born in Belgrade and spend the whole war in B-H, fighting as an ARBiH soldier. He was also featured in Avdo Huseinović's documentary film because of his bravery and musical engagement. He was presented as the “good Serb”.
accordion for us in the unit. But you know, I am a drummer, and one drummer in the band is more than enough.

Ivan Čavlović, a professor at the Music Academy, who lived in Dobrinja during the war, had a similar experience. In addition to his military duties, Čavlović gave lectures at the Music Academy and never had time to make his own music. He remembered there was a music studio in Dobrinja named *Ratni studio Dobrinja* (War Studio Dobrinja) (D. B. and A. C. 2012), where many singers recorded patriotic songs. The studio was founded on the initiative of commander Kerim Lučarević with the aim of recording patriotic songs that will boost morale and encouraged soldiers (D. B. and A. C. 2012). Nazif Gljiva agreed with commander Lučarević, adding that the main assignment of the art unit was “to fight against the enemy with music”, and he was really productive in composing patriotic songs. His song *Armija Bosne i Hercegovine* (The Army of B-H) was sung every time new recruits pledged their oath. Another very popular patriotic song that Gljiva composed in May 1992 was *Branioci Sarajeva* (Defenders of Sarajevo). During our interview he explained what was his job as the art unit commander:

I contacted then popular musicians Hanka Paldum, Dino Merlin, Rizo Hamidović, Meho Puzić, Omer Livnjak, and Zijad Sipović and asked them to join the art unit and to perform for soldiers on the front line and for different protocol events. Please note that we were also obliged to help the citizens of Sarajevo in every possible situation, to take them to the hospital, to pay attention if someone was being mistreated because of his/her nationality. Though songs we were also educating and cheering up citizens, for example, women and children in shelters while the bombardment lasted. While listening to our songs, they gained strength and the will to live. We gave them emotional support.

Next to the already known function of encouragement and motivation through song, Gljiva also pointed out another task that the art unit’s members had – helping civilians in different unpleasant situations. This was really the task of every ARBiH soldier.

Before the well-known composer of NCFM and accordionist Samir Zavlan took over the command of the First Corps art unit in 1995, he was an active member of the *umjetnička desetina* (art detachment), which was part of the *105. brdska motorizovana brigada* (105. BMB). A group of ten people was very active in their own unit and Zavlan explained:

In the period of one year we had about a hundred performances and concerts, and we financed them ourselves. Because we were good, we were often invited to other units
and brigades, but we said, yes, we’ll come and play but you have to buy the fuel and cover the costs of transport. Fuel was very expensive at that time, one litre cost about 40 DM. That was enough for us, we never played with the desire to earn money, we just wanted the transport costs to be covered. We visited hospitals, the wounded, children, schools, places where people came together. We prepared one fixed programme and we performed it.

In 1995 Zavlan got an offer to join the First Corps art unit. He accepted it and took over the position of its commander. The main difference between his group before and the First Corps art unit was not just in the number of active members, but also the extent of performances. With his group in the 105. BMB he performed only in Sarajevo, but when he took over the art unit of the First Corps, the work became more serious: they got uniforms, a place to practise in Dom Armije (Army Hall) and a duty to perform practically all over B-H. As the musical group in his brigade dissolved, some musicians joined the First Corps art unit. Zavlan said:

The work became more serious. We did perform less than I did with my former group, but when we performed, it was more serious and the programme was well prepared. No mistakes, ha-ha. We often went through the tunnel and visited other places. We were practically making a tour around B-H and that was also logistically challenging for the URMIPDVP. Luckily, they organised everything and we didn’t have to. We practiced every day, from 8 to 16, like a regular job and we had a work duty, just like regular soldiers. We had to practice new programmes and make scenes for different occasions; it was not that easy.

In the last year of the war, Zavlan explained that the art unit had “Narodni orkestar, zabavni orkestar, singing group, three comedians and a programme manager”, all together 22 members. Among them were: comedian Ismet Horo, my interviewee Fuad Beganović, who performed his own monodrama, scenographer Meša Latić, three guitar players, a keyboard player, and three singers - Hasiba Agić, Ljubica Berak, and Nesima Velić. Zavlan emphasised:

Our main goal was to prepare the show programme that people would enjoy. We did not talk about politics, we did not insult anyone, not even our enemy, we sang about our homeland, about love. Our songs were peaceful, singing about Sarajevo, Mostar, Višegrad, and how we want to live in peace.
All interviewees always emphasised that Bosnian patriotic songs were never nationalistic or chauvinistic, but Zavlan confirmed his group never performed Serbian songs. They were, like the B-H media, under strict (self-)censorship (Laušević 2000: 291). He said:

We never played Serbian songs, it is true, soldiers often asked us to play them, but we did not want to risk it and cause problems. You never know, you may please one, but offend the other fifty people. Usually we said we do not know how to play them, or we will play them later, and never did. I had to take care about it and make sure, we did not insult anybody.

Interestingly, Beganović remembered exactly the opposite, when on one special performance a Serbian song was performed. He said:

One of our singers, Nesima Velić, had a nickname Tajčić and she was great at boosting morale. Once in Goražde their commander asked us not to perform Serbian songs, so Nesima sang Bosnian patriotic songs. Soldiers were all uninterested. But then, out of nowhere, she sang Ceca’s song Kukavica (Coward). The soldiers jumped in a second, screaming, let’s go liberate Goražde! I remember we performed all songs, no difference between Serbian and Bosnian was made.

Many interviewees mentioned they listen to Serbian or Croatian music at home because they liked a specific song or singer/band and they did not pay much attention to its national origin. However, the Bosnian government invested a lot of effort and time into nationalising music by selectively promoting particular styles, traditions, and even individual artists (Vidić Rasmussen 2007: 76). Everything that seemed inappropriate, was very soon deleted from public media.

One of the genres that was nationalised and promoted was sevdalinka, and sevdalinka singer Hasiba Agić remembered that she performed these songs everywhere. “There was no mountain I did not climb on” she said. She usually sang the “saddest songs”, in which suffering, mourning and sadness were main themes. Some of these songs were Majka Šehida (The Mother Of A Šehid), 77 šehida (77 Šehid), Sarajevo oči moje (Sarajevo, My Eyes), Crni svatovi (Black Wedding Guests), Patriotska liga (Patriotic League). Even today she believes that song is a powerful weapon and for that reason she was singing and performing patriotic songs that were not insulting anybody. According to her, Bosnian patriotic songs were full of pain and sorrow, they were not nationalistic or chauvinistic, as opposed to Serbian songs, which were full of hate speech and extreme nationalistic ideas. When performing those sad Bosnian patriotic songs and fighting against the enemy with culture and art, Bosnians-Herzegovinians wanted to show the
world that the “barbarians on the hills” attacked the “civilised world”, that the “primitiveness” attacked “civilisation” and “non-culture” violated “culture” (Stefansson 2007: 64). As Agić added, it was not only about that, but also about the personal feeling she got after doing something good for another human being. She explained:

I would never trade this satisfaction I got after doing something good for another human being. We performed our songs, and the soldiers had a good time. After they left we never knew if they would come back. But we knew, we made them happy in that moment. They were defending us, our homeland, not knowing whether they will stay alive. We also organised concerts for civilians because we wanted to take their sorrows and pain away, just for a moment. We sang to wounded soldiers and civilians in hospitals to take their pain away. Those were very emotional and spiritual moments for me.

She pointed out an important segment in popular music studies – the functions of music, explicitly saying that during the war in B-H music had a function of cure, not just for listeners but also for performers. And that is how those art unit members I interviewed saw themselves – as persons contributing to the country’s defence by making music that helped them and others overcome sad and difficult times. The art unit worked under Zavlan’s command from the Spring 1995 until it was dissolved in 1996.

The situation in Sarajevo and Bihać was very similar; both cities were besieged but had a very productive and rich music production. Several bands and singers were active during the war in Bihać, among the most well-known were the choir Hor bihačkih djevojaka (Bihać Girls’ Choir)103, the band Okus meda (The Taste Of Honey) and the folk-singer Ibro Selmanović. The choir’s repertoire covered patriotic songs dedicated to different corps and brigades, and their comprehensive repertoire was considered “not just usual patriotic songs, but the real anthology that will become part of the Bihać and Krajina history” (Vojić 2015). The band Okus meda composed at least seven songs, three of which were dedicated to army units: 502. Slavna brigada (Famous 502th Brigade), Legendarna druga (Legendary Second), and Voljele se dvije sestre (Love of Two Sisters). Three songs were dedicated to B-H: Kako mogu Bosno (How Could They Do That to Bosnia), Spavaj spavaj (Sleep, Sleep), and Zlatni ljiljani (Golden

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103 The choir was established on 9 March 1993 in Bihać, on the initiative of the Cultural centre director Mujaga Dedić. He composed the most well-known songs: 5. Korpus (Fifth Corps), 501. Slavna bihačka brigada (Famous 501. Bihać Brigade), and Zlatni 2. bataljon (Golden Second Battalion) that were recorded in the recording studio of the Fifth Corps.
Lilies). One song was dedicated to army heroes: *Slatko je kad jurišnik bije* (It Is Sweet When the Attacker Attacks). The folk-signer Ibro Selmanović performed fourteen songs during the war and dedicated them to army units, to B-H and to army heroes, and two to the commander of the 505th brigade, Izet Nanić. Unlike other bands, Selmanović also dedicated a song to Sarajevo, which was more an exception than the rule among B-H musicians, who usually dedicated songs to either B-H as the whole country, or their hometown. Bihać had, like Sarajevo (and also Tuzla), a well-developed “popular-alternative” music scene. Two bands contributed significantly: *Camino verde* with their song *U Bihaću rodnom gradu* (In Bihać My Hometown), and Keskin i Febbo, singing *Bihać grade* (Bihać City); in contrast to Sarajevo’s alternative bands, this song speaks positively about their hometown.

### 6.3. Umjetnička Četa Trećeg Korpusa – Third Corps Art Unit

The paramilitary formation PL was established in all cities over B-H in 1991, even in Zenica. Cultural workers, musicians, singers, actors first joined the PL with a wish to contribute to the defence of the city and country. With the official establishment and organisation of the Third Corps in September 1992, commander Enver Hadžihasanović ordered that the art unit must become part of the army as a *prištabska jedinica* under command of URMIPDVP and not part of the PL (Kurtić et al. 2014: 171).

In the year 1992, in parallel with the formation of the first armed formations in this area, a group of enthusiast initiated the establishment of the art unit of the Third Corps in order to boost fighting morale of the defenders. The art unit contained a theatre group, *zabavni orkestar* (entertainment music ensemble) and *narodni orkestar* (folk music ensemble). (Terović 1995: 38)

And because it became part of ARBiH, the art unit shares the same date of official establishment as the Third Corps – 1 September 1992, which makes the unit the oldest of all art units. One employee of the URMIPDVP explained the main idea behind the decision to establish the art unit:

> You should know that in the beginning of the war everything was based on self-initiative, artists contributed what they could in the most creative way they knew. And

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104 Izet Nanić (4 October 1965 - 5 August 1995) was an ethnic Bosniak born in Bužim. He served the JNA and fought against the Croatian army in Vukovar. As a lieutenant he deserted JNA and joined ARBiH, where he became the commander of 505th brigade of the Fifth Corps. He was killed a few months before the war ended, on 5 August 1995. Today Nanić is a national hero remembered as *šehid* and *gazija* (an honour title from the Ottoman empire time reserved for war heroes).
when things got more organised and united, the idea of the art unit was to comprise the best musicians, singers, actors in one unit and to help our soldiers before and after the combat. To motivate them.

As he said, the main task of the art unit was to create different kinds of art in order to boost morale among soldiers and civilians, so the unit often performed in the army barracks and in hospitals. One interviewee from Zenica remembered one event that was especially shocking for him. He explained:

You know, we also visited the wounded in hospitals. I remember once in one hospital, a soldier’s leg had to be cut off. Note that that happened without anaesthesis, he was fully conscious when the operation started. He asked us to sing a song Bosno moja, divna mila (Bosnia, My Dear Sweetheart). It was a terrible situation, but we sang it.

The Third Corps art unit was divided into the music and the theatre detachment, both under command of Omer Mekić. In the music detachment there were seven singers, nine musicians and one technician (Kurtić et al. 2014: 181). The theatre detachment had thirteen members, mostly theatre actors from the Bosnian national theatre in Zenica. Just like in other art units, the Third Corps art unit was multinational and as one interviewee emphasised “in the art unit, members were of all nationalities, Serb, Croats, Muslims were all very enthusiastic and optimistic about their work”. The main assignment of the art unit was to encourage and motivate soldiers before and after the battle and to console civilians. They accomplished these tasks by performing patriotic songs and marches, by performing traditional music of nations living in B-H - which also made them “guardians of culture and tradition”- and by performing theatre plays. Three theatre plays were put on stage by the unit during the war. In 1992 they staged Od Kulina bana i dobrijeh dana105 (From Kulin Ban and Better Days) and Zemlja ljiljana (Land of Lilies). In 1993 they performed Skender Kulenović’s play titled Dijelidba (Partition). (Kurtić et al. 2014: 180).

The art unit often performed for soldiers directly on the front line (Kurtić et al. 2014: 180). Before going to the front they prepared a special programme appropriate for the occasion and each unit. The commander of the Third Corps art unit, Omer Mekić, explained that he always felt very special when performing for those, who proudly protect their homeland (Terović 1993: 13). Throughout the war, the art unit made more than 500 performances, presenting their own

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105 The title of the play Od Kulina bana i dobrijeh dana relates to the saying of the Bosnian ruler Kulin ban (ruled from 1180 to 1204). In this period Bosnia developed in peace and prosperity, expressed in the saying (Spahić 2019).
production of patriotic songs, traditional songs *sevdalinka* and *ilahija*, evergreen hits and recitals from theatre plays. They recorded two audio cassettes: first one in August 1994, which contained fourteen patriotic songs and second in 1995 containing six *sevdalinka*. The songs from the first audio cassette were created in the period between April 1992 and August 1994, and recorded in the studio *Multimedia*. Musicians Nusreta Kobić, Omer Mekić, Munir Durmiš, Olgica Bajramović, Saša Domuz, and Salko Avdić sang about homeland, peace, love, šehidi, and the destroyed richness of Bosniak culture and civilisation (the Old Bridge in Mostar and the city hall *Viječnica* in Sarajevo, for instance). *Odsjek za moral 3 korpusa* published the cassette (A. S. 1994: 17). One art unit member described the lyrics of patriotic songs with the following words:

> Most of our lyrics were about Bosnia, or more locally oriented, about our brigades, for example about the 314th brigade. Some were more ideologically oriented, like for example *Majka šehida*. Well, the song was probably sadder that ideological because it sang about a mother, who lost her son. But something is for sure true, we never made a song that would be hostile toward anyone, we were the ARBiH, where everybody was welcome.

An URMIPDVP employee highlighted an important fact, namely that the Third Corps art unit played domestic and foreign music, and that both were equally important. One interviewee added, “music gave us inspiration, motivation”. The art unit also performed the traditional song *sevdalinka* and Nusreta Kobić recorded the most popular ones on the audio cassette *Nejma ljepše pjesme od Kur’ana* (*No Song Is More Beautiful That Quran*) in 1995. Many *sevdalinka* songs were very sad, and as interviewee from Zenica said, just like Hasiba Agić in Sarajevo, music had the function of a cure. This function was also very visible when the Third Corps art unit went on a tour to Germany and the Netherlands\(^{106}\), performing and raising funds for the army and the wounded. One interviewee recalled:

> I remember when we went to Germany to perform for our refugees. We prepared an omnibus programme with songs and recitals. The main idea was to awaken the love towards the homeland, those patriotic feelings in people. I remember, those events were often very sad, as in your homeland something terrible was happening and there was

\(^{106}\) They visited Munich, Hamburg, Augsburg, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Luxemburg (Kurtić et al. 2014: 180). The three months long tour titled *Mi smo sudbina Bosne* (*We Are the Destiny of Bosnia*), was very successful. Members of the Third Corps art unit and the choir *En-Nur* visited several cities in Austria, Germany, and Bosanska Krajina in order to fundraise for the army. On 13 and 14 September 1995, when they visited Bosanska Krajina, they performed together with the Fifth Corps art unit (Avdić 1995: 44-45).
nothing you could do. Sad stories of the losses people experienced, and even sadder when you explained your personal story. This tour was very emotional for me. But also liberating, knowing I contributed something to help those people overcome sad times.

In the art unit musicians and actors cooperated many times, preparing cultural events with music, declamations and monodramas. In addition to theatre performances and concerts, the art unit also organised the event Smotra umjetničkih četa Armije RBiH (review of ARBiH art units) in 1993, where all art units came together to perform and show their work (Kurtić et al. 2014: 180). The art unit also often organised events in which the choir En-Nur performed religious songs with patriotic connotation and interestingly, the choir also joined the art unit on their tour.

6.4. ARBIH VOJNI ORKESTAR - ARBIH MILITARY ORCHESTRA

That military orchestras have a very long tradition had been demonstrated in several studies about the work and evolution of military orchestras and military music throughout the world (for example Dujović 2016; Sullivan 2007; Hart 2020). The Ottoman mehterhan military bands performed military music on religious and public holidays and so they introduced military music to B-H inhabitants (Talam 2010; Balić 1997: 152). This tradition started to fade with the Austro-Hungarian occupation of B-H territory (1878), when military orchestra began playing Western classical music (Talam 2010: 2). These kinds of concerts introduced new music styles and trends and (re)presented the values of modern Western societies. After WWII the JNA had many musicians in their ranks, so it was not unusual if almost every army barracks had their own ensemble. Big military brass orchestras were organised in each republic, with headquarters in Ljubljana, Belgrade, Skopje, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Split (navy) and Niš.

In Sarajevo, students who enrolled in secondary military school could choose the study programme “military musician”. According to Emir Nuhanović this military school had been the best music school in the former Yugoslavia; it had its own concert hall, recording studio and around four hundred different instruments. In 1991 a new generation of 250 students began studying as military musician but could not finish because of the war. Some students transferred to Belgrade, others joined the TO and later ARBiH. The president Alija Izetbegović offered Nuhanović the position of military orchestra conductor under the condition that Nuhanović finds musicians and needed instruments. The orchestra was to perform on visits of foreign politicians. Nuhanović liked the idea and he accepted the position, due to the siege in Sarajevo,

heavy shelling and departure of many professional musicians, he had difficulties finding enough people to form an orchestra, but he somehow managed. Around sixty people joined - Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Hungarians, Bosniaks. In contrast to the art units’ members, the military orchestra members were all trained musicians. The instruments were rescued from the Maršal Tito barracks on 5 June 1992 and the first concert was held already in October 1992. Nuhanović mentioned that he was responsible for the repertoire:

We left a lot of compositions in the archives, as those were communist compositions and we could not play that. Prof. Josip Jurić and I started to compose new marches and we dedicated them to different individual soldiers or to a specific army unit, brigade, division. We wrote a new repertoire. One of the first compositions was *Bosno moja* (My Bosnia), based on the traditional *sevdalinka*. Then *Dobrinjskih brigada* (Dobrinja Brigade), and *Pofalička*, as in Pofalići a very important battle was fought. Prof. Magdić from the Music Academy wrote the first national anthem called *Svečana pjesma* (Ceremony song). Because we did not have an official anthem, we played it on all celebrations and festive occasions. It didn’t have any lyrics, but it was well accepted among the people. Our first concert was in the Holiday Inn hotel. It was a big thing to start a military orchestra in the time when all other cultural activities stopped.

Nuhanović explained that the military orchestra members had a working duty, same as art units’ members and regular ARBiH soldiers. They had to practice every day and had to prepare a programme for different occasions. They were paid in cigarettes and one warm meal per day. He was aware of the better position he and his comrade musicians had, so the responsibility for preparing a good programme was very big.

It was easier for us than for the soldiers on the front line, I knew that. And therefore, it was our job to prepare a good programme and to boost their morale, after all, they were defending our homeland. We prepared a show programme for them, either with the whole orchestra, or smaller casts. It depended on the location and how big the venue was. But we tried to stick to the primary programme of the orchestra and play classical orchestra music. Once I even travelled to Split to bring some notations we later performed. You know, to “freshen-up” our repertoire.

Another smaller military orchestra was established in 1993 in Teslić and was named the *Vojni orkestar 204. slavne bbr. Teslić* (Military Orchestra of 204. Famous Teslić Brigade). A year later, in 1994, they released an audio cassette *Vratit ću se ja* (I Will Be Back). The orchestra
members in Teslić were first and foremost soldiers, which was different from the Sarajevo military orchestra, whose members were only musicians and did not go to the front line to fight. By playing music and fighting at the front line these musicians had proven that “no one can ever destroy the spirit of the Bosniak nation, who finds the strength to fight against the enemy with music and song” (Bosanac 1994: 17).
7. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PATRIOTIC SONGS PRODUCED BY THE FIRST AND THIRD CORPS ART UNITS

The idea of music as a political tool of the modern nation-building process gained a lot of scholarly attention over the last decades, and it was proven that popular music is efficient in promoting national identity, especially because it can reach a broader population due to its broadcast potential. In the 19th century music became one of the elementary substances of defining national identity. Starting with Herder and his idea of traditional national songs, this trend developed in the 18th century and started to flourish with the technological development of mass media. According to the Irish sociologist Eileen Hogan, song lyrics mark relations between music and place and between space and identity. Because of popular music’s appeal to the masses (mass production and mass consumption), ideas expressed in lyrics are accessible to a wider audience and therefore an important source for discourse analysis (Hogan in Ileš 2019: 343).

During the war in B-H, the song’s authors - the lyricist and composers - presented their views and ideas about the Bosnian and Bosniak identity and nationhood, patriotism and heroism through music and lyrics. Clearly, they were not independent from socio-political and cultural events, quite the opposite, they focused primarily on writing and singing about the socio-political and cultural changes that happened in their lives. As Cederholm claims, they were interpreting contemporary culture through music (Cederholm 2012: 11). So, there is no wonder that some songs were critical of political decisions, like the songs of Sarajevo alternative musical scene, while other songs glorified B-H, its people, praised army units and commanders or individual heroes, and mourned destroyed cities and monuments.

At the beginning of the war many professional and amateur musicians and singers left, causing the collapse of the existing music scene. Those artists who stayed, adapted to the new circumstances and created a new music scene in which new genres and new themes quickly became popular. In general, Bosnians-Herzegovinians continued listening to Yugoslav rock music, even though some bands ceased to exist when Yugoslavia dissolved. Sarajevo was still seen as the centre of music activity, but all other B-H cities also had a renowned and productive music scene. In Mostar and Tuzla for example an alternative music scene developed and became very significant for the younger population. In Mostar, Nenad Golubić - Golub led the most significant hard-core band from that time named Ženevski dekret. Other notable bands were Kvažimodo, Sretna djeca, and counter-culture metal bands like Vulkan, Monolit or Zemljotres. Notable mainstream bands were Šareno kamenje, Unija, Ime Ruže, and Urbano.
In the beginning of the 1990s, the alternative music scene started to become more popular. Many bands already had a demo or album at that time, but their future development was interrupted by war (Nezavisna kulturna scena N. d.). As my Interviewee Damir Avdić remembered, the music scene in Tuzla was very active before and during the war. He was the lead singer in the band Rupa u zidu and they released two albums during the war. Two music genres were popular in Tuzla in that time - metal and hip-hop. Both genres were part of the “underground” scene, as Damir described it. The most well-known hip-hoper from Tuzla is Edo Maajka. The local commercial radio station Radio Kameleon played Bosnian patriotic songs and Croatian electronic music, which was among the most popular genres. Another example of the “popular-alternative” music scene was an audio cassette My Bosnia, My Apple: HELP recorded in Tuzla in 1992. Vidić Rasmussen notes:

Musical archaeology, historical memory, and piracy built off each other, producing at times, truly bizarre results. On the lighter side of these conceptual tensions, Bosniak musicians/soldiers often addressed their everyday concerns with a mixture of social criticism and humour. One example is the cassette “My Bosnia, My Apple: HELP”, recorded in the Northern Bosnia city of Tuzla, “in the war year of 1992”. It includes songs with titles such as “Black marketers, war profiteers” (Šverceri ratni profiteri), performed in an appropriate hard-rock manner, and “Artillery, Bosnian the reveller” (Artiljerija, Bosanac bekrija), which opens momentously with drums in military cadence, then promptly transforms itself, ironically, into the rhythmically bursting section of a Serbian kolo dance tune, only to end in an energetic synthesizer rendition of the same idiom in the “turbo” manner. (Vidić Rasmussen 2007: 62)

One of my interviewees from Sarajevo said he does not remember any of these alternative songs, but he does remember the patriotic songs that were not only frequently broadcasted over radio and television but also massively produced. He said:

In the beginning of the war, the most beautiful songs were composed: Vojnik sreče, Moj Mostar, Ponesi zastavu, Pismo prijatelju are just some of them. Many musicians fled abroad and, for example, a song Moj jo dragoj B-H was recorded in Zagreb. Or a song Ljiljana from Divlje jagode. Art units organised concerts, and I remember performances from Dino Merlin, Omer Livnjak, Hanka Paldum, Ljubica Berak, and accordionist Perica Simonović. That was a great concert in a small village of Tarčin 30 km away from Sarajevo in 1993.
Local musicians and singers were active in their own municipalities and on their local music scenes. Travelling was very hard, so not many gave concerts in other cities. Another problem that musicians were facing was the lack of electricity. They solved that by plugging their instruments into electric generators. Another problem was the lack of instruments and equipment, such as strings, picks, drumsticks; foreign journalists or UNPROFOR soldiers often helped and brought them from their homelands when they returned to Sarajevo and other B-H cities.

This chapter does not only take a closer look at the songs that the First and the Third Corps of the ARBiH composed and performed but also explores the sociocultural perspective that includes the general socio-political and cultural events. Next, the analysis examines who are/were the artists and how they reflected on their own position within the musical milieu. Furthermore, the chapter looks at the time frame of composed songs, asking about the meanings of the lyrics and examining the concepts of cultural creation and national identity behind them.

All fifty-nine songs are listed and ordered in categories and analysed using two main methods: discourse analysis and qualitative content analysis. The discourse analysis focuses on the artists, their personality, musical genre and the socio-cultural context in which songs were composed and performed. The qualitative content analysis is a method that helped reduce the amount of materials (interviews, song lyrics) and helps keep focus on the selected aspects of meaning that is related to the research question by analysing content, text and message of a song (Schreier 2014: 170). This analysis focuses on semantic (manifest) meanings, exploring patterns, occurrences of themes, and certain words in song lyrics (Cederholm 2012: 15). Both analytical methods were needed in order to understand the meaning and significance of the selected songs.

The combination of discourse analysis and content analysis retains the focus on patterns of cohesion in presented texts (Paltridge and Hayland 2012). Those grammatical rules were already explained in detail in chapter two and will be further investigated in patriotic songs where they are the most obvious.

When comparing the musical production of the First and Third Corps art units one can note the Third Corps art unit recorded two audio cassettes, while the art unit of First Corps recorded only one. Another difference is that the art unit of the Third Corps in Zenica worked as a group (with very few people leaving the group) from the very beginning of the war, and in Sarajevo, members of the art unit came and went more regularly. Popular musicians and singers who were active in the beginning of the war (like Nazif Gljiva and Dino Merlin) left Sarajevo within a year. Some of them also recorded patriotic songs outside their work in the art unit. I include
those songs in the analysis as well. Another thing many songs have in common was the lack of information about the song's origin, such as the year of release or the names of composers and songwriters. It was interesting to browse the internet searching for this information and realising that some singers did not include patriotic songs in their official discography. Some released albums with patriotic songs during the war which remained undocumented. The reason for that remains unknown because musicians I talked to, spoke proudly about their engagement during the war.

In my study, I categorised the songs according to their content and style. For example, some songs had lyrics that spoke primarily of love, while others, like the *sevdalinka*, can be defined primarily by the style of music in which they were composed. In some cases, these categories overlap significantly, so songs could be placed in several different categories. For the purposes of my study, I used the following categorisation:

Table 2: Categorisation of analysed B-H patriotic songs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Sub-category</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A)</td>
<td>Homeland - Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
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<td>B)</td>
<td>Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
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<td>B1) army units</td>
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<td>B2) heroes</td>
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<td>C)</td>
<td>Cities and monuments</td>
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<td>D)</td>
<td>Peace</td>
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<td>E)</td>
<td><em>Sevdalinka</em></td>
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<td>F)</td>
<td>English songs</td>
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<td>G)</td>
<td>Love songs</td>
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</table>
7.1. CATEGORY A: HOMELAND - BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Almost every B-H singer dedicated a song to his/her homeland, to B-H. Because of that, this category presents the most diverse range of songs. Even though many songs sang about Bosnia-Herzegovina and about the army practically in one breath, art units composed more songs dedicated only to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The concept of homeland has often been related to the concept of national identity, and as Smith (1991) argues, homeland is one of the fundamental features of national identity. Other features are: common myths and historical memories, a shared mass public culture, common legal rights/duties, common economy with territorial mobility for members, and religion (Smith 1991: 11). And since B-H was no longer a part of Yugoslavia, it needed to establish a new set of attributes and values that would appeal to its citizens in the age of the B-H independence (Batić 2007: 12). The war impacted this process and as it will become clear, the official political parties and local people had different values. Interestingly, art units were part of the official politics, as musicians were first and foremost enlisted soldiers, but their own moral compass guided them towards empathy and tolerance, as one interviewee explained to me.

Category A contains fifteen songs with homeland as the main theme, presented in different emotional tones, from pathetic pessimism to optimism. Songs also sing about love for children or family in relation to homeland. In the lyrics, nouns like blood, sacrifice, love, mother or golden lily are often used, related also to geographical and historical events. Most of the songs were composed in a similar musical genre of NCFM and accompanied by the accordion. In Bosnian language *domovina* (homeland) is a feminine noun describing the place one comes from, the land of birth, meaning the physical place and cultural space that have different significations to different people. As a result, there are different interpretations of what homeland means. This interpretation can be real, imaginary or apparent (Ileš 2019: 338). Moreover, the specific socio-political situations in Croatia, B-H and Serbia, reinforced the feelings of togetherness, collective identity, and the feeling of belonging to a Croatian/Serbian/B-H nation (Ileš 2019: 343), which was also visible in the production of patriotic songs. The following table contains the list of the chosen songs from the category A, including titles and information about the art unit that produced it, singers, composers, lyricist and the year it was created. The N.d. in the ‘year’ column indicate that there is no data in the archives about when the song was created.
Table 3: List of songs from category A: Homeland – B-H

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Art unit</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Composer/ Lyrics</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Daj mi krila sokole (Falcon, Give Me Wings)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>E. Velić</td>
<td>S. Zavlan/ F. Bešlija</td>
<td>N.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Mi pjevamo - ne daj se Bosno</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>E. Bilal</td>
<td>F. Hasanbegoivć / E. Bilal</td>
<td>N.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(We Sing - Do Not Give Up Bosnia)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Ne daj se Bosno (Do Not Give Up Bosnia)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>H. Agić</td>
<td>O. Pobrić</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Hej Bosno moja (Hey, My Bosnia)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>N. Gljiva</td>
<td>N. Gljiva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Bosna je majka moja (Bosnia is My Mother)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>H. Paldum</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Jedna si jedina (The One and Only)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>D. Merlin</td>
<td>Trad./ D. Merlin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Pamti sine dane ratne (My Son, Remember the Days of War)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>M. Puzić</td>
<td>M. Puzić/M. Puzić</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In two songs - the Third Corps art unit song <em>U krvi je rođena</em> and in Hasiba Agić's song <em>Ne daj se Bosno</em> - the idea of pathos and suffering is present. The first song talks about how B-H was born in blood and paid for its existence with human lives. The most important message is that defenders will never betray their homeland. In the second song, <em>Ne daj se Bosno</em>, suffering and pathos of Bosnia comes to forefront, painting a clear picture of Bosnia that is being tortured. Both songs share the idea of a united B-H, where all Bosnians-Herzegovinians live together in peace; their lyrics include sentences like “We do not want to share our land, we all want to live here” and “God’s peace wish all Bosnians”. In both songs I found an anaphoric reference, where two meanings refer to one another: the term homeland and mother homeland (in the song <em>Ne daj se Bosno</em>) is always referring to B-H, emphasising that there is no other homeland but B-H. Of course, some songs are more optimistic, such as <em>Hej Bosno moja</em>, in which the lyrics say “Soon better days will come for everyone. Again, sevdah will be sung, we Bosnians will be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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108 Hasiba Agić recorded this song in September 1991, together with Omer Pobrić, Zekerijah Dezić, Enes Begović and Čazim Čolaković.
together, believe me Bosnia, we will not let you down”. The song also mentions the symbol of B-H - the golden lily - that is spreading all over the land, accompanied with words “the scent of golden lilies is spreading all over the land”. As Sokol claims, the Bosniak were the only nation that identified themselves with the symbol of the golden lily, and because this symbol was popularised during the war, Serbs and Croats generally viewed it as something negative (Sokol 2014: 113). In the contrary, the art unit sang about Bosniak symbols and united B-H at the same time.

Another song Ovdje ostaću is singing about optimism, engaging children in the process of nation-building and seeing them as the bright future for the nation. This is visible in the stanza “our children need a peaceful sleep and I will give them that”. Another example that is mentioning children is the song of Meho Puzić Pamti sine dane ratne. In the song the father is begging his son not to forget the horrible warfare in his homeland. In addition to the idea of collective remembrance, children are mentioned in a context of killing, where the lyrics is urging “remember, son, children were killed” giving the listener the feeling of (collective) guilt about the war. The presence of children as a symbol of a nation and nation-building process is infrequent in B-H popular patriotic songs in comparison to Croatian songs, for which Polić (2019) observes that the presence of children is big and important. In her study, she notes the children are present both as physical and symbolic pillars of Croatian nation-building process. This idea is most visible in Tomislav Ivčić's songs (Polić 2019).

In some examples the land (zemlja) is a metaphor for the nation, visible in the song Nedaj nam se majko naša. In this song, the land is personified and equated with the symbol of motherhood, referring to Bosnia as majko naša (our mother). The metaphor of land as mother is represented as a suffering passive object, unable to defend herself, and because of unconditional love the soldiers have for their mother/homeland they will defend it no matter what. This is expressed in lines “your fighters will not allow you to lose your borders”. Several songs address Bosnia as a mother of Bosnians, among them many sevdalinka, which I will explain in detail in the section about sevdalinka. Hanka Paldum’s song Bosna je majka moja emphasises not just the role of the mother, but also explains what it means to be Bosnian. According to the song, Bosnians are all Muslims, Serbs and Croats, who live in B-H and are friends to each other. The narrative of Paldum's song is not the same as the official political narrative that excluded Serbs and Croats because of their religion.

109 Meho Puzić recorded an audio cassette in collaboration with RTVBiH folk orchestra singing patriotic songs about army heroes and brigades, homeland, and traditional song. Sadly, the release date of this song is unknown.
Although Senad Hasić was not a member of any art unit, he performed a song *Odoh ti ja majku Bosnu braniti* (Mother I Am Going to Defend Bosnia) where the different pronunciation of syllable transforms the image of an innocent mother into a brave Amazons. The main message of the song is the son’s announcement to his mother that he is going to defend Bosnia and if he dies, the mother should not be sad and cry for him. The song was very popular and the First Corps art unit often sang it as for example on the Igman mountain where Ljubica Berak, Hanka Paldum, and Dino Merlin sang it for the soldiers accompanied by accordion player Perica Simonović (Bečirović 2015). Berman noticed another interesting scene in Dobrinja, the outskirts of Sarajevo, where general Ismet Hadžić and his soldiers sang the song *Odoh ti ja majku Bosnu braniti*. Mensud Kapetanović from FIVA Studio recorded them on a videotape, where soldiers were showing defiance and resistance by singing “I am going, Mother, to defend Bosnia if I am killed, do not regret it” (Berman 2005: 3).

The image of a hero was desecrated as soon as the teenagers realised that by changing the intonation of the last syllable in the lyrics, the song gets a different meaning. From the original meaning where a hero will defend the homeland, this new counter-discourse in the song shifts the responsibility from the soldier to a mother, saying, “Mother I am going (meaning leaving), YOU can defend Bosnia” (*Odoh ti ja majku, Bosnu brani ti*). This showed the reversing gender roles and presenting the male soldier not as a hero, but as a deserter and the mother’s role changes from the womb of the nation and innocent victim to an active Amazon. Of course this version of the song was never recorded and was never part of the official war-narrative.

Like in the song *Nedaj nam se majko naša*, there is a clear message about the persistence of soldiers and because in the lyrics the soldier directly refers his land/mother, saying he will never leave her, this persistence and resistance that my interviewees often talked about is even more obvious. Another song in which the lyrics express the persistence of the nation, is *Nek u Bosni ljubav živi*. This persistence is seen longitudinally, as a characteristic that helps B-H, a country that lies on several different crossroads and was often influenced and repressed by others, survive through centuries. This persistence is characteristic for the myths of ethnogenesis and antiquity. Schöpflin (1997) argue it answers the question of where the group is from and for how long it already existed. The peculiarity of this song is that it follows the style of the Band Aid. The song *Nek u Bosni ljubav živi* is performed in a rock genre, with electric guitar and drum solos after the chorus, which is a unique example among the songs the Third Corps art unit performed. When mentioning the Kulin ban and the establishment of the medieval Bosnian state (1180-1463), the lyrics emphasise the “foreverness” of the Bosnian state, its historical
existence, which is meant to legitimise the land's sovereignty and independence. Furthermore, the lyrics emphasise that the land will survive all suffering because of the patriotic love its citizens have for their country. The endless persistence and the will to live in either good or bad times enables B-H to live on. This long “genealogical form of thought” gives the feeling of being rooted in place (Malkki 1996, as cited in Özkırımlı 2002: 181) and sets the fundaments for the historical myth of the thousand-year-old nations that both Croatia and Serbia were also using to assert their “rights” over B-H land. Singers express their love towards homeland with simple words, singing “up to the sun, up to the sky, up to the universe if needed, in Bosnia love lives, hear the words, Bosnia I love you!” According to popular music scholars, rock genre in the 1990s in B-H escapes conformism, expresses authenticity and self-experience and is therefore, in contrast to pop genre, more honest and authentic (Shuker 2005, as cited in Grgurić and Perak 2019: 304).

The art units were under B-H government influence, but their songs did not always express agreement with their political ideas. For example, as visible in the song Nek u Bosni ljubav živi, songs about B-H mostly sing about united B-H, where all inhabitants of the land live in peace and harmony. A similar theme is found in the song Zemljo moja, prijatelju moj, where spoken text is accompanied with music. The text asks why everything is silent, why everybody is suffering (including the nature), where did the sounds of churches and mosques disappear, and why are mother’s tears the symbol of suffering. In the chorus the need to sing is expressed “It is hard, but I must sing because the song comes out of sorrows”, which shows the function of music as a cure. With the words that followed, the author also expresses his love for the homeland, saying “I was yours, and I will stay yours”.

The song Cijela Bosna sings about the geographical position of B-H, where Drina river to the East, Una river to the West and Sava river to the North, separate the territory of B-H from Croatia and Serbia. As one of my interviewees emphasised, those rivers were also the symbolic borders. The Drina river for example, represented a symbolic border between Islam and the Orthodox religion and was also a border between “civilisation and barbarism”. He shares his thoughts with many other Bosnians, who claimed that Bosnia is civilised country, while Serbia is barbaric, due to the atrocities and ethnic cleansing committed in Eastern Bosnia. One interviewee said:

You know, Drina river was a witness to genocide, relatives from my mothers' side who lived in Eastern Bosnia were all killed. For me, that was pure barbarism. We are a civilised nation, defending ourselves from the barbarians.
If Drina river divides B-H from Serbia, then Neretva, the major river in Herzegovina, represents a border between Islam and Catholic church. While my interviewees emphasised the division between people of different religions, the song addresses all inhabitants of B-H with their regional names (Bosnians, Herzegovinians) and their local names (for example Tuzlanci, Zeničani, Mostarci), emphasising the feeling of togetherness and community. Stringing names of inhabitants creates a sense of masses and togetherness. In the chorus they are all referred to as defenders of Bosnia, which was, according to Ronald Kostić, a common view among Croats and Bosnians, who always considered their army formations as defenders (Kostić in Sokol 2014: 108).

Another song about the geographical position of B-H is Dino Merlin’s song Jedna si jedina, a national anthem in the period between 1992 to 1998. Singing about B-H as a land with a thousand-year history and with a clear geographical position (from the Adriatic Sea to Sava river, from Drina river to Una river), Merlin refers to B-H as the one and only, emphasising the myth of territory, where the rivers mark the place where Bosnians-Herzegovinians lives. The myth of territory operates simultaneously with the myth of ethnogenesis and antiquity, singing about the zemljo tisućljetna, mentioning the land of B-H is thousands of years old. Merlin uses the old sevdalinka melody Sa one strane Plive (On the Far Bank of the Pliva River), giving it the new lyrics. He explained:

This anthem lived among Bosnians-Herzegovinians, and I can say even today, some still say, this is the only national anthem we have. I sang that song in the name of all their citizens, in the name of those, who feel B-H as their homeland. (E. H. S. 2015)

Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs criticised the song because they are not mentioned in the lyrics and they felt excluded because of that (Džankić 2015: 105). Although, the song does not mention the Bosniak as well, Jedna si jedina was associated with the war time and was seen controversial for Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs just like to flag. Therefore, Dušan Šestić composed a new anthem Intermezzo in 1998. To avoid inconveniences, it has no lyrics. Džankić explains the failure of the first anthem to adequately address all inhabitants as a reflection of the ethnic divisions and fraction of B-H citizenship (Džankić 2015: 105). To make differences between nations even bigger, the SDA unveiled an additional anthem already in November 1992, when Gazi Husrev-Beg Medress choir started to perform Džemaludin Latić’s song Ja sin sam tvoj (I Am Your Son). Bougarel claims this song was used as an unofficial anthem of the SDA party throughout the war (Bougarel 2017: 141). According to Laušević:
The song that was temporarily chosen as the national anthem had previously been made popular by the Gazi Husrev-Beg Medress Choir. Whether or not it was an actual arrangement of an existing ilahiya, the nasal, ornamented style of singing, as well as the close associations between the choir and the genre, made the songs recognisable to IZ. However, this anthem has been replaced by an arrangement of a well-known sevdalinka that has been given new lyrics and is performed by a popular rock singer. (Laušević 1996: 131)

The song *Ja sin sam tvoj* is still today the SDA anthem, but there is no evidence that it was used as the national anthem during the war.

Not many Bosnian patriotic songs sang about animals, in general they were more plant-oriented, often mentioning the flower lily. But in one song - *Daj mi krila sokole* - the bird falcon is mentioned. It symbolised the victory and success when facing challenging situations. In the song the falcon flies over Bosnia, enjoying the beauties of its homeland. The falcon also symbolised the Sokolović family, which again, refers to the historical myth of a thousand-year-old Bosnian nation. Performed in another musical style, in NCFM style, but with a similar message, the song *Ostala su siječanja u meni* also sings about homeland. Accompanied by the accordion is the only song using the term *zavičaj* instead of *domovina*. The word *zavičaj* has no direct translation into English but it connotes one's home region or one's region of origin. Baker explains it as a “space more immediate and intimate than a region, and much more immediate and intimate than the abstraction of the nation” (Baker 2015a: 171). In connection with Anderson's concept of *imagined communities* (Anderson 2007), *zavičaj* is a web of directly experienced social relations, invoking notions of origin, ancestry and home (Baker 2015a: 171).

In the entire repertoire of art units, one song, *Mi pjevamo – ne daj se Bosno*, is particularly special because the lyrics speak about Bosnia in a unique way. The refrain, “they say we are just dust in time and we won’t dance long” is unusual for its expressivity and metaphorical meaning. In the same breath it sings of the transience and permanence of B-H nation and it does not personify Bosnia unlike Nazif Gljiva’s song *Hej Bosno moja, Mi pjevamo – ne daj se Bosno*. Gljiva’s song, however, compares the love towards homeland to first love and the author insist that Bosnia will remain his first love. As Gljiva explained:

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110 The Sokolović family was very influential during the times of the Ottoman empire. Mehmed Paša Sokolović (1506-1579) had the biggest influence in Bosnia because he was the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire. His legacy is still visible today, not only in the political sense, but also in architecture. In his hometown, Višegrad, an eleven-arched bridge was built. The bridge is today known because the Nobel laureate Ivo Andrić wrote a novel about its construction and history.
Songs gave a special consolation to civilians who were suffering from grenades, who were worried for their children and felt claustrophobic in the besieged city. People were apathetic so the songs helped them stay motivated. On the other hand, these songs also encouraged the soldiers who were defending B-H. (Kadić 2017)

In none of above analysed songs, the name Bosniak is mentioned. All songs sing about Bosnians. The explanation is found in the fact that the term came into use only in 1993, in the middle of the war, when the SDA reinforce the name and when Alija Izetbegović started to refer to Bosnian Muslims as Bošnjak (pl. Bošnjaci). This shift also marks the transformation of Muslim nationalism into Bosniak nationalism. Harm Rudolf Kern (2020) summarised the meaning of this transformation saying:

Muslim nationalism imagined the Muslim nation as one of three sovereign nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while it understood Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multinational state. Bosniak nationalism imagined the Bosniak nation as the state-owning nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while it understood Bosnia-Herzegovina as the state on and for the Bosniak nation. (Kern 2020: 52)

After asking the interviewee Nazif Gljiva about Bosnian and Bosniak national identity, he explained:

I am Bosniak and Bosnian at the same time. My nationality is Bosnian, but my religion is Islam. It was crazy to let the Serbs in Bosnia be Serbs, all they wanted was to annex Bosnia to Serbia. The same with the Croats, they wanted to annex Bosnia to Croatia. It was also crazy to call a Bosnian Bosniak because everyone thinks, “o look, Bosnian Islamic extremist” because there is no Bosniak land. If such land would exist, it would be like in Gaza or Beirut. That would have been very stupid and naïve.

In his words Bosniak nationalism is clearly reflecting and even more, his statement is obviously denying the possible coexistence of Bosnian Croats and Serbs in B-H. It is interesting to note that this opinion Gljiva expressed in the conversation differs from messages he was sending in his patriotic songs, where he promoted the peaceful coexistence of all nations living in B-H.

In all analysed songs patriotism is the main feeling expressed through metaphors, comparisons or personifications. Lyrics usually combine the “I” and “we” perspectives, expressing personal and collective involvement. This “Othering” of non-Muslims is also often expressed, but never through direct speech. During the war both the Serbian and Croatian authorities spread negative propaganda, trying to present Bosnian Muslims as the binary Other to the Christian world (both
Orthodox and Catholic). The orientalist discourse (Said 2003) was repeated, and the process of Othering intensified when the term šehid came into use.

7.2. CATEGORY B: ARBiH

The ARBiH was founded under unusual circumstances: it emerged from several different paramilitary groups, police units and TO units and had very little ammunition and suitable equipment at the beginning. As my interviewees recalled, some of the JNA personnel of B-H nationality deserted the JNA and joined the newly-established B-H army. Among them were also my interviewees Jovan Divjak, Vahid Karavelić and his assistant from the URMIPDVP. Other interviewees first participated in smaller units that were later attached to the army. Avdo explained:

Already in April small units of civilians were organised in all parts of the city. In my neighbourhood too. I joined immediately and we were about 100 people. We did not have any weapons, maybe every sixth person had a gun. Close to my place was a factory and they started making weapons. When the actual fighting began, we stuck to the principle “take it, don’t leave it”.

Another interviewee shared a similar story, but he joined the group of volunteers in the Velešići neighbourhood, which was occupied by the VRS. Fuad's experience from the beginning of the war was rather unusual. He explained:

When the war started and the first barricades were set up I said I want to act. I made a fake identity card and pretended to be Milan Manasijević. I was very immersed in my new role often travelling to Trebinje, Bileća, Banja Luka where I was buying weapons for the ARBiH. Then someone reported me to the police and I was arrested.

Fuad later joined the First Corps art unit performing his monologue play Mujo kukavica (Mujo the Coward). Besides that, he and other interviewees emphasised the importance of music, saying it is the means of emotional expression and it offers aesthetic enjoyment and entertainment (Merriam 2000). B-H patriotic songs also offered the historical context (mostly in their lyrics about army heroes), which helped to understand the hierarchical structure of the ARBiH.

The following category about the ARBiH has four subcategories: the first one focuses on songs about army units (B1), the second subcategory is about heroes (B2), the third subcategory deals with heroines (B3), and the last one analyses songs dedicated to fallen Muslim soldiers šehidi (B4). From twenty-two songs, the first two (sub)categores were the most numerous, each
subcategory containing eight songs, whereas the third and fourth subcategory contain three songs each.

7.2.1. SUBCATEGORY B1: ARMY UNITS

The ARBiH consisted of seven corps and each corps followed the hierarchical structure adopted from the JNA. Divisions consisted of units with different names and missions. Fuad was a member of 105. Motorizovana brigada, another interviewee and Avdo were soldiers in Prva slavna 111. viteška brigada. In order to provide a better defence of the country, the ARBiH was often reorganised. With the expansion of the army, the number of soldiers grew and consequently, the number of patriotic songs increased. As one interviewee remembered, the quality of the recorded songs was poor, but the main goal of those songs was to commemorate the brave acts of units and individuals.

In the following table, I list the songs about army units (category B1), along with the year they were produced, the names of composers, singers, lyricists and the art units that produced them. As with the previous table some information could not be found during archival research.

Table 4: List of songs from category B1: Army units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Art unit</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Composer/ Lyrics</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(P-V-O Artillery)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(First Zenica Brigade)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(ARBiH's Child)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(First Corps)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Prvi korpus</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>H. Ganić</td>
<td>V. Pršeš/ V. Pršeš</td>
<td>N.d.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(First Corps)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Amija Bosne i Hercegovine (Army of B-H)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>N. Gljiva</td>
<td>N. Gljiva</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Jedna si jedina Armija BiH (The One and Only, Army of B-H)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>H. Paldum</td>
<td>M. Vukašinović</td>
<td>N.d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Third Corps art unit record two songs about their army units. The first one, *P-V-O artiljerija* is about the Third Corps anti-air defence artillery that was responsible for air defence. In the song, synonyms and metaphors are used, for example, “The birds of steel knew well, they could easily fall to the ground”, which refers to the bombs that VRS used. Another metaphor - “precise eyes and sure hands in the air, caused trouble on the ground” - refers to VRS soldiers who were pointing at targets and dropping those bombs. The *P-V-O artiljerija* is responsible for stopping and disabling the bombs the VRS is throwing at them, which they did. The songs also emphasise that brave soldiers will defend their fellow citizens and their homeland at all costs. Another song that the Third Corps art unit composed was *Zenička brigada*, glorifying the first Zenica brigade. In this song soldiers are seen as fathers and brothers, a group that is based on kinship and shared the same descent myth, expressing a collective spirit. Those brothers and fathers are fighting in unity for the freedom of their homeland and for a better tomorrow.

The First Corps art unit members also dedicated a lot of songs to the ARBiH, to the First Corps, or to the Patriotic league. Nazif Gljiva recorded the song *Armija Bosne i Hercegovine* in 1992 and released it on an audio cassette *Sa ljiljanima do pobjede* (With the Lilies Towards Victory). According to Gljiva, the ARBiH was officially established on 1 August 1992, and the First Corps was created one month later, on 1 September 1992. Before the soldiers were recruited, they had to take an oath. This ceremony was always very festive, remembered Gljiva, partly
because his song *Armija Bosne i Hercegovine* accompanied the ceremony. The song had a clear message “Do not shoot!”, added Glijiva. Furthermore, he said:

The song *Armija Bosne i Hercegovine* was sung already at the end of July 1992 and then an order came that every new recruit must take an oath on that song. Usually, we organised those ceremonies when soldiers were taking an oath in hidden places so that we would be safe from grenades and snipers. Everyone came, I sang the song, and soldiers swore to defend B-H.

Hanka Paldum recorded a song *Jedna si jedina Armija BiH*, in which the ARBiH is presented as the best army in the world. It was also mentioning that the international community recognised it. On 6 April 1992, the European Community recognised B-H as an independent country and on the next day, the USA followed (Bennett 2016: 7; Calic 2009: 124). B-H was also admitted to the UN and with this act, it gained the right to self-defence (Ramet 2006: 428). Paldum's song is the only one mentioning the international community, and additionally, it has a clear message for those who were destroying her homeland, proclaiming they should stop immediately. In one of her interviews, Paldum recalled that all patriotic songs produced during the war were a good defence from evil. She shared those thoughts with Hasiba Agić, who was saying:

> In our *rodoljubiva* (patriotic) songs, there was no sign of hatred, not a word of insult, those were simply songs that were a cure for our wounded souls. It happened that also *sevdalinka* became patriotic, but only to express our scream of suffering.

Another song that was dedicated to the ARBiH was Nesima Velič’s song *Dijete Bosanske armije*. Nesima was a member of the First Corps art unit, and was, according to memories of Fuad Beganović, a person of action, who knew how to improve the morale among soldiers. The melody of the song is very light and lively and the chorus would also fit into the category of songs about peace because the child in the song wishes for nothing more than peace and that things would go back to the way they were before, when old songs were sung in her/his neighbourhood.

In the song *Prvi korpus* the First Corps is presented as a young, fearless army unit that will save and protect Bosnia from the *zlovnici* (evil-makers). The lyrics express love towards B-H and also emphasise kinship, saying brothers are bringing peace and freedom. The song’s lyrics are interesting because this song is the only one glorifying the importance of the First Corps, saying it “it turns the planet around”.
First Corps art unit members Hasiba Agić, Hanka Paldum, Rizo Hamidović and Omer Livnjak performed a song dedicated to para-military formation PL - Patriotska liga. Not only is the song composed in the march rhythm, with a very positive and optimistic lyric, it was also accompanied with a video clip filmed in the destroyed Marshal Tito Barracks in Sarajevo. The video shows eight singers in uniforms and a group of soldiers marching through the city in uniforms. It contains short footage of soldiers in action, including the First Corps commander Vahid Karavelić giving orders to the soldiers. Although the video contains a short text proclaiming that PL was the first paramilitary organisation that defended B-H, the video depicts ARBiH soldiers and commanders. Nevertheless, the message of the song is clear “we will fight and follow the PL, the enemy must know, Bosnia will not give up”.

In all these songs a certain optimism is noticeable. The vocabulary is full of metaphors, showing that singers did not want to address the enemy personally. Using metaphors and descriptive adjectives conceals possible expressions of nationalism or hatred towards the enemy. My interviewees always emphasised that Bosnian patriotic songs were not nationalistic and hostile towards Serbians or Croats, unlike Serbian songs that were hostile towards Bosnians and Croats. The main point of these songs was to express resistance and bravery. In none of the songs about the army, national division are noticeable. Moreover, kinships between brothers or brothers and fathers are often used to express the desire for a united B-H.

7.2.2. SUBCATEGORY B2: HEROES

In contemporary research the concept of heroism has changed significantly. In ancient Greece, for example, heroes were celebrated for their strength, courage, resourcefulness, and ability to slay enemies – the values that demonstrate masculinity, apotheosis and physical power (Hughes-Hallet 2004, as cited in Allison and Green 2020). In contemporary research, heroism is defined as an “extreme prosocial behaviour that is performed voluntarily, involves significant risk, requires sacrifice, and is done without anticipation of person gain” (Hughes-Hallet 2004, as cited in Allison and Green 2020). Additionally, heroism is explained as a mental and social construct, depending on the eye of the beholder, which means that both men and women can be described as heroes. Many examples in history showed that nations need heroes, as Smith (1986: 213) argues, and as my interviewee claimed, they too, were leaning on the idea of the real Bosnian hero that was presented in electronic and printed media, where the visual image was important. This visual appearance of the “real Bosnian warrior” depicted soldiers in uniforms with trendy Ray-Ban sunglasses, a black ribbon around their head, smoking Marlboro cigarettes and with a wide smile on their faces. They looked like Rambo. This visual image
kept up the appearance of ARBiH saying, “no one is as “ours” as “our fighters” and only our men are heroes” (Vlaisavljević 2007: 69). My interviewees completely agreed with this statement, but many of them emphasised that because of the lack of equipment, ammunition and weapons the real image was a bit different than the one presented in the media. Because ARBiH soldiers showed enough patriotism and motivation for the fight, and they often protected their homes with bare hands, as one interviewee said, they were seen as real heroes.

One interviewee explained that the wars on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia produced many real heroes and heroines, but also many fake heroes. The words “hero” and “heroism” became part of the daily vocabulary in all countries, but who was the “real hero” depended on his nationality because not all heroes were heroes for everybody. Arkan for example was a “real hero” and real patriot for some Serbian soldiers and Serbs, while for many Bosnians and Croats he was a perpetrator and a criminal. A similar thing can be said about Bosniak and Croat “heroes”.

The concept of heroism was related to the concept of gendered nationalism (Bougarel 2007) and based on binary divisions between men and women, whose gendered roles changed significantly during the war. Gender roles became more static and divided. Men were deemed as protectors of the homeland, the nation, women, and children. They were seen as superheroes, full of power, strength, courage and activism; real saviours of the nation and real patriots on one hand, while on the other hand, they were also perpetrators who killed and destroyed. The protective dimension of masculinity often cast them as national heroes or martyrs of an almost epic quality in their respective home countries (Schäuble 2009: 169). Schäuble notes the war propaganda also employed the dichotomy between “civilised” and “barbaric” masculinity that came to serve as an important ethno-national discrimination marker in Yugoslavia (Schäuble 2009: 170). Women, however, were seen as passive victims, helpless mothers/wife/sisters that needed to be rescued (Kesić 1999: 187). As Čavlović saw it “the battle for the nation is not only something patriotic but something very masculine” (Čavlović in Schäuble 2009: 173). In B-H, Croatia, and Serbia, women suffered not just because of the war and violence, but they also became powerless female victims symbolising their nations (Bougarel 2007: 171).

In this section I discuss songs about male heroes (category B2). The table lists nine songs, their authors, singers, the year they were produced, and the art unit that produced them. Patriotic songs about heroines will be presented and analysed separately in the category B3.
Table 5: List of songs from the subcategory B2: Heroes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Art unit</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Composer/ Lyrics</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(The Song About Senaid Pašalić)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>E, moj Hase</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>N. Gljiva</td>
<td>N. Gljiva/ N. Gljiva</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(My Hase)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Defenders of Sarajevo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Talijan)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Dino Magoda</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>H. Paldum</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Dino Magoda)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Hero Next To a Hero)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(The Soldier of Fortune)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Da te nije Alija</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>D. Merlin</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>N.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(If It Weren't For You Alija)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikić</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>M. Vojićić</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Carry The Flag, Dragan Vikić)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The image of a brave, patriotic, courageous, heroic and kind soldier is also presented in patriotic songs. The Third Corps art unit sang about the hero Senaid Pašalić. The song *Pjesma o Senaidu Pašaliću* recalls the bravery and heroism of this man, and was performed by *sevdalinka* and NCFM music interpreter Nusreta Kobić. In the lyrics Pašalić is presented as a good and committed friend, whose name and sacrifice will never be forgotten. Remarkably, the song combines two music genres – a melodic heavy metal intro reminiscent of Iron Maiden, and NCFM in stanzas and the chorus. Such combination of genres was unique to the B-H war music production and because the exact release date of the song is unknown, I can only speculate if the author of the melody was inspired by the visit of *Iron Maiden* in Sarajevo in 1994.

Another hero, Muhudin *Dino Magoda*, is one of the first defenders of the occupied Sarajevo. Magoda was first a TO member and later a commander of a smaller unit attached to the *Prva brdska brigada*. He died on 8 June 1992, while performing an offensive action on the mountain Trebević in an attempt to unblock the city (Nikolić 2018). Hanka Paldum sings about Dino Magoda, glorifying his capacities of gathering people and leading tem. In the song, Magoda’s mother is also mentioned as a brave and heroic woman who gave birth to a hero. This image that depicts women as wombs (Helms 2007) was quite common in B-H songs.

Another hero who will always be remembered in a song is the First Corps army commander Mustafa Hajrulahović - Talijan, who commanded the defence of Sarajevo from 1 September 1992 to 18 August 1993. His popularity is the main theme of the Nazif Gljiva’ song *Talijan*. The song is peculiar because a children’s choir sings the chorus; the involvement of children was not common in the production of B-H patriotic songs but was more characteristic for Croatian music production. In the song, Talijan is compared to the golden lily (cataphoric reference) that gathered young fighters to defend B-H. In both songs, *Dino Magoda* and *Talijan*, two different collocations connecting adjectives with nouns are used, such as *šeher Sarajevo* (meaning the city of Sarajevo) and *zlatni ljiljan* (meaning the golden lily). Such general collocations were very often used in B-H patriotic songs. In combining nouns and descriptive adjectives, those nouns gained additional symbolic weight and importance.

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111 Mustafa Hajrulahović - Talijan (Banja Luka 1957- Hamburg 1998) graduated at the military academy in Split in 1979 and deserted the JNA with the rank of Captain in 1991. His nickname “Talijan”, meaning Italian, was given to him because of his knowledge of Italian language and because of his “Italian appearance”.


Mladen Vojičić - Tifa, the former frontman of the very popular groups Bijelo dugme, Vatreni poljubac and Divlje jagode stayed in the besieged Sarajevo during the war and was very active on the music scene. He sang the song Ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću that is dedicated to the special police unit commander Dragan Vikić112. The song is performed in the rock genre and the lyrics contain a lot of metaphors and paraphrases. In the music video Tifa drives through Sarajevo in a military vehicle and the impact of the war in the city is clearly visible. The analysis showed two main functions of music – music as resistance and music and cure, both are expressed in lines “while dreams are floating, fires are still burning”. Tying popular music to the symbolic power of the state (Baker 2010: 51; Džankić 2015: 8) is clear in the action when Vikić, as the leader of the special police unit carries the B-H flag. Even though there is no actual flag present in the video clip the flag represents an important national symbol and it strengthened a common identity and belonging. (Smith 1991: 17).

The new Bosnian flag was adopted on 4 May 1992, depicting a blue shield with six golden lilies all on a white background (Bougarel 2017: 142). The golden lilies, also known as “Lilium Bosniacum”, are native to the region and were symbols of medieval Bosnia and the Kotromanić dynasty. The golden lilies were also used in the flag and coat of arms of the ARBiH and the symbols eventually became associated with Islam (Batić 2007: 13-14). Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs rejected both flags113, saying it represented the Muslim heritage and therefore exclude other people living in B-H.

Dino Merlin wrote another song about a hero - Da Te Nije Alija. Being member of the First Corps art unit for a short time Merlin wrote a lot of patriotic song. The song Da Te Nije Alija is quite controversial because of the name Alija. Some people speculated that the song is dedicated to the first president Alija Izetbegović, while others followed Merlin’s explanation, who claimed the song is dedicated to his neighbour Alija Miladin and additionally to every Alija in B-H. In one of the interviews Merlin said:

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112 Dragan Vikić (Sarajevo 8.10. 1955) born to a Croatian father and Serbian mother. During the war he was a commander of a special police unit, named Odred za posebne namjene MUP-a Republike BiH (Detachment for special assignments of the Ministry of the Interior of B-H). Because of his work, he received many awards, even with the highest ranking prize – šestoaprilska nagrada grada Sarajeva (6th April Award of the City of Sarajevo) and Zlatni ljiljan (the Golden Lilly).

113 The new post-Dayton flag was formally approved on 4 February 1998: it consists of a yellow right triangle on a blue background with seven stars along the triangle’s hypotenuse. The triangle is positioned in a way that it mirrors the shape of the B-H territory. According to the survey from 2011, 48 per cent of Bosnian Croats and 81 per cent of Bosnian Serbs do not approve of the flag of B-H. This again indicates that the citizenship of B-H is still fractured along ethnonational lines and that non-ethnic symbols can hardly contribute to overcoming ethnic cleavages that are deeply rooted in society (Džankić 2015: 101-2).
This song is dedicated to everybody who defended B-H. It was composed in times when others were driving us crazy and bombarded the settlement Velešići because not many Serbs lived there. Then, when we were killed in all possible and impossible ways and kept under the medieval siege, I sang that song to all citizens of B-H, who defied force and injustice. (Pantenić 2011)

Art unit members dedicated many songs to heroes mentioned by name – Talijan, Dino Magoda, Senaid Pašalić, or Dragan Vikić. Many songs were also dedicated to soldiers in general; these songs were impersonal and therefore spoke about everyone who was defending B-H. Sometimes songs were regionally distinguished, for example, the First Corps member and commander Nazif Gljiva recorded a song Branioci Sarajevo. Avdo recalled, this song was the first one played on national television:

The song exploded in the public life. Usually, they were on after the news because everybody was watching the news. There was no electricity, so people used batteries. Everyone was singing his songs for example Branioci Sarajevo and, Armija Bosne i Hercegovine.

The song Branioci Sarajevo directly address people living in B-H, saying it is time to do something because their homeland is dying. In the chorus it becomes clear that heroes of Sarajevo have two tasks: to defend their hometown and to sing patriotic songs. Furthermore, Gljiva claims in the song that everyone, who does not love B-H is considered an enemy. The song’s NCFM music style and the repetition of stanzas and chorus make the song not just easy to remember but also easy to sing along to.

Hanka Paldum performed the song Junak do junaka; in the song the feeling of unity is expressed through listing bigger cities in B-H, starting with Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla, Bugojno, Travnik, Čajniče, and ending with Breza, saying all these cities were covered with sadness, but brave heroes will protect B-H from the enemies. Like in many other songs, in this one, too, the enemy is not directly addressed. If the song Junak do junaka presents each and every soldier of the ARBiH by listing all above mentioned cities, then the song Vojnik sreće on the contrary presents one special unit (El tiger 2012). This Dino Merlin’s song was the most popular song throughout the war, performed in popular pop-rock music style. In a very likeable video clip, young soldiers are presented as trendy action heroes. The aim of this video was to boost soldiers’ morale and “offer them a ‘movie-like’ image of themselves” (Laušević 2000: 297). Some of my
interviewees like this song, while one interviewee remembered it with some negative connotations:

I was a soldier on the front line where we listened to three radio stations: two played NCFM or traditional music sevdalinka, the third one played rock. For me personally the patriotic songs were dull, I didn’t like them. But for my comrades and older commanders this was the best music. Vojnik sreće was their favourite song, they wanted to be like those soldiers in the video, but for me this was stupid. This music was made for real patriots and for our diaspora, who still thinks Jedna si jedina is our anthem.

Music can be a distinguisher between old and young, it can mark a certain space or time, it influences the formation of attitudes towards the world, offers certain patterns of thinking and behaviour, and it is an important factor in life (Frith 1986: 7, 213). Therefore, it was nothing unusual that my interviewee did not like patriotic songs. He was surely not the only one. He said, he would have rather listened to rock, metal and heavy metal music on the front line and also at home.

The last hero listed in Table 5 is soccer player Asim Ferhatović-Hase (1933-1987), who played for the soccer club Sarajevo throughout his entire career. The song Emoj Hase refers to him, even though he died before the war begun. Nazif Gljiva turns to him, comparing his success in soccer with the success of ARBiH in the war. The song is very personal because of the enumeration of names and nicknames of ARBiH soldiers who defended the city and the neighbourhood, where Asim Ferhatović was born and lived as a child. These soldiers - Emin, Dino, Tajip, Eno, Saket, Ćelo, Braco, and Neno - were represented as real heroes.

**7.2.3. SUBCATEGORIES B3: HEROINES**

At the first multi-party election in B-H in 1990 only 4.9 per cent of elected officials were women, which meant that practically, only a few female politicians had the chance to participate in the nation-building process that followed B-H’s independence in 1991. Politics itself was gendered not only through the low number of female politicians, but also in the commonly known expression politika je kurva (‘politics is a slut’), indicating that politics is no place for a respectable woman (Helms 2007: 236). Contrary to the lack of women in politics, many women actively joined the defence of the country, some as soldiers, others worked as teachers, nurses, administrative support and some of them received high accolades and were labelled as heroines.
But the images of women as heroines are seen more as an exception, and the general picture of gender roles are still based on the dualism between aggressive male perpetrators and helpless female victims. Kesić explains that there are four ways of representing and labelling of women during the war. They are either brave Amazons, wombs of the nation, helpless victims, or witches and sluts (Kesić 1999: 188). During the war in B-H these representations were mirrored in several different ways. In public discourse women were presented as symbols of home and homeland, as mothers – (re)producers of children and culture (Cockburn 1998: 162). This was also often mentioned in the media and in patriotic songs; a great example of this is the song Dino Magoda, where his mother is described as a brave woman who gave birth to a hero. Next, women were labelled as symbol of the nation’s victimisation and innocence (Helms 2007: 237; Mann 2012: 457) and in the public discourse all women who had been victims of mass rapes during the war (Iacobelli 2009: 266; Ramet 2002: 218) became labelled as šehidi (martyrs). Governments, media and religious organisation produced this image of women as victims and according to Kesić, this image was the most manipulative image associated with the war in B-H (Kesić 1999: 193).

This nationalisation of women’s bodies happened during the expansion of nationalistic politics in B-H and as Kesić writes, women’s bodies became everybody’s business (Kesić 2002: 315). During the war in B-H, the Bosnian Serb army systematically raped between 20,000 - 50,000 women and Kesić sees this as a genocidal strategy, where women are being turned to metaphors and one individual raped woman represents the entire nation (Kesić 2002: 312; Thomas and Ralph 1999: 204). Cynthia Cockburn noticed that the war in B-H made rape high visible, as the media reported extensively about it. Furthermore, she emphasises that the evidence show that all involved sides used rape as part of their warfare and it was not just Serbs who were the perpetrators (Cockburn 1998: 156-73). The discourse analysis of patriotic songs and archival data has shown that this representation of women was present only in the media and not in songs, which was nothing unusual, as women are, even today, still ashamed and refuse to talk about what happened to them during the war (Thomas and Ralph 1999: 209).

Those women who became prostitutes during the war in order to survive, were seen as sluts or witches and were absent from public discourse. Although they worked secretly, everybody knew that prostitution was present on every corner near UNPROFOR bases in every B-H city (Andreas 2009: 67). Even though this was the way they earned money to buy food on the black market, where prices were very high, these women were always treated as a disgrace to the
society, which was the exact opposite to the discourse and representation of women as victims of mass rape.

The women who joined the army are presented as beautiful heroines, defending their homeland (Čolović 2010: 136). According to official data, 5360 women were recruited into the ARBiH where they engaged primarily in logistics or healthcare, while some were soldiers on the front line (Omanić et al. 2010: 135). Not only were women soldiers, doctors, journalists, organisers and assistants, stationed in different places, their fight usually continued when they came home from work. Taking care of the family was not easy in the besieged Sarajevo, for example, where food, water and fuel for heating homes were hard to find. All these brave women were called Amazonke.

Among the analysed songs, only three were dedicate to heroines: two of them are about Bosnian women in general, and only one mentions the name and nickname of one specific heroine. Olgica Bajramović and Mirsada Sipović sang about Bosnian women in general, while Hanka Paldum sang a song about Žuta Fadila. In this section I therefore discuss songs about heroines (category B3). The table lists three songs, their authors, singers, the year they were produced, and the art unit that produced them.

Table 6: List of songs from subcategory B3: Heroines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Art unit</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Composer/ Lyrics</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bosanka (Bosnian Woman)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>M. Sipović</td>
<td>S. Kahirman/S. Zavlan</td>
<td>N.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Žuta Fadila (Yellow Fadila)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>H. Paldum</td>
<td>Unknonw</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Third Corps singer Olgica Bajramović sang Bosanka. An easy-going melody gives the feeling of lightness, and the lyrics indicates the innocence of a fighter, who does not know how to shoot, but knows how to fight with a song. The chorus is very optimistic, saying brighter days will come and then everything will be better. The only thing the singer yearns for is love.
This song matches Kesić’s interpretation of female roles where women are presented as innocent victims that needs protection.

A completely opposite perspective on Bosnian women is raised in Hanka Paldum’s song Bosanka. The song glorifies the multitasking abilities of Bosnian women, saying, “she knows how to desire and to love, she knows how to wage war, she knows how to sing when dying”. However banal these lyrics might seem it reveals much about the cultural discourses of that time: on one hand, women had to be loving mothers, wives and daughters, and brave, fearless and, motivated soldiers on the other hand. In a patriarchal society where social roles and norms were strictly divided and clear, being a “super woman” was extremely hard. My interviewee Hasiba was a single-mother during the war, and remembers how difficult it was for her to leave her little children at her neighbours and go to work. After coming back from a rehearsal or performance she had to take care of the household, heating and prepare food for herself and her family. On the other hand, Hasiba said she felt the urge to encourage soldiers and to comfort them with a song, and that made her strong. Another art unit member Hanka Paldum saw her job as the:

Obligation and a duty of all Bosnians who felt Bosnia as their own. I was doing my job, consciously knowing I am doing it for our soldiers who defended our Bosnia - hungered and barefoot. In those moments I was not thinking about myself, not even about my children. I believed I was useful and that God will protect me. (Avaz.ba 2018)

The song Žuta Fadila is about an ARBiH soldier Fadila Odžaković (1958-1992), known as one of the bravest women in the defence of B-H. Her nickname Žuta – meaning yellow – was given to her because of her blond hair. She was a member of the 1. Motorizovana brigada, responsible for the defence of the hill Žuć. This place was known for its brutal battles. She died two days after being wounded, on 20 September 1992, and was posthumously awarded for her courage with the Zlatni ljiljan (Golden Lily) medal. She knew how to motivate fellow combatants and as the lyrics sing “You knew how to encourage your fellow combatants, and you gave your life for the freedom of Bosnia”. Her death is still commemorated today and in all the articles written about her, she is always named as the “real hero of Sarajevo”, or as the song goes, “a real hero who will always live among us”. She was described as:

A flawless heroine, a woman who did not feel fear in the fire of a battle, a woman who, according to her comrades-in-arms saved many, many lives that day. The name Fadila Odžaković remains - with a number of other heroes who lost their lives - for an eternity
engraved in the memory of their people as the brightest and holiest examples of Bosniak patriotism. (Idrizov 1994: 24-5)

The singer of Žuta Fadila was Hanka Paldum, still today one of the most prominent and known NCFM and traditional music singer in B-H, also described as the “queen of sevdalinka”. She stayed in Sarajevo during the siege and joined the First Corps art unit at the very beginning. Pezo wrote that she gladly accepted the microphone anytime and she loved performing (Pezo 2015: 143). In one of her statements Paldum said, she left Sarajevo once in 1993, when she performed with the First Corps art unit for Bosnian soldiers on the free territory (Novosti Online 2016). In the interview for Dnevni avaz in December 1995 she said:

Three and a half years I shared all the calvary and tragedies with my people. But it was a nice experience, would not trade it with anyone. I was a fighter without a gun, singing on the first front line on the outskirts of Sarajevo, running over the airport tarmac to participate at the oath-taking ceremony of new recruits on the Igman mountain. I was not afraid. I saw this as my duty. (Avaz.ba 2018)

When comparing all three songs about heroines, one thing was clear from the first glance: the first song presents an innocent victim, while the second song presents a strong, independent woman, a real warrior that is not seen as an object who needs to be defended, but as a subject, equal to men. The third song also presents one single woman as a heroic subject that will remain in the collective memory of her comrades. Moreover, the first and second song are about Bosnian and not Bosniak women, which again proves that the political leadership strove to force the new Bosniak national identity, but the regular people never really accepted it.

7.2.4. SUBCATEGORIES B4: ŠEHIDI

Another phenomenon happened during the war - dead Muslim soldiers were being labelled as šehidi (sng. šehid). The term comes from the Arabic word shahid meaning witness of the faith or a martyr fallen while fighting on God's path (Bougarel 2007: 168; Kalčić 2007: 139). Maček adds that the term was used for a soldier who died in the holy war, or jihad (Maček 2009: 140). Šadinlija points out that this happened very soon after the war began, when the newspaper article in Oslobodjenje from 9 April 1992 announced the decision of the IZ and the city of Sarajevo to bury seven dead police officers as šehidi. The dženaza (funeral) was performed so that the victims were all placed in one grave. “This was the first time from the beginning of the aggression that term šehid was introduced into B-H public discourse, where šehid represents the fallen Muslim soldier” (Šadinlija 2015: 148). Bougarel similarly notes that “in April 1992,
the Islamska zajednica started labelling Bosnian Muslims who had been killed fighting the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and Serb paramilitaries “šehidi” (Bougarel 2007: 170). My interviewee Avdo remembered this saying:

The term šehid came to use with the beginning of the war, with the first funerals, or as we call it, dženaza, for fallen soldiers, but I must admit, I did not know what it meant, my knowledge of religion was quite poor back then.

The cult of šehid dates back to the times of the Ottoman Empire and was, until the beginning of the war, considered obsolete and unimportant (Bougarel 2007: 168). The SDA and the IZ worked together to promote the concept of šehid. They even established the Muslim humanitarian aid organisation, where help in food and money was given only to the families of šehidi (Bougarel 2007: 184). With the declaration of the Dan šehida (day of šehidi), commemorated on the second day of the festivities marking the end of ramazanski barjam (Ramadan), the IZ set the cult of šehid in stone, as the day is still commemorated today (Bougarel 2007: 184). Velikonja notes that religion played both a passive and an active role during the war in B-H, explaining that the national, political and military mobilisation would not have been possible without religious justification. On the other hand, the IZ would not have been able to reach its goals without the active support of the nationalistic political party. Velikonja calls this process a religious-national retraditionalisation (Velikonja 2002: 195-6).

All of this was a part of nation-building and reislamisation processes. In official public speeches the phrase šehidi i poginuli borci (šehidi and killed fighters) was used, showing the bigger importance of šehidi, as opposed to poginuli borci, a term that described non-Muslim soldiers. Interestingly, the term borci was often used in patriotic songs, referring to all soldiers no matter what religion they were. The term borci replaced the term vojnici (soldiers) because it had more fighting spirit in it, said one interviewee.

This indoctrination technique further deepened with the building a special memorial centre Kovačić in 1999 (Bougarel 2007: 172; Maček 2009: 140). At that place, which used to be an old Ottoman graveyard from the fifteenth century (Sokol 2014: 113), only šehidi were buried. The first B-H president Alija Izetbegović was also buried at this cemetery. Many such cemeteries sprung up across the country, finding an important place in the Bosniak memory and discourse because these cemeteries praised the story of brave Muslim heroic soldiers who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of their homeland. In parallel with this glorification, “people just wanted to remember their lost ones,” one interviewee who also lost his family members during the war noted.
In addition to the term šehid, other descriptive terms were also used, such as vitezovi (knights) and gazije\(^\text{114}\), referring to the vocabulary used during the Ottoman empire, as well as junaci (heroes) or heroji (heroes) that drew from the vocabulary of the Partisan movement (Žanić 1998). The institution of šehid (Maček 2009: 141) was clearly discriminatory towards non-Muslim soldiers and was part of the reislamisation process the B-H government engaged in. Sorabji calls the use of this kind of vocabulary “the politics of memory”, pointing out that the politicians often used those words in their speeches. According to her, “this approach takes as its focus not the authenticity and power of individuals’ memories but the frames within which assorted political interests seek to channel those memories” (Sorabji 2006: 2). The public reislamisation process also affected the everyday life of B-H inhabitants, causing uncertainty among them because in B-H religion was always a part of people’s private lives and Bosnian Muslims had their own way of practicing Islam (Maček 2007: 47). My interviewees emphasised that the socialist Yugoslav society was secularised, meaning all religions in the state were practiced at home. Jovan Divjak said:

I still live in the same building I moved in in 1966 and people of all three religions lived there. There was respect and tolerance among us. When some of my neighbours celebrated a religious holiday, we knocked on the door in the morning and congratulated them. That was something normal and a polite thing to do.

This changed during the war. According to Maček, Sarajevans “felt forced to choose one religious group to belong to” (Maček 2009: 85) and demonstrate this to the outside world. Muslims started greeting others with Allahu Akbar and/or Selam alejkum, which became an official greeting in the ARBiH as well. Interviewee Fuad critically explained the greeting:

Selam alejkum means peace with you, shalom means peace with you in Hebrew. There is no peace when you are at war. I could not relate to it, even though I am Muslim. I did not like that the commander came to us, saying Selam alejkum knowing there were Orthodox and Catholic soldiers among us. In my opinion army is one thing and religion another, one should respect all religions, but not involve them with army. They should stay separate. I know that is impossible, but this is my opinion.

My interviewees experienced the reislamisation of B-H differently. One interviewee said it was not visible in Sarajevo, where “classical urban patriotism was present, and all negative

\(^{114}\text{Gazija (pl. gazije) is a term used as an honorary title in the Ottoman empire, meaning a military leader who showed his bravery, courage, and fighting skills at the battlefield, fighting against non-Muslim enemies.}\)
connotation in the religious sense were few individual excesses and are part of war folklore”. Another interviewee remembered that he had heard about some songs related to Islam that were popular among the soldiers of the seventh Muslim brigade because its members were mostly mujahedin from Arab countries, practicing religion every day. He also recalled how they were shouting “For who? For Allah! Against who? Against Vlachs!” before going to the front line. According to Kurspahić this unit and their soldiers degraded the honourable defence of Bosnian army and turned it into religious and civil war, also because some of them were later accused of war crimes against the Croatian and Serbian population and prisoners (Kurspahić 2010: 135; Hoare 2004: 132). Arabic soldiers listened to Arabic music that locals did not understand, while the local people listened to *ilahija*, and as interviewee recalled those were:

> Songs to the God, those are religious songs, but they were produced in parallel with popular music even before the war. That is why I saw no difference between pre-war and wartime production of *ilahija*.

Some *sevdalinka* and *ilahija* singers, like for example Nusreta Kobić, recorded an audio cassette with *sevdalinka* that will be analysed in a special section (category E) of the thesis.

When talking about the concept of šehid, a connection with religion is necessary and according to Jovan Divjak, religion soon also became a part of ARBiH. He said:

> The SDA was deciding who is the right person to be a commander of a unit, and we all knew the SDA and the IZ were very close. I remember our soldiers had to fast during Ramadan, even though they spent 20 hours on the front line. Religion and nationalistic politics were connected from the very beginning. Funny thing though, in the “old system” you had to be a member of the KPJ if you wanted to become a commander or a general, in the “new system” you had to be an active worshipper.

A lot of imams (Muslim priest) joined the TO and other defence groups voluntarily before the army was officially organised in order to help Muslim soldiers with their spiritual needs (Šadinlija 2015: 151). Although the army was multinational and multireligious, most soldiers were Muslims. Soon the Western, Serbian, and Croatian media framed the war in B-H as a religious war where Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats were fighting against Muslim extremists (Ramet 2008: 30). Consequently, the war in B-H repositioned the Bosniak relation to Islam, and for many Bosniaks it eventually became the inseparable feature of the ethnic group (Kalčić 2007: 139).
The concept of šehid started to gain currency during war years and people started to use it on a daily basis. Interestingly, the term was used so often that it soon lost its religious component. On many graves of unknown soldiers all over B-H one can find the engraved words Bosanski šehid (Bosnian šehid), although the religious affiliation of the buried remain unknown (Bougarel 2007: 175). In 1993, the Bosnian essayist and lexicographer Alija Isaković extended the definition of šehid, saying that everybody who died during the war in B-H, either as soldier or as civilian, a premature-born baby or centenarian, male or female, they were all šehidi (Isaković in Bougarel 2007: 177). With his definition the term again lost its religious meaning and even more importantly the boundary and hierarchy among the victims of the war consequently blurred.

Three songs in my analysis are directly referring to šehidi: Nusreta Kobić song Majka šehida, Hasiba Agić 77 šehida, and Safet Isović Šehidski rastanak. They all have the same theme, singing about šehidi but from different perspectives.

Table 7: List of songs from the subcategory B4: Šehidi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Art unit</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Composer/ Lyrics</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Šehid’s Mother)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>77 šehida</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>H. Agić</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>N.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(77 Šehid)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Šehidski rastanak</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>S. Isović</td>
<td>B. Isović/ S. Isović</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Martyr’s Taking Leave)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the song Majka šehida (Kuduzović 2015) Nusreta Kobić presents the suffering of a mother who just buried two sons and is now praying on their grave. She asks Allah to reunite her with her sons, saying ”Dear Allah, the one and only, unite my soul with my children”. Furthermore, the mother mourns that everything was taken from her, saying, “they took everything from me, dear Allah, all I had, I was expecting children of my children”. According to Bougarel, such songs are a typical example of gendered nationalism (Bougarel 2007: 171) because they show the patriarchal society in which mothers mourn their young dead sons. Nusreta Kobić was
known for her interpretations of sevdalinka and the song Majka šehida was a sevdalinka, performed in moderate tempo with an emotional melody and sad epic lyrics. It was accompanied with a melismatic\textsuperscript{115} and oriental melody of an accordion. The lyrics are structured in a classical sevdalinka pattern: stanza-chorus-stanza-chorus-stanza-chorus, whereby the last line of the stanza is always repeated twice, as well as the chorus. In 1995 Nusreta Kobić also recorded a tape cassette Nema ljepše knjige od Kur’ana (No Book Is More Beautiful Than Qur’an) where she collaborated with the Omer Pobrić’s Sevdah Institute from Visoko. There are eight songs on the cassette, among them also Majka šehida, and other songs that will be analysed in the sevdalinka section (category E) The song Majka šehida was released on a tape cassette the Third Corps art unit produced in the period between 1992 and 1994.

When the great sevdalinka interpreter Hasiba Agić, sang the song 77 šehida (77 Martyrs), she said:

\begin{quotation}
Every day new songs were written because people had to pour their emotions on paper. And the saddest songs of all came to me, and I sang them. I often cried when singing because the songs were so sad, among them also the song 77 šehida.
\end{quotation}

In the song, the names of four (among 77) šehid are mentioned: 19-year-old Menud Helač, 17-year-old Alija Oruč, Nedžad - Džedo and Nesib Delić, who all died on the mountain of Trebević defending Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the text, the sacrifice of young men, their heroic behaviour and dedication were put to the forefront, presented with words “77 martyrs, 77 heroes, brave battalion of golden lilies, they gave their lives for you my Bosnia”. The song is structured in the pattern stanza-chorus-stanza-chorus, where the second part of the stanza is repeated, and so is the chorus. What differentiates this song from the song Majka šehida is the beginning of the chorus. In Majka šehida one singer sing the whole song, in the song 77 šehida, the choir of men sings the chorus, giving extra weight to the lyrics and establishing the feeling of groupism. The lyrics are epic, describing the bravery of young soldiers and they are accompanied with a modern melismatic melody that combined the traditional and modern Bosnian song.

A popular sevdalinka interpreter Safet Isović sang a sevdalinka Šehidski rastanak (Martyr's Taking Leave) in 1994. The song is a contrafactum, which means that Isović used an old melody of Nizamski rastanak (Soldier's Taking Leave), composed in the beginning of the 19th century,

\textsuperscript{115} Melismatic melody consists of groups of notes called melismas, each of which is sung on one syllable (Pennanen 2010: 81).
and added new text about a soldier who must say farewell. In the video, Isovic states that this seemed like a reasonable thing to do, proclaiming the following:

Today, when Bosniaks are again joined in the fight for their own state, it seems like a good opportunity to give an old melody appropriate and current lyrics and dedicate it to brave and noble šehidi, who gave their life for our homeland. (Isaković 2013)

The song has a calm melody and a slow rhythm. Accompanied by accordion, it follows the pattern of stanza-bridge-chorus-stanza-bridge-chorus, where the chorus is always repeated twice. Safet Isović was not just a singer, but also a co-founder and a member of the nationalist SDA party. He was never a member of an art unit, but his song Šehidski rastanak made a great impact on the Bosnian music scene. Arabic words in the song symbolise the Ottoman and Islamic dimension of the B-H's past, which became the pillar of the new Bosniak national identity116. Because the song contains so many Arabic words, I decided to include the lyrics here. They are as follows:

It seems winter will never pass, sabah [dawn] will never come
only tekbir [God is great] is being heard in the night.
Long winter night, mother, I have to go,
my ancestors’ homeland calls for help.
Mother if I don’t return, don’t wait for me in vain,
shed a silent tear and pray fatiha [prayer] for me, let it escort me.
If only I could stand before the heavens’ doors once more.
On the wings of ezan [call to prayer] arrives the smell of Ramazan
[month of fasting] from our čaršija [old bazaar]. 117

All three songs were well accepted among the people because they sang about things that people were facing every day – the sadness and pain of losing their loved ones. And as one interviewee said:

The Turkish loanwords in the song Šehidski rastanak do indicate the legacy of the Ottoman empire, but the fact was they occupied our territory for quite some time. And

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116 Armakolas and Maksimović give a brief summary of the Bosniak national identity-building process, saying it was delayed and weaker compared to the similar processes in more powerful neighbours (Armakolas and Maksimović 2014: 73).
117 My own translation, wherein Arabic words are written in italics and English explanations are provided in brackets.
yes, we do use many of those words in our everyday speech, but that does not mean we are worth any less because of that, or that we are some kind of extremists. You know.

Gjelten states, Turkish influence in language, cuisine, arts, and architecture is evident all over B-H (Gjelten 1995: 30), but Baker claims, Turkish words symbolise the Ottoman and Islamic dimensions of the Bosniak past (Baker 2015: 116). Presenting this legacy in negative terms, the Muslims in B-H faced difficulties when justifying their defence of the country. While analysing patriotic songs I noticed the ambiguity in the lyrics between embracing the Ottoman and Islamic heritage as for example in songs about šehidi and in some sevdalinka, and the explicit rejection or ignorance towards this heritage, when in some songs myths ethnogenesis and antiquity refer to pre-Ottoman symbols such as the golden lily.

7.3. CATEGORY C: CITIES, MONUMENTS

Singing about cities and their beauties is a very beloved topic in popular music all over the world. Reminding listeners of how beautiful their hometown is, awakens patriotic feelings and yearning for homeland among emigrants. During the war in B-H a lot of different music genres like sevdalinka and starogradske pjesme118 were singing about beautiful cities, specific parts of the city, or landmarks in the city. Of course, local singers sang about their own hometowns, and in the case of Sarajevo, some of these singers were Kemal Monteno, Boris Novković, Zdravko Čolić, Neda Ukraden, Željko Bebek and bands like Indexi, Bijelo dugme, Ambasadori, and Pro arte (Škarica 2005: 152). They were, in addition to many other singers and bands, representatives of the so called “Sarajevo pop school” (Šavija-Valha 2000: 171). Due to the increasing number of successful musicians, many popular culture and music scholars said that popular music was bequeathed to Sarajevo (u amanet dano) (Škarica 2005: 152). Nazif Gljiva compared Sarajevo with Nashville, saying all these bands – from Bijelo dugme, Indexi, to singers like Safet Isović, Hanka Paldum, Zdravko Čolić – succeeded because they lived in a multinational society, and Sarajevo was the centre of it.

Sarajevans were always very proud of their musical legacy, often mentioning Kemal Monteno’s song Sarajevo ljubavi moja (Sarajevo, My Love) from 1976, which describes his love of the city. Interviewee Avdo, who was 18 years old when the war started, reported he noticed some changes in the socio-cultural, economic and of course political life in Yugoslavia. He started a

118 The term that starogradske pjesme has no English translation, but the emergence of the genre is related to the development of bourgeoisie in cities all over Balkan peninsula during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of B-H. Western popular music from that time influenced the genre.
new era in his life, just beginning with his studies and he noticed his hometown Sarajevo was blooming. He explained:

Before the war began, Sarajevo was beautiful. You could feel people were living their lives with a sigh of relief as communism was slowly leaving, and the new era was approaching. People were optimistic, it felt like Europe was coming closer, the world's channels were available, fashion trends were well accepted, it felt good. But then it ended pretty fast and in a very painful way.

Those patriotic feelings toward cities were also visible in the lyrics of patriotic song that the art units composed. In the table below, I gathered eleven songs about cities and monuments. I also included the information about their singers and composers, the year they were produced, and which art unit produced them.

Table 8: List of songs from category C: Cities, monuments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Art unit</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Composer/Lyrics</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sarajevo oči moje (Sarajevo My Eyes)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>H. Agić</td>
<td>N. Šanta/ N. Šanta</td>
<td>N.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sarajevo biće slobodno (Sarajevo Will Be Free)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>N. Hanjalić</td>
<td>N. Hanjalić/ N. Hanjalić</td>
<td>N.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sarajevo heroj je grad (Sarajevo Is Hero City)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>H. Paldum</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sarajevo će biti, sve drugo će proći (Sarajevo Will Be, Everything Else Will Pass)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>Grupa pjevača</td>
<td>Z. Fazlić, D. Balašević/ Z. Arslanagić</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada (Sarajevo Will Never Forget)</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>A. Mustafić</td>
<td>M.Perković-Thompson/ A. Mustafić</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Song Title (Translation)</td>
<td>Art Unit</td>
<td>Performer(s)</td>
<td>Year(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 6.  | Baščaršijo ranjena  
(Wounded Baščaršija) | 1st Corps | L. Berak/ S. Berak/ R. Feković | 1992 |
| 7.  | Grbavica  
(Grbavica) | 1st Corps | M. Vojičić/ M. Čizmić/ D. Jokić | 1993 |
| 8.  | Sijećanja na Vijećnicu  
| 9.  | Hej Neretvo  
(Hey Neretva) | 1st Corps | L. Berak/ S. Burić/ S. Berak | 1994 |
| 10. | Stari most  
| 11. | Moj Mostar  
(My Mostar) | 1st Corps | D. Merlin/ D. Merlin | 1993 |

Both art units dedicated several songs to the capital city Sarajevo, also because the city was blocked and besieged, and it symbolised the suffering of innocent people. Hasiba Agić recorded a song *Sarajevo oči moje* in which she sings about the religious diversity in Sarajevo. Sarajevans had always seen themselves as urban Europeans with low levels of religiosity that demonstrated their “high culture” (Stefansson 2007: 61). They were also very proud of the co-existence of four religions in a small place, often expressing that in songs. Agić mentions a mosque and a cathedral in the song, carrying an important message about persistence. Like Ljubica Berak in a song *Baščaršijo ranjena*, Hasiba Agić mentions *Sahat kula* (old Sarajevo Clock Tower), which is a very important landmark in the old part of the city. Agić emphasises the existence of this landmark in a stanza “*Sahat kula will live many lives*” and will bring the admiration of the whole world, showing the power of persistence and Bosnian inat (spite). Both songs also highlight the age of the *Sahat kula* that is centuries old, adding a historical note and expressing myths of territory, ethnogenesis and antiquity (Schöpflin 1997).
In Hanka Paldum’s\textsuperscript{119} song \textit{Sarajevo heroj je grad} Sarajevo is repeatedly compared with the \textit{dragulj istoka} (jewel of the East). This kind of comparison is quite unusual for the Bosnian music production because it sings about the opposite of what Bosnians always emphasised – that they belong to the Western world and possess Western and not Middle-Eastern values, as the song indicates. The song also mentions a very common meteorological phenomenon in Sarajevo, the fog. Because the city lies in a valley of the river Miljacka and is surrounded with mountains, fog often covers the city, and in the song Paldum compares the fog with sadness. During the war, sadness truly did cover Sarajevo, but in contrast to the fog, it never lifted.

Another song the First Corps members performed is called \textit{Sarajevo bit će slobodno}. In this song the optimistic lyrics say that Bosnia and Sarajevo will be prettier than ever after the war ends and that negative forces cannot harm the city and Bosnia.

The last song about Sarajevo analysed in this section is actually made in the very beginning of the war in 1992. The story of its emergence is quite unusual and includes several popular musicians and personalities from Sarajevo and Novi Sad (Serbia). When the singer-songwriter Zlatan Fazlić - Fazla and the founder of the \textit{Radio Zid} Zdravko Grebo contacted the prominent Serbian singer-songwriter Đorđe Balašević in 1992 and he expressed his support for Sarajevo and B-H. In a live radio show he said, he will do everything in his power to help (Radiosarajevo.ba 2016). His help came in the form of a song, as he wrote two stanzas for the song \textit{Sarajevo će biti, sve drugo će proći} that the Bosnian Band Aid later performed. Zlatko Arslanagić - Zlaja (band \textit{Crvena jabuka}) and Ranko Rihtman made the song arrangement and Ademir Kenović made the video clip. Among the Band Aid’s members were popular singers like Davorin Popović, Mladen Vojčić - Tifa, Zlatan Fazlić - Fazla, and Ismeta Dervoz. With the message that Sarajevo will survive no matter what they encouraged people who lived in the besieged Sarajevo. The refrain contains a figure of speech, saying that Sarajevo sings even when being quiet, which is an oxymoron expressing the nonsense of the war and suffering related to it.

\textsuperscript{119} \textit{Sarajevo heroj je grad} was also the title of an album Hanka Paldum released in 1994. On the tape cassette several other songs were recorded, like \textit{Junak do junaka} (Hero Next To a Hero), \textit{Andjeli rata} (Angels Of War), \textit{Ja sam kršna Hercegovka} (I Am a Small Herzegovinian Girl), \textit{Dino Magoda} (Dino Magoda), \textit{Žuta} (Yellow), \textit{Herojski grad Žepe} (Heroic City of Žepa) and \textit{Zove majka sina svoga} (A Mother is Calling Her Son). The album was recorded in the RTV B-H studio and accompanied by the \textit{Narodni orkestar} (folk orchestra) (Paldum n.d.). Hanka Paldum recorded another song about Sarajevo, \textit{Sa sa Sarajevo} (Sa, Sa Sarajevo), in 1990. The song was recorded on a vinyl LP \textit{Vjetrovi tuge} (The Winds of Sorrow) (Paldum n.d. 1). Interestingly, this song’s chorus states that Sarajevo has magical powers and once you visit the city you will always come back. Although the song sings about Sarajevo, none of my interviewees ever mentioned it, and furthermore, I never found it in any articles or playlist.
In the last song about Sarajevo, the city is personified in words that warn that “the city will never forget” and moreover, the song also directly addresses Serbian soldiers and orders them to leave the city. This song is the only example where this kind of direct communication with the enemy is clearly noticeable. The Bosnian singer Alen Mustafić, for a short time also a member of the First Corps art unit, performed the song Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada. As some of my interviewees stated, the song was recorded in the beginning of 1992 with the main goal to provoke the enemy and give moral support to ARBiH soldiers. Interviewee Avdo added:

There is another name that not many people talk about, Alen Mustafić, the singer of Teška industrija. He made the song Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada, and I must stress, not many Bosnians know he is the author of this song. This was our Sarajevan version of Thompson’s Čavoglave. I think Alen was a member of the art unit for some time.

As Avdo already mentions, the song Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada is a contrafactum of Marko Perković - Thompson’s song Bojna Čavoglave. The message in both musical examples is the same: “Serbian soldiers stay out of our town!” So, the same melody, the same message, but different lyrics, adapted to local conditions. Čavoglave was replaced with Sarajevo, braća, meaning brothers was replaced with two terms, first raja, meaning regular people and second, with borci, meaning fighters. In the song those words also describe the opposite or contrastive meanings (antonymy) where for example junaci and branitelji stand opposite to Serbian soldiers and četnik. In the Croatian version the concept of the imagined community and brotherhood is more present that in the Bosnian, and the Croatian version also calls to all Croats to get involved in the defence of one particular small village named Čavoglave, while the Bosnian version calls only to Sarajevans and urges them to defend Sarajevo. Both versions refer to the Serbian aggressor with the derogatory term četnik, saying in refrain „hear us Serbian volunteers, you četnik, our hands will strike you even in Serbia!”, threatening revenge to Serbian soldiers. The second chorus sings about the use of the guns like Thompson, Kalashnikov, and papovka\(^\text{120}\) that were frequently used in the battles and would chase Serbian soldiers out of Sarajevo, or over the spring of the Čikola river in Croatian version of the song Bojna Čavoglave.

\(^{120}\) Papovka is another name for the semi-automatic rifle Zastava M59/66 PAP. The rifle was produced in Yugoslavia and was a licensed version of the Soviet semi-automatic rifle SKS. PAP stands for Poluautomatska puška, semi-automatic rifle.
Songs were also dedicated to specific parts of the town and although sevdalinka interpreter Ljubica Berak performed many patriotic songs, two of them really marked her career during the war: Baščaršijo ranjena and Hej Neretvo. Being married to the RTVBiH war orchestra conductor Spasoje Berak, Ljubica spent a lot of time in the RTVBiH studios recording sevdalinka and patriotic songs. According to her, she spent even more time on the front line performing for the soldiers of ARBiH as an active member of the First Corps art unit from its very beginnings. The song Baščaršijo ranjena was recorded in 1992, and it sings about an old merchant district in the centre of Sarajevo made up of “cobblestoned alleyways flanked by coppersmiths and tiny coffee shops” (Demick 2012: 6). Baščaršija was and still is the symbol of Sarajevo and its long history. Interviewee Avdo remembered it was bombarded for the first time on the night of 5 April 1992, and the devastation was shown on national television the next day. Other interviewee pointed out that Baščaršija is a place where different religion meet, as the old Orthodox church and the synagogue are placed practically next to Gazi Husrev-beg mosque from the 16th century. This co-existence of different religions was also noted in the song. Berak picturesquely describes what Baščaršija is pointing out its main characteristic landmarks that are contemporary points of interest. She mentions the Sahat kula (Clock tower), the Catholic cathedral and the Gazi Husrev-beg mosque. Additionally, the song commemorates the old artisanal traditions of the craftsmen who decorated silver and gold jewellery, known as kujundžije. If the first stanza sings about how everything has been destroyed, the second stanza is more optimistic, saying the craftsmen will rebuild Baščaršija and decorate with gold everything that had been destroyed. In the song one can note a pronounced criticism of the international community saying:

Now the world is silently and peacefully observing how the wild tribes are destroying your bosom, while tearing down your monuments, not to remember the days that have passed.

Ljubica Berak explained how the song Baščaršijo ranjena saw the light of day:

I remember like it was yesterday. Spasoje came home from work with the lyrics and was too tired to compose the melody for it. Before he came, detonation smashed our freshly washed windows, and I was sitting on the floor, crying. I was in shock, not because of the detonation itself or the possibility that I might have lost my life, but

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121 Ljubica Berak (1948) is a very well-known sevdalinka interpreter who lived in Sarajevo during the siege and was an active member of the art unit. She recorded several patriotic songs. Today she is still a highly valued singer and a voice teacher.
because my housekeeping work of cleaning windows went to waste. Now you can imagine my emotional and mental state at the beginning of the war. Well, when Spasoje came he comforted me and asked if I might help him with the melody. He handed me the papers with the lyrics, I looked at it and made the melody. It just came out of me. I also added a refrain that is reminiscent of weeping. I tell you, the melody just came out of me, expressing all my anger, disappointment, sorrows, fear and sadness.

Even though Ljubica's intention was to compose this song for another singer, it turned out her interpretation sounded much better and she ended up recorded it at the RTVBiH studio. Her husband Spasoje and the director of RTVBiH Faruk Jažić agreed that the singer Mubera Tafro, for whom the song was composed, could not sing “a patriotic song, in which energy, fierceness and resistance must be shown because Mubera had a lyrical soprano”. On the day Ljubica recorded the song, a driver picked her up at her house and drove her to the studio, which was all the way downtown. She recalled:

I could not look out of the car and see my town destroyed. At first, I was so stressed I could not sing. My town was being destroyed; my people were being killed. How could I sing? My voice was trembling with emotions and my soul was suffering. Making this studio recording and the video clip were one of the hardest things in my life. We recorded the video clip near the fountain Sebilj, Baščaršija was completely destroyed.

After Ljubica recorded the song, the recording was immediately shipped to Germany, where money for the defence of B-H was being raised. Of course, Baščaršija ranjena was not the only song used for fundraising. Nazif Gljiva recalled that special concerts were organised in every bigger city where the B-H refugees and diaspora lived. He, for example, participated in the organisation of concerts in Germany, where they mainly performed patriotic songs and sevdalinka. He said:

We performed sevdalinka and patriotic songs for our diaspora and our refugees. You know, those “cultural songs”, and people were fainting from emotions. Half a million refugees were stationed in Germany and each of them had someone in Bosnia to whom he was donating money. Those people were really patriotic. If it weren’t for them, B-H would fall in no time to the aggressor’s hands. You cannot be in war if you don’t have the finances and logistics. They contributed a lot.

Another song Ljubica Berak performed in 1994 was a song Hej Neretvo (Kajan 2019). The song premiered at the festival Bosna slobodi pjeva (Bosnia Sings For Freedom) that was held
in a small B-H city Lukovac. The song sings about the river Neretva that flows through the Herzegovinian city of Mostar, the centre of local governance in the Herzegovina-Neretva canton. The main landmark of Mostar is the old stone bridge built in the 16th century, connecting both river banks. In the lyrics the river Neretva is personalised and asked why she is sad. The answer is: because the enemy destroyed the Old Bridge. As a consolation, the chorus says the golden lilies will not just defend the city from the enemies and villains, but also rebuild it and make it even more beautiful than before. The last stanza is again very optimistic and reminds the river that she should be proud because the bridge will be restored, and no one will divide Mostar again.

Sarajevo based sevdalinka singer Ljubica Berak was not the only one singing about Mostar; Dino Merlin too, dedicated a song to the capital city of Herzegovina. The song Mostarska or Moj Mostar was released in 1993: In the song, pessimism and optimism were intertwined, as in the chorus the author sings that he will be old and grey, but Mostar will stay young forever. The second stanza addresses three Mostar-related people: the popular Croatian singer Mišo Kovač (because he sings about Mostar as well), the former football player Vahid Halilhodžić (he played for the club Velež Mostar from 1971-1981), and Emir Balić (the most prominent Old Bridge diver). In the song Merlin says they will be able to play the game or jump of the bridge again.

Another song about the Old Bridge in Mostar the Third Corps art unit performed. The song Stari most describes a historical background of the bridge, emphasising that it symbolically united people until the moment HVO bombarded it at the end of 1993. Perpetrators are addressed as divlje horde (wild horde), who blew up the bridge’s heart. Moreover, the lyrics say, the bridge was considered the pride of Bosnians for generations. Descriptive lyrics end with a positive and optimistic message, saying that even though the bridge was destroyed, Bosnia and its people will live on. One must also keep in mind that the Old bridge was a symbolic representation of the peaceful dialog between the inhabitants on both sides. Muslims mainly lived on the Eastern side, while the western side was mainly inhabited by Bosnian Croats. One interviewee also said the destruction of the bridge also symbolised the destruction

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122 The festival Bosna slobodni pjeva was an annual festival of sevdah, folk and patriotic music held in the municipality of Lukovac in the period from 1993 to 1999. At this festival, all important and popular singers performed and more importantly, in 1993, when the war was raging and many cities were under siege, singers from all those besieged and occupied cities participated at the event. Among them were Omer Pobrić, Zekerijah Dezić, Muhamed Mujkanović, Hasiba Agić, and Šerif Konjević (Bosna slobodi pjeva 2011).

123 The HVO bombarded and destroyed the Old Bridge on 9 November 1993. This action shocked the world and had an immediate impact on the political agenda of the international community (Klemenčić 2009: 180).
of relations between Bosnian Croats and the Bosniak because without the Old Bridge, the two banks were truly separated, which also meant there was no communication and cooperation between these ethnic groups. Even tough, the song sings about geographical part of Herzegovina, its inhabitants, Herzegovinians are not being mentioned, the song focuses only on Bosnians, which also presents a problematic discourse, when one group of people is being left behind or ignored. Explanation for that can be that the First and Third Corps art unit sang about cities under their protection, and the art unit of the Fourth Corps sang more song about Herzegovina.

In addition to the song *Ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću*, Mladen Vojičić - Tifa also dedicated a song to a part of Sarajevo called *Grbavica*. The suburban district Grbavica is located on the other side of the Miljacka river and the parliamentary assembly of B-H. At the beginning of the war VRS forces took over the neighbourhood, but never succeeded in splitting the city in two (Andreas 2004: 36). Basically, Grbavica was a besieged part within the besieged Sarajevo, and its residents could not leave the area. The song *Grbavica* was recorded in 1993. Dragan Jokić wrote the lyrics, Mustafa Ćizmić composed the melody. In 1997, Tifa recorded an album named *Grbavica*, which includes the eponymous song. The album and the song became very popular. Because the lyrics mention the football stadium Želja in the lines “and then, I am looking at the Želja stadium, and I see you, my pride. I would give my life, but not you /.../”, the song *Grbavica* became the unofficial anthem of the football club *FK Željezničar Sarajevo*. The lyrics also mention the Bristol hotel, another landmark of the Grbavica, and the Miljacka river, the river that separates Grbavica from other parts of Sarajevo.

The Third Corps art unit dedicated one song to another landmark in Sarajevo. The song *Sijećanja na Vijećnici* sings about the former city hall and national library. This large and representative building was built under the Austro-Hungarian administration in the period between 1891-1896 in a pseudo-Moorish style. Until 1949 it was the seat of the city’s administration and afterwards became the National and University Library. Those days were also remembered in the song, as *Vijećnica* was called *majka znanja* (the mother of knowledge) because it stored about 1,5 million volumes and over 155,000 rare important books and precious manuscripts (Kurspahić 1993: 12). This stylistic figure is called a comparative reference, where the identity of the presumed item is retrieved not because it has already been mentioned or will be mentioned in the text, but because an item with which it is being compared has been mentioned (Paltridge and Hayland 2012). The song also describes the time when *Vijećnica* was bombarded and burned to the ground on 25 August 1992. The ending of the song is optimistic,
saying the building will rise like a phoenix which indeed happened in 2014 when the renovation was finished\textsuperscript{124}.

7.4. CATEGORY D: PEACE

According to Ozren Kebo, peace is a temporary state between to wars (Kebo 2016: 111) and according to Ivana Maček, the main difference between peacetime and wartime is “that in war death and destruction are massive and unremitting” (Maček 2009: 34). Their explanations are universal and can be projected to the whole world. A similar thing can be said about songs about peace. They have a long history, but they became popular with the development of mass media and popular music in general. John Lennon wrote one of the most popular and well-known peace songs in 1969 - \textit{Give a peace a chance}. The song soon became an anthem of the American anti-war movements and protests against the war in Vietnam. When 40,000 Serbian protesters marched the streets of Belgrade on 9 March 1991, they also sang this song. At the same time, they demanded that Milošević steps down (Ramet 2002: 61).

We can differentiate peace songs written from the position of someone that was directly involved in the war and the position of those who were not. For example, John Lennon was lying in bed while singing the song. In this case the perception of peace is different from how people who composed songs about peace in the middle of war experienced peace. As Maček observes, the “civilian” mode of thinking about the war is characterised by the perception that war is opposite to peace, where peace is considered the normal way of living, without unacceptable destruction, fear and death that characterise wartime (Maček 2001: 198). According to Botstein, listening to music during the times of war reminds the listeners about the conditions of life they yearn, for example freedom and peace (Botstein 1991: 127).

Protesters usually sang peace songs when demanding peace. In the beginning of the 1990s several protests were organised in Yugoslavia. In addition to the already mentioned demonstrations in Belgrade that were accompanied with peace songs \textit{Give a peace a chance} and \textit{Mir brate mir}, an independent Yugoslav TV channel Yutel\textsuperscript{125}, organised the event \textit{Yutel za mir} (Yutel for peace) in Sarajevo on 28 July 1991 (Perković 2011: 52-53; Kurspahić 2010: 77). The concert was seen as a protest against the war that was already raging in Croatia. Several

\textsuperscript{124} The grand reopening of \textit{Vijećnica} happened on 9 May 2014, a day that marks the victory over fascism and is the official Day of Europe. With this gesture Bosnians again wanted to show that they are part of Europe and that the war was – in addition to being a genocidal territorial attack on B-H people - also an attack on Europe.

\textsuperscript{125} The Federal TV station Yutel was founded in October 1990 with the aim to restore and recreate the endangered Yugoslav identity (Volcic 2011: 101). After losing its office in Belgrade, Yutel moved the main studio to Sarajevo (Thompson 1999: 36). This act was labelled as treason in both Serbia and Croatia (Milošević 2000: 115).
popular musicians and bands performed, among them Bosnian singers Goran Bregović, Dino Merlin, Nele Karajlić, and bands Plavi orkestar, Crvena jabuka and Indexi, Serbian bands Bajaga i Instruktori, EKV, the Croatian singer and actor Rade Šerbedžija, and others. Sarajevans also protested for peace on 5 April 1992. Around 100,000 people shouted mi smo za mir (we are for peace) (Kurspahić 2010: 119). What followed, changed the socio-cultural, political and economic situation in all countries involved in the war.

On the cultural and musical scene, artists had to take a stand. It was expected from them to choose whom they believe and with whom they share the same ideas (Perković 2011: 61). In Serbia, opponents of Slobodan Milošević did not do well. Many, once Yugoslav musicians, got a national label after the dissolution and they were expected to sing songs about Serbia/Croatia/B-H and not about Yugoslavia, the partisans or Tito. But not everyone wanted that. For example, Željko Bebek and Đorđe Balašević continued to praise Tito and Yugoslavism (Ramet 2002: 131-2), and demonstrating they were against the Serbian occupation of B-H and Croatia. Consequently, they were seen as persona non-grata in Serbia.

In B-H, especially in the besieged Sarajevo, all cultural events had an anti-war message, be it a concert, an exhibition, a beauty pageant, or the staging of the anti-Vietnam war musical Kosa (Hair) (Maček 2009: 56). As my interviewees also said, everything they did was a sign of resistance and a desire to stop the war and live in peace. On the musical scene, peace was not directly represented as a theme in songs, however, most of the time the indirect desire for peace was expressed. Among the art units, the Third Corps art unit composed and performed one song about peace, whereas the First Corps art unit did not compose any.

Table 9: List of songs from category D: Peace

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Art unit</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Composer/Lyrics</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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126 Goran Bregović was born in Sarajevo and was a founder of the group Bijelo dugme. He was a supporter of the communist party (SKJ), and during the 1990 elections he was, similarly as the film director Emir Kusturica, singer Nele Karajlić and singer Branko Đurić, a supporter of Ante Marković's Union of Reform forces of Yugoslavia (SRSJ) that got only 8.9 per cent of the votes. This political party won the mayor election in Tuzla, a city in North-East B-H that was known for its non-ethnonational political orientation. Bregović went into exile in Paris in 1992, but he always described himself as Yugonostalgic and foresaw the war based on the behaviour of the public on his concerts (Pettan 1998: 9).
Olgica Bajramović recorded the only song about peace, singing about Zenica and Bosnia. In the song *Pjesma mira* she describes them as a home, wishing peace and happiness to everybody. The song also addresses the *dušman* (enemy), saying he should listen to her song now because he will not hear it in the future. When peace comes, songs about peace are no longer needed.

Peace is not just a matter of the armed forces, but often intimately touches every civilian whose life is disrupted by the threat of war. Because all activities taken up by the civilian artists and people living in B-H were dedicated to promoting peace, the army art units focused on other priorities, like making sure that the soldiers continue to feel motivated while the enemy is attacking. As my interviewees pointed out, every event, concert, exhibition, that was organised during the war in every B-H city was directly and indirectly calling and hoping for peace, which explains why only one song produced by Third Corps art unit directly addresses peace as a theme.

### 7.5. CATEGORY E: SEVDALINKA

According to Kozorog and Bartulović, many scholars and interpreters of *sevdalinka* have tried to explain the essence of this music genre but have regularly failed (Kozorog and Bartulović 2016: 173). Therefore, everyone presented a different explanation of what *sevdalinka* is. I do not follow the definition that describes *sevdalinka* as a traditional Muslim urban song, associated with the Bosnian tradition that dates back to the era of the Ottoman Empire (Muhović 2010: 20; Vidić Rasmussen 1996: 104), which was the most common definition, but I do agree with Kozorog and Bartulović (2016), that *sevdalinka* is “regional music” that was known throughout the Balkan peninsula and cannot be only associated with the Muslim urban population. My interviewees, Hasiba Agić and Ljubica Berak, both very successful *sevdalinka* interpreters, explained their views on this music genre and their words reflects the practice of *sevdalinka* and not just the theoretical results proposed by scholars. Hasiba Agić said:

> *Sevdalinka* is everyone’s song, and was not performed only by Muslims. An Orthodox poet from Bosnia, Aleksa Šantić, was a great example of a non-Muslim *sevdalinka* composer. He wrote one of my favourite *sevdalinka* - *Emina*.

One interviewee shared a very simple definition of the genre, ignoring the geographical dimensions and saying “Bosna = *sevdalinka* = love”. Another interviewee explained:

> *Sevdalinka* is an ethno-love song typical for the territory of B-H. It sings about war heroes from the time of the Ottoman Empire, but later it developed into a love song.
Because *sevdah* means love. I think it was a sort of erotic poetry back then, or at least a way for men to show their love to a woman.

The name *sevdalinka* originates from the Turkish word *sevda*, and has several meanings - love, desire, melancholy, passion, intense longing, spleen and black bile (Laušević 1996: 123; Vidić Rasmussen 2007: 78; Pennanen 2010:78). *Sevdalinka* interpreter Damir Imamović explained it as “an ordinary Turkish word for love” (Imamović 2017: 9). Mostly *sevdalinka* mirrors the everyday habits of people, for example women gathering by the fountain to collect water. It pictures and describes lived circumstances, for example, young girls waiting next to the *demirili pendžer* (wooden bars on the windows) and secretly listening to the songs their suitor sing to them. Many *sevdalinka* sing about *mahala*¹²⁷ - the gardens behind the houses with blooming flowers, cafés or marketplaces where men gathered. They also sing about love between men and women, describing desire and pain, the bewitching beauty of individual female figures covered in veils, and unfulfilled love (Bajrektarević and Hemetek 1996: 93). Often *sevdalinka* were based on real historical events that took place in various towns in B-H. Ethnomusicologist Vlado Milošević describes that sevdalinka melodies are characterised by:

> The interval of the augmented second, Mixolydian, major and harmonic minor scales with final on the second decree, chromatic alternation, melismas and long phrases with a wide melodic range. (Milošević 1964: 32)

First, the long-neck lute called *saz* accompanied *sevdalinka* (Laušević 1996: 123). This instrument was later replaced with the accordion or the tamburizza ensemble. If *sevdalinka* was primarily to be sung in the private sphere of one’s home, with the development of electronic media, *sevdalinka* became the genre that relied on the singer's interpretation of the song, and not everyone could put emotions in the song. Because of that, those who were able to interpret *sevdalinka* in the most authentic way became very popular interpreters in B-H and abroad. Himzo Polovina, Zaim Imamović, Emina Zečaj, Beba Selimović, Ljubica Berak, Safet Isović, Meho Puzić, Zehra Deović are just some of the performers, who also recorded *sevdalinka* for the archives of the Music production of Radio Sarajevo that was established after WWII (Karača Beljak 2005: 172). Additionally, musically trained employees “prepared *sevdalinka* both for singers with orchestral accompaniment and for vocal groups, and even for multi-part (i.e., polyphonic) interpretation” (Karača Beljak 2005: 172). Being invited to sing *sevdalinka* for the archive was a great honour for all *sevdalinka* performers and both art unit members I

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¹²⁷ Arab for the residential part of the town, neighbourhood, usually with narrow alleys.
interviewed, Ljubica Berak and Hasiba Agić recorded several sevdalinka and started their careers in this way.

Already in the 1980s sevdalinka lost its popularity because new genres flooded the music scene. Avdo remembers that many sevdalinka interpreters turned to other genres in order to earn money. He said:

Safet Isović recorded two albums of most popular sevdalinka before the war, but that did not help much, people listened to other genres before the war. But during the war, the situation changed.

From the beginning of the war in 1992 and through all the war years sevdalinka became more and more associated exclusively with the urban Muslim population in B-H and became a symbol of identification, not just for people in B-H, but also for those living abroad. Vidić Rasmussen described this as a process of cultural authentication that went through wholesale nationalisation (Vidić Rasmussen 2007: 77). Although I see her statement about authentication problematic, statements from my interviewee demonstrate that the majority of them considered sevdalinka as genuine Bosniak traditional song. Moreover, even sevdalinka performers started to be seen as carriers of Muslim religion and tradition. Because sevdalinka was performed at religious manifestations and became part of the religious holiday TV programme (as did ilahija and kasida) it was even more strongly associated with Islam (Muhović 2011: 85). Singing about beautiful B-H cities and nature, sevdalinka transformed into patriotic song (Karača Beljak 2008: 133). As the ethnomusicologist and sevdalinka performer of the younger generation Vanja Muhović (2010) wrote, during the war sevdalinka became the symbol of resistance. Bosnian national radio and television greatly contributed to that, broadcasting sevdalinka on a daily basis. Consequently, it became more popular, as one interviewee noticed. Due to its popularity even art units performed it. Samir Zavlan said:

Yes, we performed sevdalinka. Those are love songs; they do not insult anyone. They were always well accepted because the lyrics are about flowers, love, different cities. Sevdalinka are old Bosnian songs. And among our members were some very good sevdalinka interpreter, so it would be silly, not to use their talent.

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128 Such example was one of the leading performers and collector of sevdalinka, Emina Zečaj. Because of her religiousness, which she wanted to keep private, but did not succeed, she was labelled as the icon of sevdalinka because of her religion (Kozorog and Bartulović 2016: 170). When she recorded a rich repertoire of sevdalinka, accompanied by the sazlija (saz player) Mehmed Gribajčević, during the war this label was sealed (Imamović 2017: 138).

129 Kasida is a Muslim religious song often translated as ode.
Zavlan never considered *sevdalinka* as the symbol of resistance or a sign of national identity. For him, this was a song that was well accepted among his audience and was therefore often performed.

Only ten per cent of all songs that the art units recorded were *sevdalinka*. Interviewees claimed many more were performed spontaneously among soldiers on the front line or among the wounded lying in hospitals, often relating this with the function of music as cure. But the thesis analyses only songs that were recorded on tape cassettes. Altogether, seven *sevdalinka* were recorded and from these seven, *Šehidski rastanak* was already discussed in the section *šehidi* (Subcategory B3). Nusreta Kobić performed the first six songs and Hasiba Agić performed the last analysed *sevdalinka*. It was already mentioned that Nusreta Kobić recorded a tape cassette *Nema ljepše knjige od Kur’ana* in 1995, with all six *sevdalinka* featured on it. The following table lists six songs, their authors, singers, the year they were produced, and the art unit that produced them.

Table 10: List of songs from category E: *Sevdalinka*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Art unit</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Composer/Lyrics</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1.  | Kad sam mlada, da sam voda hladna  
(When I Am Young I Want To Be a Cold Water)\(^{130}\) | 3\(^{rd}\) Corps | N. Kobić | O. Pobrić/ trad. | 1995 |
| 2.  | Preljetela šarka ptica  
(A Mudhen Bird Flew Over) | 3\(^{rd}\) Corps | N. Kobić | O. Pobrić/ trad. | 1995 |
| 3.  | Koliko je širom svijeta  
(How The World is Wide) | 3\(^{rd}\) Corps | N. Kobić | O. Pobrić/ trad. | 1995 |
| 4.  | Šećer Mujo i besjede tvoje  
(Dear Mujo and Your Words) | 3\(^{rd}\) Corps | N. Kobić | O. Pobrić/ trad. | 1995 |

\(^{130}\) Due to its archaic language and specific grammatical structures *sevdalinka*'s titles are very difficult to translate into the English language.
The sevdalinka *Kad sam mlada, da sam voda hladna* is very old and neither the author of the lyrics or the melody are known. Because of its lively and optimistic melody and honest lyrics every sevdalinka interpreter sang it, including Hanka Paldum and Hasiba Agić. The sevdalinka is about the yearning of a girl. She wishes that she would be a cold water spring near the shop of her beloved Ahme so that he could quench his thirst. Another sevdalinka, *Poljetela šarka ptica* narrates a conversation between a bird and a noble-woman Hamzi-begovia about the important work this woman had done. She married all of her children to good families and even her husband married another woman. The next sevdalinka, *Koliko je širom svijeta*, was first recorded in 1969 by Zaim Imamović. Later, many male and female sevdalinka interpreters sang the song as well. The song is a personal declaration of an orphan who was crying over her/his miserable faith. Because the lyrics are gender-neutral this sevdalinka could refer to either a male or a female orphan. *Sevdalinka Šećer Mujo i besjede tvoje* is a typical love song describing a female character that would do everything for her beloved to fulfil his needs. Last but not least in my analysis is the sevdalinka *Gorom jezde kićeni svatovi*. Beba Selimović first recorded this sevdalinka in 1962. The lyrics are very sad, singing about a young girl that was about to get married but she died before her wedding day. Her last words were intended for her mother: she instructs her to give a gift to every wedding guest and to give the future husband an embroidered shirt. With those words the sevdalinka ends, but in the book *Život i običaji Muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Life And Customs of Muslims in B-H) the ending of this sevdalinka is a bit more brutal: the groom kills his mother-in-law, claiming she cast a spell on his bride, her daughter. After the mother and daughter were buried, everybody went home, leaving not trace behind. It is understandable why such an ending was inappropriate during the war in Bosnia and why the sevdalinka ended at with presenting the female figure as the one taking sacrifices and always thinking of her beloved one. One thing all these sevdalinka have
in common is that they are not related to the war and sing about topics that do not mention the war at all.

One of the characteristics of traditional songs is the anonymity of the composer and/or songwriter, as their names had already been forgotten through time. This is not the case in the last analysed sevdalinka - Crni svatovi - because it was composed during the war. As Karača-Beljak said, this was not unusual, due to new connotations sevdalinka got during the war, when it became a nationalised patriotic song. Hasiba Agić interpreted it, Ibrahim Dedić wrote the lyrics, and Omer Pobrić made the music arrangement. This sevdalinka is very sad: a young girl is crying on the grave and mourning her beloved dead boyfriend. After his mother asks the future daughter-in-law if she really loved him, she responds saying “dear mother, I want to be with him under the ground”, showing her deep sorrow and pain. This sevdalinka portrayed the reality of life during the war in which a lot of young men lost their lives, leaving behind girlfriends, wives, mothers, children. With this positioning of gender roles, the sevdalinka is another example of gendered nationalism.

7.6. CATEGORY F: ENGLISH SONGS

B-H and Sarajevo had a very rich music history and as soon as the war began, musicians actively participated in the cultural resistance. There were not many songs in English in any of the countries involved in the war. The reasons for that were unknown to my interviewees. Younger interviewees mentioned that some alternative bands made songs in English, but throughout the war, one song was very popular: Help Bosnia now.

Among the inhabitants of B-H the knowledge of foreign language, especially English, was increasing because many families hoped that this would help them go abroad (Demick 2012: 94). Speaking a foreign language was an advantage when communicating with or working for UNPROFOR, NGOs, and journalists, who often needed translators while staying in B-H. It turns out that English was more popular among alternative bands on the music scene in Sarajevo and Zenica and as Jeffs notes, the question of language and the choice of genre were both very important (Jeffs 2005: 8). When alternative bands performed at the event Rock under siege the members of the group D. Throne said they sang in English because the hoped this would evoke the interest of the world's population. Additionally, the English language was seen as a neutral language that was not tied to nationalisms that were implicitly connected to the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian language.
Table 11: List of songs from category F: English songs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Art unit</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Composer/Lyrics</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Help Bosnia Now</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>Grupa izvođača</td>
<td>Ser Žan/Group of singers</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frontman of the group *Crno vino* Ser Žan proposed the project *Help Bosnia Now* in 1992 with a desire to record a song. Many Sarajevan musicians, including Mladen Vojičić - Tifa, Davorin Popović, Igor Žerajić, Miro Asotić, Ismeta Krvavac, Dražen Zerić, Sretko Vujic, Naško Budimilić, and others cooperated in the project, trying to gain the attention of the international community. They were using music as a means of attracting attention and calling for help directed towards the international community (Pettan 1998: 13). They recorded the song *Help Bosnia Now* in which the lyrics pose questions about why all the infrastructure, cultural heritage and natural beauties of Bosnia-Herzegovina had to be destroyed. Directly urging “save Bosnia now, and save Bosnian people”, they are asking for help, and furthermore, the lines “you cannot only watch and pray” refer to the UNPROFOR soldiers who came to B-H in 1992. Bosnians thought the UNPROFOR was tasked to protect them, too, not just the humanitarian workers and the relief supplies (Rieff 1995: 140-1; Andreas 2009: 21). The song also directly addresses the JNA saying, “I cannot understand the army, which burst down its own country”, referring to its transformation to VRS. As Volcic writes, the JNA “had become the Serb army and was under Milošević's direct command (Volcic 2011: 14).

The video clip for *Help Bosnia Now* was filmed in the Olympic stadium *Zetra* - the symbol of the “good old days”, multiethnicity and multiculturalism - that was destroyed in June 1992, when the stadium burned to the ground. The contrast between the peaceful Olympic games and the devastation of war were clearly visible in the video where images of the same sites from 1984 and the 1990s were used in tandem to show peace and joy on one hand, and the brutality and destruction on the other (Moll 2014: 135). For the promotion of the song the newspaper *Oslobodenje* announced its premiere broadcast on the radio on 10 September 1992 at 6.45 pm. In this project two members of First Corps art unit (albeit for a short period of time) participated: Davorin Popović and Mladen Vojičić - Tifa. This song clearly exemplifies that the function of communication (Merriam 2000) with the rest of the world was important and Bosnians and Herzegovinians used all possible means to show the world what was going on in B-H. But it
became clear, yet again that the most important function of the art units and their music was encouragement of soldiers and civilians.

7.7. CATEGORY G: LOVE SONGS

When talking about love songs in Bosnia-Herzegovina the first type of music production that comes to people's mind are songs by Bijelo dugme, Indexi, Plavi orkestar, Zdravko Čolić, and the second type of songs is sevdalinka. According to an URMIPDVP employee several events were organised during the war, in which musicians performed foreign songs and among them many of them were love songs. He said:

Well, our youth did almost the same things during the war as the Western youth did and the West always thought that was weird. At events held during the war it was important to show or to provide the feeling of normality. You know, to show that we are like you. So, the younger singers liked to sing love songs from Indexi or Zdravko Čolić, but also Mariah Carey's I can't live (released in 1993), or Whitney Houston's I will always love you (released in 1992). Those two songs were very popular. Again, we wanted to show we were normal people.

If civilians preferred to perform love song, this was not the case with the art units. I cannot claim for sure that art units never performed love songs, as some interviewees said they often performed songs that soldiers asked for and so that could have been love songs too. First Corps art unit's commander Nazif Gljiva composed two love songs and Halid Bešlić performed them both.

Table 12: List of songs from category G: Love songs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Art unit</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Composer/lyrics</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(The Scent of Lilies Is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N. Gljiva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spreading Through the Field)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Vračam se majci u Bosnu</td>
<td>1st Corps</td>
<td>H. Bešlić</td>
<td>N.Gljiva/</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(I Am Returning to My</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N. Gljiva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother in Bosnia)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among the songs the Thirds Corps art unit recorded, there were no love songs on the tape cassettes. The First Corps art unit commander Nazif Gljiva composed two love songs: *Poljem se širi miris ljiljana* and *Vračam se majci u Bosnu*. And although popular Bosnian folk singer Halid Bešlić performed both songs and he was not an art unit member, I include those songs in the analysis because the First Corps art unit commander composed them. The first song was composed in 1990, the second, a year later. Gljiva said the song *Vračam se majci u Bosnu* announced the defence of B-H and gave patriots an additional motive for defence. He said:

> Then the 1990s’ came. I composed a song that had two titles, one is *Beogrđanka*, and the other *Vračam se majci u Bosnu*. This song became a hit and was released on a half a million cassettes, and people were wondering, “what is Gljiva trying to tell us”, they became suspicious. But I wanted to motivate people.

According to his statement the song was more than a love song because the protagonist in the song decides to leave Belgrade and his Belgrade girlfriend and go back to his mother in Bosnia. Of course, the lyrics could be understood in several different ways and there could have been several reasons for leaving Belgrade, one of which could have been the eruption of war in Bosnia. Similarly, *Poljem se širi miris ljiljana* could be understood as a continuation of the previous song *Vračam se majci u Bosnu*. Interestingly, the song mentions the lilies and a beloved person, whose name could be interpreted as the “beloved one” or Dragana, a typical Serbian name. Both songs are about romantic love between a man and a woman, a topic that was, except in *sevdalinka*, rarely represented in the songs art units produced. The analysis shows that in Bosnian patriotic songs, relationships and social interaction between people were not a common theme.

Not many studies about the war in Bosnia mention people's private and intimate lives. Ivana Maček’s study is the only one talking about social relations. She notes that the war either brought people closer because of mutual interests and similar perceptions of morality, or distanced them because of diverging perceptions (Maček 2009: 79-80). Ozren Kebo notices another phenomenon evolving between people living in the same buildings. He wrote:

> In times of war the basic cell of our society is no longer your suburb, but rather your hallway. Chess, card games, guitar, an odd dance, and endless discussions about women and military interventions. A new phenomenon: hallway love. Before the war, it was unimaginable for two people living in the same hallway to become involved. In 1992,
people were condemned to such combinations since the hallway was the only form of social life. (Kebo 2016: 57)

Maybe my interviewees were too young or too old at the time to think about love, or simply did not want to share stories of their love life with me. But surely love and sexual relationships were part of the everyday life, even in the middle of the war. Often sexuality is a taboo in patriarchal societies and as Iordanova (2011) writes, female sexuality was traditionally interpreted as passive and submissive, while male sexuality was exploitative, violent and excessively carnivorous (Iordanova 2011: 204). None of the interviewees talked about it, or even mentioned it, but as Kesić states, sex and sexuality were a common morale booster for the soldiers coming back from the front, performing the image of masculine fighters, while women were there to satisfy their sexual desires (Kesić 1999: 191-2). Among the civilian population in the cities, sex became a means of business: numerous brothels, pornographic shops and striptease clubs were opened all over Bosnia, usually close to UNPROFOR bases because foreign soldiers and military staff had money that Bosnians urgently needed in order to survive (Kesić 1999: 191). But these survival strategies Bosnians practiced were far away from the idea of love that Gljiva presented and promoted in his songs.
8. CONCLUSION

My first encounter with the topic of “music and war” goes back into my undergraduate studies. Then I realised that the topic was (and still is) a very popular field of research among scholars (for example Pieslak 2009; Sugarman 2010; Sullivan 2007; Baker 2010), because “throughout history, music has often inspired soldiers for combat” (Pieslak 2009: 46), and in one way or another, it always found its ways into scholarly literature. Despite that, it was very difficult to find materials that would focus on the specific country, and the specific time frame that interested me the most – Bosnia-Herzegovina in the period from 1991 to 1995. In the past thirty years, scholars like Ivana Maček (2007; 2009), Carol Mann (2006), Nikolai Jeffs (2005), Ivan Čavlović (2001), Mirjana Laušević (1996; 2000), Xavier Bougarel (2007), and Marko Attila Hoare (2004) contributed their knowledge and ideas towards the development of the research field about the music and war in B-H.

When researching patriotic songs, several functions of music came to forefront. Different scholars (Raskin 1991; Hadžihusejnović-Valašek 1998; Kalinga Dona 2009) already proposed classifications and interpretations of these functions, but ethnomusicologist Svanibor Pettan (1998) developed the categorisation of functions of music that had the biggest influence on the thesis. He says that patriotic music can encourage, provoke and call for help (Pettan 1998). But of course, that was not the only reason patriotic songs were composed. A lot of individuals poured their feelings and emotions into songs, and some of them later became very popular. Their primary intent was not to satisfy political agendas, or to express agreement with them, but to release their own personal traumas and feelings, using the healing power of music. I call this function of music “music as a cure” (Hamer 2013).

Above mentioned research also motivated me to further examine this aspect of cultural production in times of war in B-H, and try to answer the research question with two case studies, focusing on music in the army. This thesis is an attempt to bridge the gap between the cultural production in multi-ethnic societies and the constriction of national identity in times of war. The explanation and contextualisation of the existing gap is based on two case studies that focus on music production of patriotic songs of two ARBiH art units - one in Sarajevo and one Zenica during the war (from 1991 to 1995). Additionally, it also addresses, how political authorities supported this cultural production. In order to examine this, the thesis analyses the production of popular patriotic songs and catalogues them into seven categories. My main research focus encompasses two case studies: the Sarajevan art unit (First Corps art unit) and the Zenica art unit (Third Corps art unit). These two case studies were chosen to avoid centralising tendencies.
that predominately focus on the capital city of B-H, Sarajevo, not just in the scholarly discourse, but also in the media. Studying the work of the Third Corps art unit, I demonstrate that the cultural and music production in other B-H cities was as lively as in Sarajevo. Another reason for analysing these art units and their music was also to study their impact on everyday life during the war. As Povrzanović notes, everyday life during war-time is essentially different from everyday life in times of peace, which influences the cultural and music production and distinguishes it from peace-time production (Povrzanović 1993: 122). Therefore, the thesis examines this “essentially different” music production of patriotic songs in relation to construction of national identity in B-H.

In the first chapter of the thesis, I define the research question and present the theoretical background. In this interdisciplinary approach concepts of cultural production, popular music, functions of music meet the concepts and theories of nation- and state-building and collective memory. The basic theoretical approaches are enclosed within the literature review where I elaborate on how this research fits into the existing literature. Chapter two presents the methodology I used and elaborates on the importance of combining anthropological methods such as fieldwork and interviews with archival research, data analysis and discourse analysis of song’s lyrics. In the third chapter, the thesis first explores the development of cultural production in multi-ethnic societies, taking into consideration those that influenced B-H music tradition the most. Special attention is given to Croatian and Serbian music production because they offer a historical context and comparison between songs. The fourth chapter offers a general historical and cultural context of the war in B-H. In the fifth chapter the thesis presents the development and transformation of ARBiH because this is important for the understanding and analysis of patriotic songs. A lot of studies present the development of ARBiH, focusing on specific aspects of it (for example Hoare 2004; Bougarel 2007; Delić 2007; Šadinlija 2015; Kurtić et al. 2014), but as it has already been mentioned, none of them focus on cultural production. All my interviewees, however, claimed that this was an extremely important segment of warfare and it contributed to the high morale among soldiers and civilians, and, consequently, the defence of B-H. ARBiH art units performed for civilians and the wounded and its members were equal in status as soldiers fighting on the front line. Another thing that differentiated them from other countries involved in the war was that Serbia and Croatia did not have such groups in their armies. If in the case of B-H, professional and amateur musicians actively participated in the defence of B-H using their voice and instruments instead of weapons, Serbian and Croatian artists in Serbia and Croatia did that outside of the army's
hierarchical structures. The analysis of patriotic songs is presented in detail in chapter seven, where I used discourse analysis and analyse B-H patriotic songs in order to prove that the main features of popular music (mass production and mass consumption) can contribute to the construction of national identity in times of war. The concluding chapter is divided into two parts: the research findings, where specific differences and similarities of two case studies will be elaborated. The second part of the conclusion will present the analytical results that will support the larger research field of identity construction in times of war and/or crisis.

8.1. RESEARCH FINDINGS

After analysing the musical production of both, First and Third Corps art units, several differences and similarities appeared. One of the biggest differences between Zenica and Sarajevo was the origin of the art unit: the Third Corps art unit was established in 1992, while the First Corps art unit, which faced organisational problems at the beginning, was established in 1994. The number of art unit members also varied: the First Corps art unit was much bigger than the Third Corps art unit. In both, members were self-declared Bosnians, Bosniak, Serbs, Croats, and some did not want to define themselves according to the classifications political parties promoted. Another difference was in the recognisability of art unit members. Sarajevo was considered a centre of popular music already before the war, and with the war the centralising forces became even stronger. Many popular musicians and singers who did stay in the city joined the art unit and used their popularity to promote patriotism through patriotic songs. In Zenica, the goal of the art unit was the same, however, the members were local musicians, probably popular only in Zenica. Although Sarajevo was besieged and Zenica was not, Sarajevan musicians had more opportunities to leave the city (and the country) compared to their colleagues from Zenica, and some popular musicians used that opportunity. Both units were in similar situation regarding infrastructure and as all interviewees assured me, they all took their jobs very seriously and professionally. Both units shared the same idea of signing about homeland and composing songs that promoted persistence and optimism of their homeland. None of the units sang religious songs, but they both sang B-H traditional songs sevdalinka. As one of the interviewees said, sevdalinka did turn into a type of patriotic song during the war, and lost its connection to the urban Muslim song. Confirming this interpretation, none of the units expressed Islamic beliefs, however, both units created songs about Muslim fallen soldiers šehidi. The number of those songs was five times smaller than for example the number of songs about homeland.
Seven thematically different clusters define the variety of the First and Third Corps art units’ music production, in which the pop-rock genre met NCFM and traditional music. As it was already mentioned, this music played an important part in survival strategies of B-H inhabitants during the war. My interviewees always emphasised how music helped them overcome sad times, it motivated and encouraged them. The main task of patriotic songs was exactly that - to encourage. All fifty-nine analysed songs were created in order to lift up the spirits. Notably, they did not promote the Bosniak national identity, unlike the political party SDA, but rather, elevated Bosnian national identity, emphasising that B-H is a multinational, multicultural and multireligious country, where everybody wants to live in peace. The patriotic songs that came closer to describing the Bošnjak national identity, based on Islam, were songs about šehidi. In other songs religion or religious iconography was not noticeable. The song Šehidski rastanak was in this case, next to Majka šehida, also the only song that used words of Arabic origin, emphasising the Ottoman legacy and with it, the Muslim religion. Because songs that related to Bošnjak national identity and Muslim religion were clearly not very popular and were in the minority compared to other themes, I see this action as a statement of contradiction to official politics, showing that not all top-down approaches politicians were trying to introduce among the people, worked. As proven by my two case studies, the official music production did not suffer from obvious censorship, but rather from “hidden-censorship” where, as one interviewee said, art unit commanders put a lot of attention and thoughts into decisions about what kind of music was appropriate for the performed repertoire. Another characteristic of B-H patriotic songs was the representation of the nation: B-H was presented as either a suffering nation, or the opposite, the nation of resistance. Bosnian Serbs of Bosnian Croats were never directly addressed in songs as perpetrators; artists used different metaphors and descriptive phrases to describe the enemy. In the song Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada, the perpetrator was addressed as Srbski dobrovoljci (Serbian volunteers), and četnik, or divlje horde (wild horde) referring to HVO, but that was the only example where they were so directly addressed.

Beside the fact that all songs were performed in NCFM, pop, rock or traditional music genres, they did not mention the Bosniak national identity but rather promoted the co-existence of different nations in one country. For example, the song Bosna je majka moja, proclaims: “Muslims, Serbs and Croats are all my people”. Additionally, none of the songs used the term Bošnjak (Bosniak), instead, some of the songs used the term Musliman (Muslim), because the term Bošnjak was not used until 1993, and afterwards it came into general use only after the end of the war. Maiocchi (2009) claims there is a certain equivalence in the use of bosanstvo –
being Bosnian, and bošnjaštvo – being Bosniak, both of which are reserved exclusively for the Muslims and I agree with his claim. During the research interviewees, who declared themselves as Muslims also equated those two terms, while Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats did not do that. Many of my interviewees emphasised that today, 30 years after the war had finished, they cannot declare themselves as Bosnians because this category does not exist among the three constitutive peoples in B-H, but is still commonly used in the everyday conversations. And as Majstorović and Turjacanin note, when inhabitants of B-H declare themselves as either Bosnian Serb, Bosnian Croat, or Bosniak, each category implies consenting to a certain ideology (Majstorović and Turjacanin 2013: 111).

Considering the personal stories and memories of my interviewees, they all made distinctions between nationalism and patriotism. At first, this was visible when they referred to B-H songs, as “patriotic” and Serbian and Croatian songs as “nationalistic”, although they all sang about brave soldiers or beautiful landscape for example. My interviewees saw patriotism as a positive love towards their homeland, whereas nationalism was a negative political ideology, seen as occupation of foreign territory, filled with hatred. According to them, patriotism was a civilised feeling that inhabitants of B-H, who were in favour of an independent B-H had, and nationalism was a barbaric feeling, something that belonged to the aggressor, who tried to destroy B-H’s independence and identity. In everyday conversations, in the media and in patriotic songs this distinction was also visible in words such as “us” and “them”, “our patriotism”, “their nationalism”, “we are civilised”, and “they are barbarians”, which Billig describes as banal nationalism (Billig 1995).

Because of the presence of the 7th Muslim brigade and its volunteers from foreign countries, Zenica was – at least in the public and scholarly discourse - seen as more religious in comparison with Sarajevo and its cosmopolitan and less nationalist outlook. However, my interviewees emphasised that the presence of foreign Muslim volunteers did not Islamise Zenica's society any more than the B-H government and IZ from Sarajevo did. They claim that those volunteers brought their own way of practicing religion, their own habits, traditions and of course music, but local people never listened to it because they did not understand Arabic. Another reason for why Zenica was no more Islamised that Sarajevo was political: Alija Izetbegović became an honorary commander of the 7th Muslim brigade on 20 October 1994, which provoked a clash between him on one side and a fraction of his political party SDA called
Sandžački lobi (Sandžak Lobby or Sandžak Fraction) and non-SDA members of Bosnian Presidency on the other (Hoare 2004: 110-1). This clash proved that even within the political party opinions on religion were divided, which was confusing for people. Since the question of religion and consequently of Islamisation increased during the war in B-H and was later often used as an explanation for the war in B-H, the absence of both in patriotic songs indicate a discrepancy between official politics and local people's narrative. The political leadership officially promoted multiculturalism in the state, but in the same breath, tried to establish a new Bosniak national identity based on Islam. The religious organization IZ was a big supporter of this. In the newly established ARBiH, volunteers and recruits of all national and religious groups were active, but, with time, foreign media and scholars started to claim that the army changed from being a Bosnian to becoming a Bosniak army, in which Islam played an important role. As Ramet stated some Western politicians and journalist referred to the war in B-H as an ethno-religious or just religious war (Ramet 2008: 30) showing their incomprehension of the situation. My interviewees did not agree with these statements, they all said that ARBiH remained multireligious throughout the war. They also emphasised that people did not really care about religion in the first place, and they were critical of Islamisation, saying the political parties used religion for the wrong purpose. One interviewee emphasised the growth or religiosity among people, explaining:

In uncertain and sad times everyone needs comfort, and turning to God is nothing bad. Either God is Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, it does not matter. I noticed on myself that I started to pray during the war. I never prayed before. It gave me comfort and strength.

Otherwise my interviewees assert, B-H society was secularised since Yugoslav times, and forcing religion into public life seemed wrong to them. They accepted the cult of šehid and the annual ceremony commemorating their memory because as one interviewee said, šehid was just a label given to a dead soldier and because many people died defending everybody living in B-H, they deserve respect.

In the thesis the main focus lies on production of patriotic songs and on discourse analysis of lyrics, but in order to give a wider historical context I presented several examples of Croatian

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131 Sandžački lobi (Sandžak lobby or Sandžak fraction) was a fraction of the political party SDA. Its members were mostly immigrants from Sandžak, who controlled most of the municipal, military and political power during the war. Among them were ARBiH commanders Sefer Halilović, Ramiz Dreković and Ramiz Delalić and politician Ejup Ganić. The fraction was very conservative in all matters.
and Serbian music production in chapter three. In general, the wartime music production in all countries involved in the war was rich and diverse. Main music genres were pop, NCFM, rock and traditional melodies. While in Croatia and Serbia one nation-building narrative was visible, and songs projected the idea of a united Croatia or Serbia where only Croats or Serbs lived, the narrative and patriotic songs in B-H were the opposite. They promoted multi-culturalism and emphasised that B-H is a country where different nationalities and religious groups can peaceful coexist. Songs from all three countries mostly sang about similar topics, such as homeland, army, heroes, love, destroyed cities and monuments, and the suffering of “regular” people. As Machin states, “lyrics are not only about artists telling stories but also communicating discourses about their identity” (Machin 2010: 77), which means that in every song different cultural discourses can reveal much about the artists' perception of the world and affects his/her identity.

One can note several differences and similarity between Croatian, Serbian and B-H music production. The most visible difference was the positioning of Croatia and B-H towards Serbia, where both before mentioned countries saw Serbia as aggressor and perpetrator that was usually indirectly addressed. Serbian songs on the other hand, often addressed Croats and Bosniak with pejorative terms such as ustaša or Balija and express nationalistic feelings and ideas of “Greater Serbia”. On the contrary, some Serbian musicians, tried to ignore the war, and sang about unfulfilled love, which is evident in turbofolk songs for example. Some of the Serbian and Croatian songs were adaptations of old četnik and ustaša songs from WWII. B-H artist in contrast, did not use adaptations of partisan songs, but rather composed new songs. This retrospective of old četnik and ustaša songs showed that the collective remembrance of WWI and WWII traumas was still unresolved in the 1990s and that it remained in the collective memory of Serbians and Croats until today. WWII traumas were also present among B-H inhabitants, which can be seen in the vocabulary used in the songs; one song, Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada for example, uses the term četnik to refer to Serbian soldiers. The role and influences of religion were mostly visible in Croatian and Serbian songs, where the Virgin Mary, God and different saints were mentioned in several songs. In B-H songs, religion was not present. Engagement in the “spiritual defence” as my interviewees called it, was very high, not just in B-H, but also in Croatia, which I associate with the re-construction of national identity in both countries. In this reconstruction the idea of defending one’s own homeland was highly developed and also present in the media and consequently, also in everyday lives of Croatian and B-H inhabitants. It was important to sing in your own language because that was
also a way to pass cultural knowledge, spread national awareness and contribute to the feeling of collective identity among one’s own ethnic group.

The main difference between Serbian, Croatian, and B-H war music production was the organisation of artists: The B-H artists were organised into art units, established specifically to fulfil the task of creating patriotic songs. Croatian artists, on the other hand, were also well organised, albeit not into art units, but into different Band Aids and duets that created patriotic songs. Their engagement can be understood as a consequence of both Croats and B-H falling victim to Serbian occupation and violence. Croats and Bosnians therefore used culture as one of the main elements of national identity in order to present themselves as “civilised nations” that stands in the opposition to the “barbaric” aggressor.

The presented findings and the analysis of patriotic songs shows a certain tension between nations, state, religion and patriotic songs where Bosnian national identity faced Bosniak national identity, Muslim nationalism faced Bosniak nationalism, political party SDA and IZ tried to implement Islam into everyday life, but people were against it. The SDA pursued Bosniak nationalism that excluded all other nations living in B-H and at the same time did maintain a “European” narrative which was not so visible in patriotic songs as it was visible in other cultural events organised in Sarajevo and Zenica.

On the basis of eleven different themes categorised into seven categories I conclude that not all themes shaped the nation-building process in B-H during the war. Three categories – A: homeland, C: cities and monuments, and E: sevdalinka – had the major influence on the nation-building process because they were singing about different segments of nation-building. Although, some of them explicitly supported the Muslim nation-building idea, where Muslims coexisted in a multinational state together with other nations, while others indirectly defended the Bosniak nation-building process where the religion was in the forefront. Those songs were sevdalinka because they referred to the Ottoman Empire legacy. On the contrary, for example category F: love songs shows that people negotiated other narratives as well, not just the war narrative. Category B: ARBiH shows how political authorities subordinated state-apparatus and how they tried to use popular music as political tool for their nation-building process. Interestingly, the analysis showed that patriotic songs supported another national identity, as the political authorities desired, which again can be explained with the reason that singers and musicians who composed and performed those songs really just wanted to motivate people referring to the times, when everybody lived in peace and freedom, which was the only thing that was important in those moments.
8.2. ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENTIFIC FIELD

This thesis has approached the matter of cultural production during the war in relation to the construction of national identity from the standpoint of anthropology because this discipline encourages the researcher to conduct fieldwork, to collect materials by interviewing and interacting with other people who have knowledge and experiences about the research topic. It contributes to those scholarly debates that deal with the topic of cultural production in multi-ethnic societies and examines how this influences the construction of national identity. Additionally, it contributes to the studies that specifically address the cultural production during the B-H war. For that reason, I conducted extensive fieldwork in two B-H cities that were presented in two case studies. I explored the production of patriotic songs within two art units of the B-H army - a matter that had not been researched yet - in order to be able to answer the research questions.

This research showed that the production of patriotic songs was enormous, not just in Sarajevo and Zenica, but also in other B-H cities. Part of the research question proposed that the cultural production during the war influenced the construction of national identity and this research confirmed that. B-H patriotic songs promoted the construction of Bosnian-Herzegovinian national identity, which meant, that the religious affiliation of its inhabitants was not important. To elaborate: before B-H became independent, its inhabitants had two national identities and one religious identity at the same time - first the republican identity of B-H, Yugoslav supranational identity and Catholic/Serbian Orthodox/Muslim identity. My interviewees always emphasised, religious affiliation was, before the war, a private matter and was seldom a theme of public discourses. Due to a high number of ethnic mixed marriages in B-H, many people self-identified as Yugoslavs (Džankić 2015), and consequently, B-H was considered more Yugoslav than other republics. With the beginning of the war in 1992 nationally-oriented political party SDA and the IZ started to promote new-born Bosniak identity, based on Muslim religion and tradition, but as the discourse analysis of song’s lyrics showed, the First and Third Corps art units were, although being a part of state apparatus, promoting multicultural, multireligious and multinational B-H. Additionally, personal narratives of my interviewees also confirmed that their narrative differ from the official one.

Combining studies in cultural production with nation-building studies is nothing new, but what is innovative in this thesis is the combination of methodologies and theoretical concepts. Furthermore, the proposed categorisation of songs that I develop in this thesis, points to the
main themes that connect the nation-building process with cultural production. As demonstrated in the thesis, this approach can be adjusted and fruitfully applied to other case studies. This research already indicates that the Serbian and Croatian music production during the war could be explored through this approach.

Taking a step back from the results of the two case studies and looking at the identity construction in multi-ethnic societies as a larger research field, I noticed how important music is and how many different functions it has. This was also noticeable during the Covid-19 pandemic that the world has been facing with since December 2019. Practically overnight, everyday lives of all of us changed drastically, and with severe restrictions (closures of all public institutions, cancellation of all public events, prohibition of public space usage, homeschooling and home-office work) countries coped with the spread of the Corona virus. During lock-downs the importance of music in critical and changeable conditions again proved that music does not only have the function of social cohesion and entertainment, but also provides encouragement and guidance. It gives people a feeling of being a part of something, a sense of being united and connected, despite the fact that everyday activities moved from public to private spaces. Svanibor Pettan notes:

A new kind of music-making appeared. It was an act of spontaneous inspiration made for communication with relatives, friends or total strangers over modern technology. Next to that, were also organised events with foretold hour of beginning, such as the musical events on the balconies in Italy. Analysis showed, the Corona crisis encouraged the productivity among people. In the so-called Corona-repertoire, one can find contrafactum songs, meaning old and well known songs with new adapted lyrics, but also new music songs. (Prezelj 2020)

Svanibor Pettan also draws correlations between the Corona pandemic and the war in Yugoslavia in the 1990s. According to him, a common denominator in both situations were groups of musicians joined together in Band Aids with a common goal - to record a song. He notes the Croatian patriotic song from the 1990s, Moja domovina (My Homeland), was brought to life again in 2020; the same song, the same idea of Band Aid, but new faces from Croatian

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132 The pandemic also affected the writing and the research process and it annihilated all possibilities to do fieldwork in B-H in the past two years. Already arranged interviews and archival research were therefore conducted online.
In B-H, a similar project was organised. The musical production of RTVB-H invited musicians and singers to participate in the project called Zemljo moja (My Land). The response was enormous, as the main idea was to create a remake of Kemal Monteno’s song Zemljo moja from 1975, and to spread positive energy among the people of B-H (Izbor urednika 2020). The accompanied music video was recorded in April 2020 in the style of an online meeting. On the contrary, anthropologist Rajko Muršič sees no correlations between music composed during the pandemic and during war-times. He claims that the music composed during the war has two basic functions. First, it mobilises soldiers and civilians and second, it helps to release the steam and pressure people experience. But I noticed that musicians did sing about their homeland and promoted their own countries, showing patriotic feelings during the Covid-19 pandemic, which was similar to their approach during the war in B-H. In both cases, the immeasurable power of music has shown that it can connect and unfortunately also divide people, societies, and nations. And this research has proven, that the impact and functions of music cannot be researched without accounting for people’s personal lived experiences. This means that interviews are an essential method for conducting this kind of research.

This research has shown that music can be a “means of establishing the identity of the group and supports the feeling of togetherness through a ritualised musical experience” (Pieslak 2009: 55). It also showed that individuals interpret music in multiple ways and experience different functions of music. However, my interviewees demonstrated the same, what Pieslak also noticed, namely “the meanings of music can reach across individual boundaries and create common meaning for a groups of people” (Pieslak 2009: 21).

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133 As a sign of gratitude and emotional support for all the workers, who were “fighting” the Corona virus, several actions were organised all around the world. One of them was performing music from balconies, as people had to stay at home. In bigger Croatian cities this happened on 29 March 2020, when the collective idea, or groupism of people was expressed with the clap from their balconies and singing of Croatian patriotic songs Moja domovina.
# APPENDIX 1: LIST OF CONDUCTED INTERVIEWS

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