„E MOJ NARODE“
THE INTERRELATIONS OF MUSIC AND POLITICS USING THE EXAMPLE OF MARKO PERKOVIĆ THOMPSON

Master’s Thesis

for the award of the academic degree of

Master of Arts (MA)

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Graz, Austria
December 2017
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ABSTRACT

The interrelation of music and politics is neither new nor uncommon phenomenon. Several international examples like Frank Sinatra singing for Kennedy, Oasis and Blur supporting Tony Blair, show that at least some connection between the spheres of music and politics exists. A closer look at Croatia shows that the singer Marko Perković Thompson plays a huge role when talking about the Croatian War of Independence as political topic since the formation of the young Republic. Furthermore one of his most popular songs is played after (international) sports events or at official Croatian anniversaries and city festivals. Repeatedly there is talk about a broad support on behalf of the Croatian society. Does therefore everybody who listens to his music also support the same political opinion? While many examinations focus on the theoretical investigation, this thesis wants to approach the interrelations of music and politics from a different angle. It wants to consider the audience’s interpretation of the interrelations on music and politics, such as on the interference of the singer Thompson into the Croatian political sphere. The research shows that a drawing of a collective answer is not possible and that the interpretation depends strongly on the music consumer’s political opinion.

Keywords: Croatia, music, politics, pop politics, popular culture, nationalism, narrative, political experience, Croatian War of Independence

KURZFASSUNG


Schlüsselwörter: Kroatien, Musik, Pop Politik, Populärkultur, Nationalismus, Narrative, Politische Erfahrung, Kroatischer Unabhängigkeitskrieg
INTRODUCTION

“Za dom! Spremni!” - With this Ustaša salutation the concert at 5th of August 2015 in Knin was opened to celebrate Dan pobjede i domovinske zahvalnosti i Dan hrvatskih branitelja (“Victory and Homeland Thanksgiving Day and the Day of Croatian Defenders”). (Galešić, 2015) It was the twentieth anniversary of the fall of Knin - the second day of Oluja, the Operation Storm the last military action in the Croatian War of Independence. (Silber and Little, 1997: 357–359) Twenty years earlier, on the 6th July 1995, Franjo Tudman, who led the Croatians through the war and became their first president, wound up and kissed the Croatian flag at the old fortress1 celebrating Croatia’s independence. (BBC, 1995 – 1996) In 2015 the singer Marko Perković Thompson (MPT) organized a huge celebration concert in Knin that was previously held in his hometown Čavoglave since the end of war. The city of Knin is not just important because it fell as the capital of the self-styled Republika Srpska Krajina (Silber and Little, 1997: 335–344), but it is also considered the hometown of the often referred last Croatian king Dmitar Zvonimir from the 11th century. (Goldstein, 1995: 430–432)

What is the relevance of a king from the middle ages, a salutation from the Second World War and references to the latest war in Croatia when talking about a pop-rock concert in Knin held by Marko Perković Thompson? The singer is widely known as an extreme right-wing nationalist supporting a certain historical narrative based on Franjo Tudman’s understanding of Croatia’s history that was constructed before and during the Croatian War of Independence. As an army volunteer Marko Perković was active in the first defensive actions of the Zbor narodne garde (ZNG, Croatian National Guard) where he started his career as an artist by writing the song Bojna Čavoglave (The battalion of Čavoglave) which starts with the Ustaša salutation “Za dom! Spremni!”. More than twenty years later and even today at concerts this salutation remains a part of this song. Although highly criticized within and outside of Croatia, the singer is not willing to remove the salutation from his show. Several more accusations towards the singer are perpetual concerning the usage of Ustaša symbols or the spreading of hatred within the Croatian society.

However, there is no doubt that the singer is a very popular artist in Croatia. One of the things this can be noticed by his persistent presence in the Croatian music charts. He has several fans and supporters amongst the clergy, politicians and sport stars that attend and sometimes even participate in the show, such as at the Šalata concert in September 2017. At

1 The scene can be watched online in the BBC documentary “Death of Yugoslavia.” on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DdS9M7oSVQg.
this particular concert *Thompson* thanked all Croatians that attend his concerts for showing “unification” and that “they don’t get impressed by them [leftist part of the Croatians], trying to split the Croatian people apart” - A comment on contemporary political events using historical symbols. The singer presents himself as a spokesman, not just of the veterans, but also of the Croatian people. When watching interviews of concert attendants one can see and hear that a majority supports his political thoughts and statements. Croatian flags are being waved everywhere; some of those referring to different historical stages and can therefore also be contested due to the historical meaning. It is often argued that *Thompson* is supported by the vast majority of Croatians due to his popularity but also due to the usage of one particular song. *Ljepa li si* (“How beautiful you are [Croatia]”) is played during election parties, after (international) sports events or at public festivities, especially celebrating Croatian anniversaries. It is claimed that every Croatian knows at least this particular song and that the singer is officially supported in Croatia. But does that mean that everybody that knows and listens to Marko Perković’s song also supports his political opinion? What does the perception of the audience look like?

This thesis wants to reflect on the interrelations of music and politics in Croatia based on the example of Marko Perković. The singer is popular from the early start of the Croatian Republic and openly commented on several stages of Croatian politics using various (contested) historical references. Open statements are more frequent when there are elections. Especially in the years of 2015 and 2016, where the anniversary of the Croatian independence was celebrated, presidential and governmental elections took place, the singer openly commented on politics repeatedly. Interrelations between music and politics are nothing new and can be detected in several countries and time periods. A merger of those two spheres seems sensible from the perspective of politicians that are supported by celebrities. This celebrity diplomacy is just one of many powerful tools of pursuing political goals. Several examples show the effect of the fusion of the political domain and the music scene: the most popular examples appeared in the United States with Frank Sinatra singing for John F. Kennedy, Bob Dylan engaging for Jimmy Carter and the Beach Boys supporting Ronald Reagan. Those examples show that celebrity politics is possible in two different ways – politicians that use music for their political interest and musicians that engage within politics. This means that the relationship goes both ways. (Street, 2012: 2–4) Taking a closer look at those two domains, one might think about propagandistic music or the censorship of artistic pieces, musicians that play concerts for politicians or election campaigns, perhaps one might even think of politicians gathering around artists. All those examples show links between
music and politics, which together represent the interrelation of those fields. (Street, 2012: 1–8) Music can be further considered as an attitude or in Bogojeva-Magzans words as “a product of human behavior in time and space”. It does not just show “causality between music and human behavior” but can be further approached as a historical evidence. (Bogojeva-Magzan, 2005: 43)

Music can be approached beyond its artistic creation of sound too – it can be investigated through text and its experience. Examining the lyrics opens the field not just to the analysis of the words that make up the text itself, but also to the approach of a certain narrative. The research questions according to John Street are, concentrating on the power relations of narratives within political history, but also about the construction of a history and the political meaning that is invested into history. He asks in which ways music can be seen as writing history itself. (Street, 2012: 98–117) In addition outspoken ideological messages in lyrics mirror not only "social reality [but also] political aspirations of both community and individuals". (Bogojeva-Magzan, 2005: 43–46) Especially when it comes to experiencing music with political meaning this becomes an important point.

In this respect the main research question will focus on the perception of Marko Perković in Croatia. How is the singer identified and how are the relations seen between music and politics? Are differences between an active and passive audience noticeable? Are only fans and active supporters attributable to have the same political stance? An important overall question for this thesis is if it can be argued that a certain political and ideological opinion is reflected through music in general. Additionally it is important to reflect on whether certain music stands for one’s political opinion at all.

As Bogojeva-Magzan examined, it is often difficult to identify the meaning of music to its consumers and how they perceive its communication, although it is quite obvious that certain art pieces mediate political meaning. (Bogojeva-Magzan, 2005: 46) On this behalf six persons were interviewed on their interpretation of interrelations of music and politics in Croatia, such as how they would define Marko Perković’s role within this construct. The main idea was to get the voices from music consumers or the audience so to say. Some of the interview participants defined themselves as fans, some explicitly din’t. This thesis seeks to demonstrate that the political opinion of a music consumer does not necessarily correlate with a singer’s political stance. This is also the case for the audience of Marko Perković Thompson.

The thesis provides a chapter focusing on the research question (1.1) and a literature review (1.2) giving a general impression of academic discourses on popular culture, music
and politics, pop politics and Croatian cases. As well as providing a theoretical backdrop (2.1) and the itemisation of the methodology (2.2) the third chapter covers Pop Politics in general, but concentrates on the Croatian context. The general part on Pop Politics will be investigated in the first three subchapters. After describing some Croatian cases, focusing on history and politics (3.4) a backdrop of theoretical approaches for studying the Croatian interrelations (3.5) is provided. Certain theoretical angles constructed by John Street will be adapted to the Croatian case and the example of Thompson. The singer Marko Perković will be examined in a single chapter (4.0), portraying his life and different career stages. The last chapter (5.0) will focus on the interviews that were held with the participants. The empirical part of the paper tries to investigate the audience’s perception towards music and politics and the singer Marko Perković Thompson by collating theoretical and empirical results.

1. Research Question, Literature Review and Sources

1.1. Research Question

This analysis, in addition to the selected literature and the theoretical background, will sustain the research of the perception and attitude of the Croatian society towards the musician Marko Perković Thompson and his political orientation. The anticipation of the theoretical tract on the interrelation of music and politics shows a direct link between the singer Thompson and Croatian politics. Therefore the study can be made through several angles and with different starting points. Beginning with either the music and examining the connections to politics, or the other way around. The question is whether his huge popularity can be linked to the political orientation of the people that are listening to MPT's music. Are differences between an active and passive audience noticeable? How is the passive audience supporting his political orientation? Are only fans and active supporters attributable to have the same political stance? Or how can a line be traced between the political orientation and ideology of Thompson and the people that listen to his music? Important overall questions for this thesis are if it can be argued that a certain political and ideological opinion is reflected through music in general. Additionally it is important to consider whether certain music stands for one’s political opinion at all. This case further brings us to the questions if a particular style of music, or even more concrete, a specific band or musician reflect a political opinion. In this respect it needs to be clarified if a person that listens to a certain musician and/or band shares and supports the same opinion, such as if everybody that listens to a music is identifying with the music (s)he listens to.
1.2. Literature Review and sources

As the research draws upon music, politics and popular culture from the Republic of Croatia and its predecessor former Yugoslavia, several primary and secondary sources will be divided in subsections in this chapter. While the historical background, such as theoretical discourses on music politics and popular culture are very well researched, the perception of the audience is rather under-explored. So far the covered literature is dealing with the audience on an indirect level with the exclusion of actively counting in voices of the audience.

Popular Culture, Pop Politics and the relation of music and politics in a general perspective has been tackled by various researches. Especially the sphere of pop politics has attracted attention. John Storey’s publication “Cultural theory and popular culture” can be considered a basic examination on the definitions of popular culture. The author is basing his examination on three definitions of popular culture by Raymond Williams (1983) and on five definitions of ideology that show cultural theory approaches on studying popular culture. (Storey, 2011: 1–16) Music as popular culture has extensively been tackled by John Street. Besides researching the interrelations of politics and popular culture, the author further investigated the interdependency of music and politics, such as rock being a rebelling form of music. The main focus on his studies lies in the still growing fusion of the political and the entertainment sector, but also on the importance of music’s political power. His piece on music as politics can be seen as a fundamental explanation of the alternating relationship of music and politics. The mediatization process, popular culture in contemporary political communications, music and politics and the rising importance of self-centredness have been covered within this spectrum. (Street, 2012; Street, 1997)

The basis for any dispute about the interaction of politics, music and society in the Croatian case is laid with a highly detailed examination by Catherin Baker. The author covers Pop culture but also rock music in Croatia with focusing on the merger of politics and its propaganda (system) which also includes the music industry. “Sounds of the Borderland” does not just offers an insight in the linkage of the music business with politics but further shows the (sometimes personal) effort of the musicians regarding politics. So far Cathrine Baker covered not just the historical development of the Croatian music industry rooting in the predecessor of the former Yugoslavia, but also on a wide range of analysis of Croatian musical phenomenon. While depicting the chronological evolvement of music policies she also pioneered in challenging the term of so called “Croatian music” by tackling its interrelation and connection with politics, especially when it comes to the formation of the Croatian nation and ideology. With “Sounds of the Borderland.” she created an
overwhelming overview on the development of the Croatian music industry in connection to the Croatian politics. She enables a deeper look into the historical and political narrative that is created by the first president Franjo Tuđman, based on the unification of the fascist and socialist discourse, which eventually ended in the formation and promotion of the composed Croatian identity. Baker connects the analysis to the impact of everyday social life when treating the sphere of music. Additionally she offers a first insight on the evolution of Marko Perković Thompson from the beginning of his career and his interconnections to political topics. Further articles and pieces of Cathrine Baker focusing on music and political changes and the memorialization processes of the war within a musical tradition were considered. The author states that music itself was used for political purposes not just to build a newly composed Croatian identity but also to legitimize the war and its perception. Cathrine Bakers research builds an important basis for this thesis. (Baker, 2010)

On an international scale Sabrina P. Ramet (1994) is to be taken into consideration as her publication focuses on Yugoslav rock music within the context of rock and politics in Eastern Europe and Russia. Pioneering research on Popular Music at the times of former Yugoslavia was done by Sabrina P. Ramet. It offers a rare comparison of Yugoslav popular music and other artistic emergences in this field within Eastern Europe in contrast to the „Western“ music scene before the fall of the iron curtain. Ramet shows that popular music developed in a different way to the western world, as Rock music was seen as a supportive tool for the regime. The author showed that Yugoslav popular music is a knowledgeable field within Yugoslav studies. Her piece is a fundamental introduction for the understanding of the music industry development and general interrelations of music and politics after 1990 . (Ramet, 1994b)

The Croatian development of interrelation and interconnections of music and politics are covered by Dejan Vuletic. The author argues that without including the circumstances that prevailed in Yugoslavia, a deeper understanding of the relation of music and politics in Croatia is not possible. While Marko Perković Thompson is handled as a depiction of the symbiotic relationship by Dejan Vuletic (Vuletic, 2011), Alojiz Ivanišević work on Thompson offers a thankful insight to the concept of the Croatian Values that are highly important for the formation of the Croatian ideology and for the singer Thompson himself. (Ivanišević, 2011) Armina Galijaš considers music as a mirror of a political orientation and compares the phenomenon of ”Turbofolk“ and ”Rock“ in the post-Yugoslav area. The cultural historical and political study sees music and songs as an expression of social phenomenons, like change but also political mobilization, ideological indoctrination or resistance. In this respect songs are
seen as mobilization and consolidation of ethno-national identities within the former Yugoslav context. These identities range from extreme Bosnian Serbs to radical Croatian nationalists. (Galijaš, 2011)

As football is mentioned several times in connection to music which entails a political scope in that matter, it has to be considered in this paper too. Not just the singer himself but also the interview attendees did connect those social practices. Football in regards to society is a well-researched field. The publication “Football and Society” was yet a novelty for the region of the former Yugoslav state. While Neven Andjelić gives an overview of the evolution of football clubs, Dario Brentin shows the formation of a community and identity through the social practice of football including music to some certain extent. Brentin argues, like Alex Bellamy, that football was an important component of the establishment of the Croatian nation and identity. Brentin additionally connects this moment with the formation of a community according to Benedict Anderson such as the influence of the collective memory proposed by Maurice Halbwachs and the Assmans. (Rutar et al., 2014)

2. THEORETICAL CONCEPT AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. Theoretical concept

The primary theoretical framework of this study is based on John Streets’ analysis of music and politics. According to John Street the relationship of music and politics are much closer than it seems at first sight. (Street, 2012: 1) The political scientist uses several concepts for researching the mutual relation of music and politics, such as music policies aligned by a state, political communication and representation, but also political participation and music as a mobilization vehicle. Additionally the author focuses on the forming of history through music which is used in a political manner. The interaction of the audience, including fans and supports as equally important, and the impact of the media are also part of the study. (Street, 2012) In this respect it needs to be clarified who the observed audience is. The study is, as already mentioned, not only interested in people who define themselves as fans, but also in people who are “just” listening to the music without seeing themselves in the sphere of fandom. Fans will either be considered as either “obsessed individuals” or as a “hysterical crowd”, like Joli Jenson suggests. According to Jenson, fans react passively to the artist, follow his ideology, stay in a correlation with the celebrity and the mass media and form an “other” to the remaining audience. (Jenson, 2003: 9–29) In addition the terms “active” and
“passive” audience need to be clarified. Under active audience this paper understand people that actively and on their own behalf decide to listen to Thompson’s music or attend his show. Characterized as passive audience are people that know his songs from the radio or TV and therefore partially listen to him but don’t fall into the above category. Yet the focus lies on the consumption of music that unforceful happens by turning on a channel. It may be that people of the passive audience like or dislike the singer. Yet the difference is that the passive audience does not purposely listen to the music of Marko Perković Thompson.

John Streets construct of separate correlations, all mutually in place, sets the theoretical framework for this study. Yet it includes several other theoretical aspects that cannot be left out when studying interconnections of music and politics, as individual human beings but also groups of people and communities are involved. As the thesis wants to reflect on political communication, mobilization and representation in Croatia through the singer and band Thompson the theoretical focus needs to be led on those concepts. The singer Marko Perković Thompson engaged in politics already during the Yugoslav War in the 1990s in Croatia. One of his first political statements was made with the circulation of his song Bojna Čavoglave (“The battalion of Čavoglave”) during Christmas of 1991. For example the singer introduces an interesting case of the powerful pursuing of political goals in the Croatian political history. For the case of the Croatian singer MPT therefore the focus will rely on the singer himself, his supporters from public and private areas and his active and passive audience. For researching the impact and the reflection of the singer on his audience historical context is highly important too. To illustrate this point, the singer includes the historical narrative of the first Croatian president Franjo Tuđman into his songs that seek to unify the two historical concepts of the fascist and socialist past. The stated narrative is quite common until today. (Vuletic, 2011) Therefore the paper will include the theoretical concept of the “Collective Memory” according to Maurice Halbwachs. As the sociologist and psychologist Halbwachs argues “Collective Memory” is inherent within a society and has to be seen within a certain framework that is formed by a particular group, which can be e.g. a nation, a group of fans or a political party. The memory of an individual again is influenced by the memory of

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2 A selective choice of songs that are including the historical narrative of Franjo Tuđman are following:
Marko Perković Thompson “Dolazak Hrvata”, youtube.com, online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IDFDeu_eVKc (20.08.2017).
Marko Perković Thompson “Bog i Hrvati”, youtube.com, online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eYHiHB3gTlk (20.08.2017).
Marko Perković Thompson “Geni kameni”, youtube.com, online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4DoVM1YHfnk (20.08.2017).
the group to which the individual person belongs to. (Halbwachs et al., 1985 // 1991: 34–71)
This brings us further to concepts of historical narratives which cannot be left out either. In
this respect it is suggested to draw upon the theories of Thomas Babington Macaulay and
Hayden White. Specifically Macaulay concentrates history as a narrative and identifies certain
motives. (Macaulay, 2011: 114–135) White argues the strong ideological implications of
historiographies form certain narratives. (White: 123–157) Therefore, when it is referred to
“historical narrative” this in general refers to the narrative of Franjo Tuđman if not stated
differently. In addition nationalism as an object of the historical narrative needs to be
identified and illustrated for this thesis, as it plays a huge role for the construction of the
narrative itself. As the Croatian nation is too a concept that was mainly formed and introduced
in the 19th century on of the most leading theorists on nationalism Benedict Anderson with his
idea of “imagined communities” will be considered. (Anderson, 2006: 4–6) All the mentioned
theoretical backgrounds will be tackled within the chapters more closely.

The timeframe of the thesis is set for the years of 2015 and 2016. To be more precise
the focus lays on the presidential election of 2015, the memorial day of 5th August, which is
celebrated as Victory Day to its War of Independence3, and the parliamentary elections in
September 2016, such as the 25th Vukovar Remembrance Day in 2016. This period is chosen
as the interaction and interrelation were highly tangible in those years and further build up on
the mutual structure of music and politics in the prior years. The study shall focus on the
Croatian capital Zagreb, as the urban sphere stands for plurality and diversity concerning
social and political aspects and the creation of new social practices which is what the study
wants to reflect on. (Parker, 2000: 233–244) Within a broader context other Croatian places
and regions will be mentioned, as well as the Croatian Diaspora, as those places are related to
the construction of the historical narrative, ideology and nationalism. (Bellamy, 2003)

2.2. Methodology

To begin with the thesis will introduce the concept of popular music in Croatia and the
case of the singer Marko Perković Thompson. To focus on political and social aspects in more
detail the historical context of the Croatian state, politics and music policies will be discussed
within the two mentioned chapters. Additionally exemplary songs, lyrics and videos shall be

3 “Victory and Homeland Thanksgiving Day and the Day of Croatian Defenders” in Croatian: Dan pobjede i
domovinske zahvalnosti i Dan hrvatskih branitelja.
examined. The most important question in the beginning was to define my own position being somewhere in between of a cultural insider and cultural outsider. According to my personal background I could be considered a “cultural insider”, too because of the first contact with the singer Thompson and his popularity due to my constant contact to Croatia through my family in Croatia. Because of growing up in Austria there was still a boundary of actually being a cultural insider, as firstly my language skills are not on the level of a mother tongue expertise and secondly I am sometimes considered as an outsider in Croatia coming from a foreign country (Schneider, 2011) Therefore the methodology of the classical text analysis seemed necessary. In this respect the methods of the classical text analysis of the literary studies are considered, with a focus on context, intercontextuality, codes, reader, aesthetics of perception and vacancies (Eicher, 2010) In addition to the song-lyrics a focus is laid on the videos concentrating on the representation of the band, the topics, the dresses, symbols and the style of the videos. The videos were obtained from YouTube.

To study the interaction of politics and the public with music and the observations, reflections and interpretations of the audience and music consumers, interviews were considered as the most appropriate way. Therefore “Oral history” was chosen as the methodological concept, to study the perceptions of the Croatian society. The thesis does not just follow the historical concept of verifying identifiable sources but mainly focused on the "participatory observation" that is well established within the field of humanities and social sciences. The observations, perspectives and interpretations of the narrators are highly important for getting a larger picture of possible perception of politics and music and Thompson’s impact to the Croatian society. This shows the interrelated importance of an autobiographical, collective and public memory. (Ritchie, 2011: 3–22) As the interest lays in researching how the Croatian society is relating to this argument and if listening to Thompson’s music means to support the same political ideology as the singer does, all mentioned aspects need to be included. Approaching historic events through the perception, observation and experience forms a historiographic approach in between political and social history. It therefore opens the path to research upon historic events, namely taking their aftermath in focus too. The focus of interest goes beyond the incidents itself and has the aim to reflect upon the “horizons of consciousness and mental dispositions.” The personal experience of the interviewees stays in focus. Although there is a strong proximity to arbitrariness surpassing historic level in a certain way, it too offers the possibility to focus on dimensions such as living environment of happenings and collective emotions, such as euphoria and nostalgia. (Mommsen, 2009: 35–37) An approach through “Erlebnis- und
Erfahrungsgeschichte” (the history of experience) opens the path to a horizon of experience and the mental ideologies, but also to certain “cultures of memory” representing diverse realities, such as Maurice Halbwachs and later Jan and Aleida Assmann showed. (Mommsen, 2009: 35–37)

The moving between political and social history by tackling subjective experiences and interpretations strips at the concepts of a history of mentality but also at the already mentioned concepts of collective memory. (Jordan, 2009: 164–171) Oral History as a method opens the possibility to approach the dimensions of life stories, personal experiences and interpretations, memories, reflection on political events and social structures. Those anonymous processes are more narrative and descriptive, rather than historiographical, yet they serve a hermeneutic provision (Jordan, 2009: 164–171). Researching the reflection and sharing of political and ideological opinions according to the affiliation of a certain music(ician) and the representation of life stories through popular culture suggests the methodological approach through Oral History interviews.

In the main chapter “Experiencing Music – Experiencing Politics: Empirical Part”, the results of the interviews will be discussed within the theoretical backdrops mentioned earlier in combination with the social, political in historical context. In this respect data was collected on the perception of the interrelations of music and politics in general and for the Croatian case with a focus on the singer Marko Perković Thompson. The singer MPT was chosen because of his huge popularity and his status as a “home-loving” and “home-country defending” singer. A singer that is ill-reputed outside of the country and pictured abroad and sometimes within the country as a figure that represents all Croatians. (Homepage Croatia Records, 2016; Vuletic, 2011; Kovačević, 2009)

The conducted interviews were held in Zagreb, focusing on the inhabitants of the Croatian capital. In order to assure the plurality and diversity within the interviewees, a focus was laid equally on a balanced representation of female and male participants and a multifaceted representation of age and social statuses. (Schneider, 2011: 51–64) This is important as many people and various sources of media are referring to Thompson as one who is loved by representatives of all social classes, generations and gender. (Schwarz, 2017) A weakness of the selection of attendees is drawn by the reachability of participants. In order to include as much diversity as possible the attempt was to involve people that were simply asked for an interview on the streets. The reactions were as diverse as expected. What many had in common was the rejection to the recording of the interview and would therefore refuse
to be interviewed. This shows that the “recorder” opened a barrier between the interviewer and the participant. The "recorder" additionally had the effect that interviewees were self-editing, although they were showing some concern on perceiving information on the projects goal. This shows the influence and critical impact of the "recorder" even before being turned on. Those elements are taken into account when interpreting the interview. (Quinlan, 2011: 23–36) Interestingly it was easier to find female attendants than male ones. Yet the male interview partners did say and comment more. It further has to be pointed out that the results of the interviews taken cannot be used as a general elucidation, but has to be used as individual interpretations on the topic. The selection of the interviewees was made by choice, except for the already mentioned categories. Some of the interviewees were born in Zagreb, some moved to Zagreb later in their life. The social context differs not just in the birthplace but also in the field of profession. The majority of the interviewees studied or is still studying. The profession of the subjects varied from an Artistic freelancer, over a security guard, receptionist, a graduate of communication sciences to a lector. Some of them do define as Thompson fans, some just listen to him occasionally, some are not attached to his music at all.

It is important to state that the interviews cannot be counted as a reflection on a total Croatian society but only show a small account of impressions and interpretations. Additionally a lack of the interviewed group is that the majority of the interview partners have an academic education and therefore a diverse representation of educational backgrounds is not given.

To make the interview partners feel more comfortable they could choose the place for the interviews, which mostly ended up either at cafés or at work. As the main focus lay on the observations, perceptions, interpretation and opinions of the interviewees, guidelines of Oral History were followed, not to ask more than guiding questions. (Quinlan, 2011: 23–36) The interviews were therefore based on five main questions such as the personal description of the relationship of music and politics, the perception of Lijepa li si in private but also in public - related to the Croatian society. Furthermore the political contextualization of Thompson was examined. What has to be pointed out is that although six very diverse interviews with more than two hours of audio material supply a lot of interesting material, those interviews represent very subjective and individual experiences and interpretations.

The gained material cannot be stated either as wrong or right, but has to be seen as the representation of one’s individual’s personal context. This does of course not exclude that any other person might go in line with the interpretations or in another case would not at all agree on the reflections. In other words the results cannot be seen as an absolute, certain and encompassing study representing the whole Croatian society. The research is more of a
tentative manner. Yet it can be considered as a reflection on what happens in international and national media, politics and music and its meeting points. (Quinlan, 2011: 23–36) An important fact, when working with mentalities, ideologies, memory and remembrance is to point out that precise and systematic categories cannot be defined at any point. Even if a closed and defined circle of persons exist it can in no manner claim equal impressions and interpretations. The results are highly subjective thoughts and feelings and do not stand for a collective group. (Jordan, 2009)

In addition to the interviews, the research draws upon a large variety of primary and secondary sources that are supplied from various disciplines. Among those are historical, political, sociological, ethno-musicological and anthropological pieces. Additionally to academic works on music and politics, popular culture, the Republic of Croatia and its predecessor former Yugoslavia, several Croatian daily and weekly newspapers will be covered. These are also available online⁴. The focus lays on the most popular ones like e.g. Večernji List, Jutarnji List and Globus and Slobodna Dalmacija. Especially Večernji List plays an important role, due to its origin as a state tabloid until the controversial privatization after 2000. (Baker, 2010: 6) The chosen articles are used for an empirical matter such as concerning their value as a primary source for topical debates. Furthermore some musical and lyrical content of Thompson’s songs are examined, especially in chapters about the singer and the interview attendees’ interpretation. Although this method is necessary for some parts of the thesis, there will not be a high engagement of a systematic song analysis. The songs examined in this research are available on YouTube and can be found in the discography enclosed in the bibliography.

3. POP POLITICS – MUSIC AND POLITICS IN CROATIA

This chapter seeks to examine the relation of music and politics and how those elements can be positioned within the concept of Pop Politics. It begins by illustrating the phenomenon of Pop Politics. As music is a part of popular culture the thesis will examine under what definition popular culture is understood in general and how popular culture and

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⁴ Conducted newspapers were amongst others:
Večernji List, online: https://www.vecernji.hr/
Jutarnji List, online: https://www.jutarnji.hr
Slobodna Dalmacija, online: http://slobodnadalmacija.hr/
24Sata, online: https://www.24sata.hr/
music are going to be positioned within the Republic of Croatia. Furthermore the relation of music and politics will be assessed. This will be done by basing my analysis on the theoretical concept of John Street. Therefore a closer look will be taken at the merging of music and politics in Croatia compared to international examples.

3.1. Pop Politics

The phenomenon of Pop Politics shows new forms of political participation and organization, which results in the merger of the political and popular culture. “Mediatization”, “celebritization” and “intimization” are some characteristics of the phenomenon of popular culture, which was broadly covered by scholars like Gianpiero Mazzoleni5, as well as David Marshall6 and James Stayner7. The fusion of the spheres of music and politics is just another aspect of Pop Politics. The growing haziness between the private and public domains can be observed in many countries around the world. It doesn’t matter which aspect is tackled, an example can be found, such as one of the most popular sample of Frank Sinatra singing for John F. Kennedy. The popularization of mainly political dominated topics is earning general interest, like politicians on TV shows, magazines and other media forms is well-known. (Cecobelli et al., 2012: 1–25) Ivo Sanader and Ivica Račan can be considered Croatian examples for popularization. The “intimization” of a public person's private life is another factor that needs to be mentioned within the phenomenon of Pop Politics. It means the display and positioning of private and public live of politicians, parties and celebrities which are connected to each of the other sphere (Marshall, 1997) Furthermore the merging of popular culture domains with interests of politics is a very familiar topic. John Street argues that “the politicians were playing at being pop stars [and] the musicians were playing at being politicians” which just describes it perfectly. (Street, 1997: 3–43) This leads to a desacralisation of politics, through e.g. covering the politician’s daily public and private life in gossip press, like John B. Thompson describes. (Thompson, 2008) This too includes attention drawing on a celebrities’ political attitude. The blurring line between the public and private spheres through the popularization or intimization of either the private or the public domain shows that the examination of popular culture is necessary. In other words, taking a closer look onto popular culture, points out more clearly why a certain music phenomenon, such as a

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singer or a band, should be contributed appropriate attention when tackling the merging of the domains of music and politics.

3.2. The Concept of Popular Culture

Researching within the fields of music, popular culture and politics brings up the question of how those terms can be defined and in what relation they stand to each other. The term popular culture can be defined and configured in various ways.

In the introduction of the book "Cultural theory and popular culture" John Storey argues that popular culture is always defined either implicitly and explicitly which leads to a fluid definition. Popular culture, he states, is a "conceptual category" that can be filled with a wide variety of often conflicting parts. Based on the three broad definitions of culture by Raymond Williams\(^8\) popular culture can be seen as "lived cultures or practices" in a simplified way. (Storey, 2011: 1–16) John Storey further mentions six definitions of popular culture, which vary from people, over work to the social construction. Those definitions are related to the three main definitions of culture by Raymond Williams (1983) and five definitions of ideology. The first definition is summed up as "well-liked by many people". This means that culture is widely favored or well-liked and is related to a quantitative index which is based on the selling records of books, CDs, or the rating of TV shows. This definition is criticized as there is no fixed figure when something becomes part of popular culture. The second definition is described as "inferior kinds of work" and is to be seen as the part of a culture that is considered as a "leftover" that didn't make it to a high culture. This implies some sort of a standard that needs to be accomplished. It can be related to the ambivalence of mass-production where mass stays for popular and the latter for an individual creation. This definition stays in a relation to taste and ideology and stays in a relation to wide argumentation problems. The third definition is quoted as "work deliberately setting out to win favor with the people". Within this definition frame, popular culture is being seen as a "mass culture" traced back to the needs of mass consumption. It is insinuated that this culture is to be seen as a commercial product. It is interesting that the description of popular culture is presented as a "dream world". Yet Simon Firth and John Fiske criticize this definition arguing that around 80-90 percent fail despite extensive advertising. This shows that consumers cannot be seen in a passive role. The fourth definition "culture actually made for the people by themselves" is to be seen as "authentic" culture for "the people". It can be described as folk culture. The criticism comes from the commercial side as it is argued, that this definition

\(^{8}\) Williams R (1983) *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
excludes that popular culture is provided commercially and it does not explicitly show "who the people are". The fifth definition is connected to "hegemony". According to Antonio Gramsci\(^9\) culture can be seen within a struggle of the resistance of the subordinated and the incorporation of dominant interest groups. This can be contextualized within an intellectual or moral leadership. The sixth and last definition sees popular culture as a postmodern category that does not distinguish between high and popular culture anymore. (Storey, 2011: 1–16) According to this definition music is therefore to be seen as popular culture. Not just because of its production (if it is widely liked, like explained in definition one), which would refer to definition two, but as well because of its commercial contribution in the sense of a product, as suggested in definition three. Popular music is therefore to be defined as music that is made for mass consumption and does not distinguish between popular culture and high culture. In this regard a widely recognized and supported musician/band such as Thompson can be defined as a phenomenon and part of popular culture.

### 3.3. Music and Politics – a symbiotic relationship?

The connection between music and politics seems quite straightforward at first glance. Yet it is not as simple as it seems. Following the definition of John Street, the domains of music and politics are interconnected and interrelated on several levels:

"[C]onfusion stems from the thought that music and politics are two discrete realms of human experience and endeavour. One is concerned with the organization of public life; the other with the creative use of sound and the appreciation of its beauties and meanings." (Street, 2012: 1)

As Sabrina P. Ramet states, (rock) music can be seen a useful channel to promote ideology: “The control, manipulation, regulation and censorship of music inevitably tempt the would-be cultural commissars of perhaps any society.” (Ramet, 1994a: 12) By taking a closer look at phenomenons such as protest songs or the censorships of music pieces and video-clips, an undoubtful influence of music into politics can be seen. At the same time politics are interfering with music. In other words, music and politics are in a symbiotic relationship and highly interconnected and interrelated. Therefore it is to argue that music and politics cannot be analyzed separately but need to be dealt with together. In John Streets words, music and politics are “extensions” of each other – music as well as politics can be expanded in their meaning, function and range. The entanglement can be illustrated by further phenomenon apart from the already mentioned ones: music policies like propaganda or censorship, political communication and political representation through music, music as a platform for political

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participation or music as a form for mobilization, music to “re-member a nation” but also for “making history” and “music as political experience”. In any case it is to say that the impact is to be considered a duplex mode. (Street, 2012: 1). Celebrity diplomacy is just one of many powerful tools of pursuing political goals and serves as an example for Pop Politics. Several examples show the effect of the fusion of the political sphere and the music scene: the most popular examples appeared in the United States with Frank Sinatra singing for John F. Kennedy, Bob Dylan engaging for Jimmy Carter and the Beach Boys supporting Ronald Reagan. Also Great Britain contributes some cases: the support of bands like Oasis and Blur for the Prime Minister Tony Blair and the political activism of Bono and Bob Geldof remained a paradigm within this area. Those samples show that celebrity politics is possible in two directions as well – politicians that use music for their political interest and musicians that engage in politics. Again this means that the relationship goes in both ways. (Street, 2012: 2–4) In Croatia the music scene is strongly influenced by the predecessor state the Socialist Federalist Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ), where propaganda and censorship of music belonged to the daily routine. After independence certain policies were taken over and politicians used the pop cultural stage to promote their program. In some cases musicians would play supportive concerts for certain parties. (Vuletic, 2011; Ramet, 1994b)

How does the relation of music and politics look like in the Republic of Croatia? How can Pop Politics be tackled and examined in this Southeastern European country? How can the singer Thompson be positioned within the Croatian public live?

### 3.4. Pop Politics in Croatia – how a musician is shaping a political discussion

This subsection will reflect on the relation of music and politics in Croatia with a wider focus on Pop Politics. During the Tuđman regime the censoring of the music industry and media was a common policy. Especially during the wartime there was a strong control of media and the commerce sector. (Ramet and Søberg, 2008: 21) It is especially important if politically purposed music and genres follow nationalistic themes and rhetorics. (Lena and Peterson: 575–577) Further this is of wider importance as “the media are sometimes

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10 Bob Geldof remains one of the most prominent examples with the organization of Live Aid in 1985. The artist utilized popular culture to spread a generally organized humanitarianism. In this respect Geldof appeared and performed as a statesman. As John Street examines The pop star made himself a spokesman for “us all”. He used images and sounds to bring people together and experience a political topic through music. (Street JR (1997) Politics and popular culture. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, pp.13-14.)

Bono, the lead singer of the rock-band U2, is another popular example of engagement with political topics. Like Bob Geldof, Bono engaged with political ideas and values claiming the representation of people. In this manner the singer would also met up with politicians, such as Tony Blair, George W. Bush, Jacques Chirac but also with Pope John-Paul, discussing certain political and social issues. (Street JR (2012) Music and politics. Cambridge: Polity, pp. 41-42).
[considered] the fourth branch of the government, as Sabrina P. Ramet suggests. Although in the early years there were ownership issues, the state television and daily newspapers, such as *Vjesnik, Večernji list, Slobodna Dalmacija* and *Glas Slavonije* stood under control of Tudman's HDZ\(^\text{12}\) (*Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica*, Croatian Democratic Union). (Ramet, 2008: 47) In accordance with that certain musicians got boosted more than others, sometimes the wind changed for some of them. Marko Perković was one of those, who could by time gain more extensive support, as will be explained in more detail in the upcoming chapter. Therefore it can be argued that the regime was “doing music” and using it as their propaganda. (Street, 2012: 9–40) It has to be mentioned that Croatian musicians had to work in a similar political context before the breakdown of Yugoslavia. The state system aimed to implement their own narratives into communication. For the ones it was socialism, for the others “the concept of the ethno-nation as constitutive people of Tuđman's Croatia”. (Baker: 1742–1743). This narrative too, includes certain “values and principles” in the Croatian case, that were an important element of Tuđmans ideology. The factor of the language within “music as a speech of expression” is therefore to be seen as “the fundamental embodiment of values and principles” and transcends plain entertainment. (Street, 2012: 22–23) Within the Tuđmans era the definition of political values, which are ‘Croatian values’ in this respect, the intervention into media, TV and the music industry show that the relation of music and politics is deep. It further widens the meaning of the power of music. As Sabrina P. Ramet argues, "Tuđman controlled everything". (Ramet, 2008: 33) Promoting something like ‘Croatian values’ throughout music can be described as a perfect example for political communication and representation. (Street, 2012: 41–45). Cathrine Baker states that:

"Culture and entertainment were heavily politicised during the Tuđman years through a range of explicit and implicit narrative from songs which defined the nation in terms of its enemies, history, territory, religion and gender roles, to arguments among music professionals which contested the validity of pop genres depending on how well they have implemented the ideological narratives of Croatia's geo-cultural identity." (Baker: 1742)

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\(^{12}\) Controversies over the party started early. The HDZ was already criticized during the 1980s to be a fascist party wanting to revive the Ustaša state. Critics from Croatian politicians were mainly coming from Slavko Goldstein, Branko Horvat and others. Yet the accusation is also criticized, as many of the party leaders fought with the Partisans as members of the SKH (*Savez Komunista Hrvatske*, League of Communists of Croatia), such as Josip Manolić, later president Stipe Mesić, Janko Bobetko, etc. The reproach stuck. (Sadkovich JJ (2008) Franjo Tuđman: An Intellectual in Politics. In: Ramet SP (ed.) *Croatia since Independence.: War, politics, society, foreign relations*. München: Oldenbourg, pp. 64-65).
The production of patriotic music still existed after Tuđman’s death. Catherine Baker describes its promotion the “most visible interface between popular music and politics [emphasizing] the experiences of veterans from the Homeland War […] as well as the need to revitalise faith in God and family.” (Baker: 1747)

Intervention into the popular culture was identified on different scopes by Dean Vuletic. The historian could point out the impact of censorship in the Republic of Croatia on a different level since HDZ got the leading political party:

“After HDZ assumed power, the censorship of popular music in Croatia was targeted not only at Serbian musical production, but also at songs that glorified the Partisans, communism and Yugoslavia, and at Croatian artists who were not supportive of the regime or were based in Belgrade.” (Vuletic, 2011: 19)

This was especially noticeable as those musicians that openly supported the HDZ had an advantage in production, distribution but also in the radio and television coverage of their artistic pieces, as Svanibor Pettan13 explains. (Vuletic, 2011: 20) With nationalism spreading in Croatia the new state “use[ed] popular culture to reinvent national identities”. (Vuletic, 2011: 19) Already a year before the first elections in 1991 Serbian music was stopped being played at radio and television stations as a reaction to the accumulating political tensions. (Ramet, 2002: 266) As Vuletic describes the refusing of broadcasting of Serbian music as a "first step in a quiet boycott" that was characteristic for Croatian music policy throughout the 1990s. (Vuletic, 2011: 19) Although Thompson was already heavily criticized within and outside of Croatia he did not have any legal problems. Also within the center-left coalition cabinet the government still did not censor Thompson’s music although authorities from other European countries already banned his concerts. Dean Vuletic argues that the lack of censoring MPTs music is due to “his huge popularity and the memory of the repression of Croatian nationalism in Yugoslavia.” (Vuletic, 2011: 2)

The strong politicization of the popular culture found its end with Tuđmans death and the change of government that resulted in the following elections. Media pluralism and [the] transnational challenges of the digital era” faced Croatian politicians. Yet the boosted patriotic music “continued to express an oppositional narrative of Euroscepticism and resistance to the Hague Tribunal.” (Baker: 1742). This has to be confronted as the strong politician did remain. Media was and still is under a sort of patronage of the overall politics. (Ramet, 2008) Although along with the influence of the international market within the music industry also

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the structural changes in Croatian popular music after Tuđman's death remain a turning point. Already in early 2000 the "broadcasting reforms introduced by the currently elected center-left government of Ivica Račan" entailed that television was not dominated by the state anymore. The HTV (Hrvatska televizija, Croatian television) was the only broadcaster with a national concession. (Baker: 1743) Although those structural changes took place, media and journalist remained under strict surveillance. (Ramet, 2008: 49) How the state impacts on media and popular culture in this regard will be tackled on the example of the singer Marko Perković Thompson.

Why is the singer Thompson a popular cultural phenomenon and how can a pop political behavior be determined? Being on the best-selling lists of records and DVD’s since the early 1990s (Homepage Croatia Records, 2016), being considered a “mass culture” phenomenon inside and outside of the national borders, being self-presented as part of folk culture, too within the hegemonial discussion (Storey, 2011: 1-16) the singer and band Thompson has to be considered a phenomenon of popular culture. Additionally Thompson can be considered as an example for political engagement through music. Some exemplary facts will be provided to explain how Thompson can be placed within this context. Basing the theoretical concept on John Streets elaborations of censorship and music policy, the usage and reflection of music through the citizens (Street, 2012: 1-8), MPT unifies several elements of the merging of music and politics, but also stands as an example for Pop Politics.(Street, 2012: 1-8) As we already heard before Frank Sinatra, Bob Dylan and the Beach Boys are amongst the famous figures from overseas according to celebrity diplomacy.(Street, 2012: 2-4) Music can therefore be placed within the concept of mobilization for political ideas. John Street in contrast draws political action into two strands, the political mobilization and musicians that gathered around political causes. (Street, 2012: 2–8) In Croatia, the musician Marko Perković can be seen as an example for political engagement. For a certain period of time, he can even be connected to political mobilization and the gathering around political causes. The singer is widely known, not just in Croatia. Especially within the Croatian Diaspora Thompson enjoys a huge popularity. Yet he is also quite well known for other reasons – extreme nationalism, neo-fascism and incitement of the people. Several journalists and scholars detected the singer as heavily engaged with politics. Within this case the interaction of popular culture, the social environment and the political spheres is very good visible, just as John Street explains. (Baker, 2010) Starting only with these facts a connection between politics and music can be drawn. Not just is the singer supporting political parties, but political parties are also using music as an identification monument for their voters.
Furthermore the example makes it visible that MPT is involved in politics in both activism and political argument, as he is using his popularity to support the authoritarian regime and uses music to give expression to his political view. (Street, 2012: 41–45) Expressing sentiments about the election and the support of a certain party or regime is actively engaging with politics. As the musician MPT involves with politics in two ways: firstly he is using his popularity for support of a candidate/party/ regime, secondly he is expressing his political view in public. That means that the singer is involved in activism and political argumentation. (Street, 2012: 45) Tracing Thompson’s career it gets clear that also his appearance works in two directions – the singer starts by engaging with a political topic and some politicians or parties are using his music for their political interest. This also reflects the mutual relationship of music and politics in general. For the further examination of Thompson the examined criteria of MPT’s the political engagement will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters. (Street, 2012: 1–8)

3.5. Theoretical backdrop on Croatian Popular Culture and Pop Politics

3.5.1. The Croatian narrative and its experience

Narrative as such, but especially within historiography matters, opens the possibility to produce descriptions and explanations of possible contradictions. Therefore writing history is open to non-historians too. Yet several historians use narrative techniques for producing their historiographies, especially those who intend to structure according to certain themes. Themes could be the “rise and decline”, “revolution” or ”the golden age” of let’s say a nation (state). (Macaulay, 2011: 114–135) The narrative too implies a certain paradigmatic structure that is strongly influenced by ideology. (White: 123–157)

In the Croatian example, Franjo Tuđman a former Communist officer, historian and the first president of the Croatian Republic, combined one of the mentioned explanatory narratives into his interpretation of history and was using it as a legitimation of his politics and political strategies. (Sadkovich, 2008: 61–66) The ideological implications can be seen as a historiography that is in every way led by a certain ideology. (White: 123–157) Tuđman was strongly driven by a mixture of conservatism, liberalism and radicalism (Sadkovich, 2008: 59–85) and united the Croatian “historical statehood narrative” within a “thousand-year-old-dream” of a Croatian state with the implications of social practices in the re-imaging, forming and usage of the Croatian nation. (Bellamy, 2003: 20-170.) In Hayden Whites words, it can be argued that Franjo Tuđman is not just followed the concept of an “organic development”, but needed to adapt certain "social rules" and in such create a society through a "radical interference" in a liberal way which eventually resulted in "new general rules". (White: 123–157)
This refers to the formation of the Croatian identity that is a composition of “‘ethnic Croats’, who [speak] a pure Croatian language and [practice] Roman Catholicism” legitimized through the historical narrative. (Bellamy, 2003: 96) In this matter some scholars like James J. Sadkovich argue that Franjo Tuđman was in his ideology no racist, fascist and not anti-Yugoslav but rather pro-Croatian, who saw Croatia within an European context as a successor of the Habsburg monarchy. (Sadkovich, 2008: 65) Just as Benedict Anderson thesis on “imagined communities” shows, through the focus on literary texts, that the appearing of a nation through social interactions forces an image and affiliation to a certain group. (Anderson, 2006: 4–6) The logic is therefore the positioning of facts within a purposed presentation. The historiography too stays in a direct connection to the receiving audience. This is not just bound to a specific trust and convention between the narrator, which might be a historian, an artist, etc., and the audience, but also to a degree of acceptance of the audience. Therefore the narrative is entangled in a cultural pattern of an interpretation of one’s own and its surrounding world and does not necessarily need to be connected to a certain presented “truth”, if one exists. This narrative further incorporates identities of all kinds in a larger context entailing the creation of certain communities. Beyond that, the narrative is bound to a certain time. (White: 123–157) Shifting this literary example of narrative construction into the context of music, it can be aligned with John Streets proposition that “[...] writing about music, provides a way of seeing it as creating narrative, by which identities - national, political, personal - are realized, not just ‘expressed’ or ‘revealed’” (Street, 2012: 116) fits the mentioned interpretation.

Taking a closer look at the singer Marko Perković Thompson shows that the combinations of three elements were taken up from the politician Franjo Tuđman. The “Croatian historical statehood narrative”, certain “accounts on the Croatian national identity” (Bellamy, 2003: 32–104) such as the creation of ‘Croatian Values’, like unity, family, religion, love and love to the homeland (Baker: 1747) were taken up and incorporated within the lyrics of his music and also reproduced within his performances on and off stage. In addition, there can be seen a certain tolerance towards the Ustaša regime that is visible both within Tuđman’s and MPT’s statements. (Ramet, 2008: 41) This marked the “greatest continuity in the relationship between popular music and politics after Tuđman” (Baker: 1755). In addition Marko Perković explains in the interview with Mate Kovačević that he is writing songs that are not just important to him, but also to his ideology. Describing his intent, he shows political interest and political engagement. When writing songs, he explains, he is researching the topics, follows the happenings around them and finally combining the facts to
songs. What is always on his mind is that he made something for his nation and something about what is always forgotten. Important for him is too that his songs always stay in relation to the Christian believe. He states: "We Christians are called from god to shape the world.", and takes this motive as an inspiration for his life and work. (Kovačević, 2009: 21) The intent of creating a narrative is more than obvious.

Through music the passed on narrative is made a place of rememberance and enjoymnt. It can be best summed up as experiencing a narrative and politics by the experience of music. It is in John Streets words, a narrative where “[...] politics is encoded in cultural texts, but also [needs to be tackled in the] ways in which those texts are implicated in the constitution of political identities and histories”. With the merging of “musical experience and imagined identities” music itself can get a “part of a larger historical narrative”. (Street, 2012: 116) This can be explained by examining The Best of collection. Marko Perković Thompson. that was published at 29th July 2015 with hits like Samo je ljubav tajna dvaju svjetova (“Only love is the secret of two worlds”) and was accessed YouTube about 4,4 million times between 2013 and 2014, or as Croatia Records further explains, the “hymn” Prijatelji (“Friends”), which is described by Croatia Records as the “legendary song from the times of the Homeland war” Bojna Čavoglave (“The battalion of Čavoglave”) and the “most beautiful home-loving song” Lijepa li si. (Homepage Croatia Records, 2015a) An even more fitting example is the production of the compilation Antologija. Bog - Obitelj - Domovina. (Anthology. God - Family - Homeland.) with the 57 biggest hits of the singer according to his 25th celebration of his career, which is nearly congruent with the beginning of the war in Croatia. The compilation was published just a month before the 20th anniversary concert in Knin. (Homepage Croatia Records, 2016) From publishing in June 2016 until December 2016 the compilation was in total covering the first place of the CMC TOP 40 domaća (“Top 40 of Croatian interpreters”) for ten weeks, of whom MPT was at the first place for four weeks in row from September to the beginning of October with an interruption of one week, then being at first place for five weeks again until the end of November. (Homepage CMC Croatian Music Channel) The question is how music consumers measure an artist’s popularity? Is it measured on behalf of charts or where, when and how the music is consumed?
The consumption of a music piece can show how it is perceived by the audience through the concept of an ‘imagined community’. For the case of Thompson, even the examination of the ‘imagined nation’ is fitting. Benedict Anderson’s concept of an ‘imagined nation’ argued that “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members [and] yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” (Anderson, 2006: 4–6) This concept works for imagining the Croatian nation in the context of the state or the context of music. While listening to Thompson’s music in private or in public, as a fan or just as a recipient of one song, the imagining of a certain community can come along with listening to the music. This is especially the case when taking a closer look to a concert of the singer and in particular in connection to certain already mentioned anniversaries, such as the event in Knin in August 2015, celebrating Croatia’s independence through a concert of MPT. In this respect a community is imagined an experienced through the narratives, the music performed and enjoyed: the community of Thompson supporters and more widely seen the community of those who consider themselves as Croatians. This explanation might seem exaggerated, but when taking the motivation of the singer himself into consideration, it can be seen as accurate.

A further very interesting angle is the connection to sports. This is present at least through the song *Lijepa li si* which is often played after sports events. Thompson himself realizes the presence of this bond, such as the people who are engaging with him at least through a certain interest in his music or happenings around his figure. John Street explains the experiencing of community and as such:

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“In imagining the communities through music, we also experience them. As Simon Frith (1996: 273, his emphasis) writes: ‘Whether jazz or rap from African-Americans or nineteenth-chamber music for German Jews in Israel, it [music] both articulates and offers the immediate experience of collective identity.’ Music is not a symbol of identity so much as a way of living it.” (Street, 2012: 116)

The experience of collective identity can be explained in short by Maurice Halbwachs’ thesis. Halbwachs argues that the collective memory has to be seen within a certain framework that is formed by a certain group (e.g. a nation, a group of fans, a political party, etc.). The memory of an individual again is influenced by the memory of the group to which the individual person belongs to. Taking a closer look at the perception of the Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (NDH, Independant State of Croatia) state from the perspective of Thompson one can say that the individual and the collective memory as mediators for historical and political expression can be found in the narrative of the joint fight of the Ustaša and the Partisans for the Croatian nation. As both together, the individual and the collective memory denote the process of the mental search of the past one can argue that this happens through the music in the case of Thompson, as he refers to historical events and/or uses certain historical narratives. Maurice Halbwachs furthermore argues that memory is only possible with its counterpart of forgetting. Within the remembrance of the NDH past the common fight for the Croatian nation is remembered, yet the genocides and atrocities seem to be forgotten. Collective memory is therefore a utilization of a common historical thinking with a focus on certain facts, which refers again to the narrative of the joint fight of Ustaša and Partisans for the Croatian nation. Furthermore it includes certain contents but also the reflection of the group. This can only be followed partially as not every individual of the group experienced the historical events. The basic condition of this example would be the music itself, as in Thompson’s songs historical events are seized upon. (Halbwachs et al., 1985 // 1991: 34–71)

The imagining and/or creation of a community in connection with a collective memory leads to social practices like music, and that leads to a certain experience. As discussed in an earlier chapter music can provoke the reflection on the “relationship between ourselves and others.”(Street, 2012: 164) Following this concept it can be connected to the grounds of “emotional life”. According to Martha Nussbaum, who was studying music on behalf of her

15 The Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (NDH, Independet state of Croatia) was a fascist puppet state of Nazi-Germany and Mussolinis Italy. The NDH was governed by Ante Pavelić who aligned the legisaltion with the Third Reich, executing the Nurnberger Laws of 1935 and the persecution of Jews, Serbs, Roma and political opponents, such as holding the most radical concentration camps in the southeastern European region. (Jelić-Butić F (1977) Ustaše i NDH 1941. - 1945. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.)

own experiences as an “amateur music lover”, “profound [...] musical experiences” are to be detected within a music consumers experiences. Underpinning her private emotional experiences with the research of the philosopher Roger Scruton she argues that “her view of music’s link to the emotions.” Therefore she argues that music is a “symbolic representation” on behalf of language and on an emotional level. She explains that the “emotional material is embodied in peculiarly musical forms” (Street, 2012: 167) The experience of music is therefore closely linked to the experiencing of communities. Whereas music can be perceived through a single experience, the community experience needs to be sensed by a collective of several single experiences. Yet the experiencing of a community can be channeled through music. This further shows the importance of the "social construction of musical meaning”. It is implied in real situations of social practices and therefore bearing social implications. (Bogojeva-Magzan, 2005: 48)

As already examined taking upon a certain narrative through text and its reception a “history making” process starts and a new or additional narrative is generated. This is mainly channeled through remembering and celebrating a certain created and/or imagined community. A process of the re-production and making of history is started. If asking about the importance of music marking a certain historical time several factors need to be included. According to John Street the “imagination of a revealing content”, the “identification of conditions and interests around a specific moment” and the interpretation of “sound and images as ‘reflections of their times’ are the three components that cannot be divided, when studying the production of music as history. Prominent examples from the USA are the Anthology of Folk Music, basing on the celebration of the American nation, or the 1969 Woodstock music festival. In this respect history is written alongside with the creation of political ideologies. As John Street states, that “music does not simply recount past, like any other historical evidence” it needs to be asked whether a cultural importance of the creation of narrative can be identified. (Street, 2012: 116) When the war in Croatia started in 1991, the Croatian popular music scene was not just penetrated by patriotic motives, and expanding to fundraising material (Baker, 2010: 20), but also a certain style of war music appeared. This war music among others was strongly characterized by Marko Perković Thompson, who is still related to this specific era through his producer Croatia Records. (Homepage Croatia Records, 2015b) Thompson is a former branitelji (“defender” during the war)17 (Baker, 2010:

17Branitelj (“defender”) had been used already with the earliest months of the War of Independence. It is a universal term for “Homeland War veterans” and helped to “naturalize the narrative of the Croatian war effort
Thompson personified this term and made himself even the spokesperson of the veterans and in this respect has a huge amount of supporters. Marko Perković sees himself as one who remembers and glorifies the past and one who is aware what the “Croatian people had to suffer until now.” (Kovačević, 2009: 20) When examining picture and video clips of his concerts it can be observed that the Croatian flag is not the only thing that is being waved. For quite a certain time, Thompson started his shows by calling Za dom! and the fans would answer with Spremni! which is the Croatian fascist salutation of the Ante Pavelić Regime. Furthermore many youngsters dress up with Ustaša military headgears and outfits but also with T-Shirts showing a huge “U” that refers to the Ustaša-regime. The singer Marko Perković himself is mostly dressed up in black. This is particularly contentious as the color of his clothes can be connected to the uniform of the Ustaša’s Black Legion. (Babić, 2013) In addition flags starting the Šahovnica, the red-and-white checkerboard, with a white square, can be seen across the audience. Although the version with the red square starting was chosen for the new Republic of Croatia, in order not to be connected to the Ustaša state, the version of the Second World War is present at the concerts too. (Baker, 2010: 94) This expands his to Tudman’s narrative of the commemoration and celebration of the NDH at his concerts. (Baker, 2010: 94) The annual concerts of 5th August, The celebration day Dan pobjede i domovinske zahvalnosti i Dana hrvatskih branitelja (“Day of Victory and Homeland gratitude and the day of the Croatian defenders”) in Čavoglave and at the 20th anniversary in 2015 in


18 The exemplary choices of videos are either privately made or official footages of TV programs of Marko Perković Thompson songs:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EmlPYv5doWk&t=2732s (15.09.2017).
19 The Crna Legija (Black Legion) was an elit unite of the fascist Ustaša state, which was known because of their black uniforms. (Jelić-Butić F (1977) Ustaše i NDH 1941. - 1945. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.)
20 The red-and-white checkerboard was generally considered a “restoration of a symbol” by the fascist Independent State of Croatia (NDH), especially by Croatia’s Serbs. (Ramet SP (2008) Politics in Croatia since 1990. In: Ramet SP (ed.) Croatia since Independence.: War, politics, society, foreign relations. München: Oldenbourg. p. 35.)
Knin (Večernji list, 2015e) symbolize the whole remembrance process and can be considered to be a way, place and time to commemorate the war. The yearly tradition of the concert therefore writes history as well.

As mentioned earlier a certain imagined community connected to sports, gives the narrative a further possibility of experience, if channeled through music. Especially the song *Lijepa li si* is often connected to such moments and is referred to as the “most home-loving” song everybody knows and enjoys. (Homepage Croatia Records, 2016) As John Street argues songs cannot be seen as oral history just because they are sung, they have to be seen as a source to study, interpret and reconstruct history. Songs might be seen as historic sources such as documents, being written in a certain time, and being a “piece of a narrative of cultural history”. Still the place and the experience of it make it a “part of [the] present as well as [the] past.” (Street, 2012: 98–116) Street further argues that, “the common narrative which tells a story and creates a map of the invisible” creates a map of a certain area too (Street, 2012: 116) This can be also portrayed for the Croatian case, as an invisible sort of Republic is created. This stays in a certain connection to myths, just as Greil Marcus21 reflects on it. According to him a “mythical narrative” is the direct link between music and politics” (Street, 2012) *Thompson’s* songs and the narrative that he is using are just tackling upon myths, as it is quite popular for nationalist narratives.

“Popular music constantly makes and remarks political myths and cultural reality.” (Street, 2012) *Lijepa li si* significance of reception rises after major sports events, international football matches being the most popular one’s outside of Croatia. The importance of sports as an identity marker and for the creation and establishment of a national identity is not to be underestimated. (Brentin, 2013: 993–1008) Where Neven Andjelić identifies „popular attitudes toward sports, national teams [as] the general attitudes of regimes, ideologies, nations, and ultimately individuals towards their own community“ the particular importance of songs being replayed at such events lies. (Andjelić, 2014: 99–103) Additionally the idea of imagined communities can be linked to football, where an “encompassment of structures, norms, social axioms and values [make sports to] contribute significantly to their social (re-)production”. In this respect it shows the “interdependencies and interconnection of sport and the expression of national identity”. (Brentin, 2014: 187–189)

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3.5.2. Political communication representation and appearance

Communication and representation of politics is not only based on a community that perceives certain messages. John Street points out the role of political subjects seeking for their goals, by giving their political agenda a soundtrack:

"In more mundane political world of modern democratic election, those who seek the popular vote, use music and musicians to brand their political promises, therefore can be argued “music and musicians were the key to political communication (Street 1986).” (Street, 2012: 24–40)

Political communication and representation in the context of music is connected to a communicator that provides messages and in some cases represents a certain amount of people having similar or the same ideas. Yet it is not just the question of communication and representation but also of the meaning of being political. It is a question of writing political songs, using one’s popularity for communication political ideas and values and expressing the claim of representing certain people. This sequence will therefore tackle how political communication and representation is reflected within Croatia according to the singer Thompson. Furthermore it will try to analyze what meaning gets attributed to it and how the meaning of MPTs political enactment is reflected through the audience. (Street, 2012: 41–61)

The power a musician has through popularity is visible not just because of the “communication of political ideas and values” but also, and even more importantly, because of the “claim of representing causes and people”, which is connected to becoming political. This is also connected to the power a state possesses and conveys. If its citizens don’t go along with the states ideology or political path, a movement or solidarity impulse might evolve that is also taken up by musicians. This is what John Street calls the “ability to convey ideas and embody communities”. (Street, 2012: 41–42) Marko Perković Thompson is mainly perceived as a highly political musician that is connected to political topics in several ways. This is covered within media reportages but also within documentaries that examine his life and career. (CMC TV, 2013; Volarić, 2013; Bujica Z1 TV, 2017; IN Magazin Nova TV, 2009) Considering the media reportages such as the interview that was taken with the singer by Mate Kovačević, it can be seen that MPT himself has set the goal to reflect (political) topics that are important to him (Kovačević, 2009: 20) This further shows the importance of the artists’ motivation. Thompson even himself declares to be representing all Croatians. (Kovačević, 2009: 10–29) How music consumers and fans perceive the singers political attitude will be discovered within the empirical chapter.
What John Street describes as the most interesting thing is how and when music gets written or performed (Street, 2012: 44), so it is for the appearance of Marko Perković Thompson. The Croatian singer started his career at the military front. From the beginning on his songs were strongly political filled with messages and ideology. The Croatian values that were taken up more directly throughout his career were already highly important for the narrative of the Croatian state. (Baker, 2009b: 11–14; Vuletic, 2011: 1–19) This can be considered the “interesting moment” that John Street addresses, where “musicians feel compelled or feel able to comment on politics” (Street, 1997: 44), which cannot be directed towards Thompson from the beginning of his career, as he started as a volunteer soldier, but is valid for his later career after becoming popular. Comments on the elections in 2002/3 and on the Hague Tribunal, engaging in the Veteran movement, temporarily being active in a party but also giving suggestions on what to vote for in the presidential elections of 2015, show his motivation of drawing his audience’s attention to political topics. When MPT additionally covers those topics within his lyrics, one can definitely speak of a political song or him being political.

Being political in Croatia can be very precisely explained by the example of the singer Marko Perković Thompson. The already tackled questions are just one proof. Further aspects are commenting on politics, motivating people to engage politically or playing concerts that are set within a political context like jubilee dates. By merely talking about jubilees like the 25th of June Day of Croatia Statehood or 5th of August Victory and Homeland Thanksgiving Day or the veterans movement, a direct link is set to the singer Thompson by the media coverage alone. What makes a musician and his artistic work political?

If the musician is not positioning himself within a political context through writing political songs or engaging in any of the mentioned fields, he can get politicized through being interpreted like this. (Street, 2012: 57–58) This happened at the latest with all the performing bans abroad and at home that the singer Perković was confronted with. In this respect he was politicized in a first instance by certain governments, politicians or activists that banned his concerts abroad and within the country. International and Croatian media jumped in as well by covering those instances and discussing them.

The question is why a musician feels obliged to comment or engage in politics at all? Why does the artist involve himself in political activism, agrumentations or even polemics? This question cannot be generally answered and explanations differ from musician to musician. (Street, 2012: 46) Answers also differ whether investigating media coverage, the perception of music consumers and the opinion of the artist him-/herself. Taking up
Thompson’s case one might argue that initially everything started with his career. As an unknown person he already gained popularity by producing a highly political song. Fighting for his homeland and supporting his country as a soldier, but also through the musician’s voice, covered by an overwhelming love to his native country, was his emblem from the beginning. Until today the singer’s mission statements are the Croatian values. (Bujica Z1 TV, 2017; CMC TV, 2013; Baker, 2010; Vuletic, 2011) Thompson presents himself as a person that is aware of the history and suffering of the Croatian people. (Kovačević, 2009: 20)

Talking about the occurrence of Thompson and the moment when he decided to make music takes us to the theory that popular music reflects the time when it is produced. Reebee Garofalo argues that the moment of music’s eruption reflects political controversies and changes. (Street, 2012: 48) John Street takes the theory up by debating music as a “product of its political context”. The reflection of social and political changes within music, as he states, are “reflecting upon their times” yet should nonetheless be “mistaken as causation”. It can furthermore be connected to the development of a specific sound. (Street, 2012: 49)

What John Street further argues is that political communication is only possible through political representation. If a musician is not able to represent a certain community then the political communication part is not working out either. In other words “speaking up is not enough”, the musician therefore must have the ability to speak to people. How it is possible that a musician represents people throws up a lot of questions. This further implies the question if a sound communicates politically. (Street, 2012: 42) Tackling the importance of the meaning of a musician enacting within politics brings concepts of “moral capital” and the question of “representation” into discussion. John Kane argues that “moral capital” can be considered as a term that describes people who take up the responsibility or command of authority and estimation. John Street connects this idea with musicians that chime in with politics. (Street, 2012: 57–58) Thompson represents himself as a defender of Croatian values and reproduces this in his artistic work yet he does not see himself entering the field of politics (Kovačević, 2009: 18–19) John Street tackles the topic of style and moral capital in connection to representation by building on John Kane’s theory:

“While part of the answer [to creation of moral capital] lies in the strategic media management of their image, another part lies in the way they perform the role of political activist in their creative life. This is a matter of style. Style is key to performed politics.” (Street, 2012: 58)

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The performance style shows not only structural patterns of society but further implies a "self-realization" of the artist on behalf of the "expression of individual emotions". This is based on a "collective symbolization of dominant cultural patterns" and further conveys this structural concept. (Bogojeva-Magzan, 2005: 48) Thompson's performing style has too been under discussion quite often. Thompson himself tackles style and representation when being asked about the critique he is confronted with. The singer explains that the people who criticize him within Croatia are not just political opponents and that they are mainly overlooking the fact that he is a musician, "just because he is singing about values that are not corresponding with that particular politics". According to him it is forgotten that he is a musician in the first place and that he is being attacked "just because of [his] songs and the topics about what he is singing". He further sees music as an artistic field, that offers a wide range of topics and that wouldn't be possible without a certain freedom. Further he says:

"I am also ill-reputed because of the scenography of my concerts, because at one point I'm pricking a sword. With the sword I simply want send the message that a certain historical epoch has come to an end. In our case, the heroic epoch of building and protecting the Croatian state. […] The sword is a symbol of power. We could with our own power and with the help of god ensure freedom and peace. The sword with its peak turned down symbolizes that this historical epoch is behind us, but it’s still here as a symbol that preserves the obtained values.” (Kovačević, 2009: 18–19)

This shows the pure engagement and representation of politics. “Representation stands or acts for a community” is how a musician might describe himself. Interestingly enough the bans and the criticism the singer and also his supporters are confronted with is not to underestimate, as it is a quite commonly discussed issue. Frank Ankersmit24 tackled representation as a “substitute” that represents objects or ideas which suggest a certain reality. He argues that those realities only exist within a representational form, such as politics does.

This concept opens the possibility to examine the “aesthetic dimension” as John Street writes, a dimension were the artist has the possibility to “perform representativeness”, which links music and politics from scratch. Again, it further shows that the audience plays a huge part in the whole construct of representation. (Street, 2012: 58–60) It is a matter of fans and fandom as John Thompson argues, explaining that fans “[entail the] formation of relations of intimacy with distant others”, which pave the way for cultural performance. Liesbet Zoonen takes this even further by arguing that “fandom communities and political constituencies bear crucial similarities”, yet the first mentioned would not “claim to represent politically.” (Street, 2012:

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Yet the even more important question is how the representation part can be described among fandom? And if people that are listening to his music share the singer’s political opinion or not?

4. Marko Perković Thompson – Singer and Private Person

In order to position and analyse the singer Marko Perković it is necessary to involve his vantage point. Only by including the singer’s political ideology and attitude, such as dissecting his argumentation and explanatory model, a comprehensive analysis is possible. This procedure can additionally open the possibility to detect how the singer sees and positions himself concerning the political situation and surrounding, historical facts, happenings around him as a private person and his persona’s importance to certain topics. This, of course, doesn’t entail that the analysis is complete or unassailable.

The analysis is based on several sources. An elementary part is an interview with Marko Perković, which was published in the book Thompson u očima hrvatskih intelektualca. Bilo je i to u Hrvatskoj. (Thompson through the eyes of Croatian intellectuals. Once upon a time there was also this in Croatia.) by Mate Kovačević and Josip Pečarić in 2009. Some parts of the interview are going to be translated and quoted directly within this analysis, as the concrete usage of specific words and explanations are important to draw a more concrete picture of the singer Marko Perković. The contextualizing of both the interviewer and the interviewee shows how the singers’ political ideology and the happenings around the appearance of the singer want to be presented and considered. It is to be mentioned that the interview itself is not underpinned with any single quote. Neither the questions nor the answers are referring to any qualitative sources. Already within the introduction of the book the author mentions the negative announcements towards the singer and is referring to a consistent media-war against Marko Perković. Further appropriated sources for this thesis are the singer’s website and Facebook-account which provides significant facts about his self-presentation. The following chapter will draw upon those facts. It will describe and define Marko Perković as a private person, but also as a singer being in the public eye.

Marko Perković was born 1966 in Čavoglave, a village located in the outback Zagora within the triangle Šibenik-Knin-Split in South Croatia. He is purported to writing poems and songs already in his youth. (Volarič, 2013) While his father Ante Perković has been working in Germany and only returned for holidays, his mother Marija Perković took care of her two
sons Marko and his two years older brother Dražen. The singer and songwriter Marko Perković was educated in the secondary school for tourism of Drniš/Split. Until 1991 he was working as a barkeeper. (Večernji list, 2016b)

During the latest wars in former Yugoslavia, the ex-bartender and mechanic Marko Perković (Baker, 2009b: 12), was partially fighting in the Croatian army. (Perković) Between the years of the war from 1991 to 1995 the main part of the singers’ hometown and the region Zagora were occupied by irregular Serbian troops and governed as the *Republika Srpska Krajina* (Republic of Serbian Krajina), with the capital city Knin. (Ivanišević, 2011) The Serbian rebels clasped nearly a third of Croatia by summer 1990, including the regions Banija, Kordun, Lika, northern Dalmatia and parts of Slavonia. (Hoare, 2010: 120) Čavoglave was one of the localities that were mostly controlled by the *Zbor narodne garde* (ZNG, Croatian National Guard) and which were considered as the “bulwark” against the Serbian rebels referred to as Četnici (Chetniks). This led Perković to join the Croatian army. (Perković) Already with the beginning of the war as in his mid-twenties, Marko Perković joined the special action police commando ZNG and “serv[ed] as an army volunteer in a unit raised to defend his home village. (Baker, 2009b: 12) According to Marko Perković he there was armed with a *Thompson*, an American submachine gun which was constructed during the First World War, because no other machine gun was left. Due to that he was than jokingly called *Thompson* during that time. (Perković) During the war Marko Perković started to express his feelings and opinions through music and grabbed the chance to spread his work. As Catherine Baker states, he turned into a superstar “with a song written at the front”. (Baker, 2009b: 12)

Figure 2: Casette cover “Bojna Čavoglave” and a sequence of the music video played in the 2000s on the channel CMC.  

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The first song written, performed and published by Marko Perković was *Bojna Čavoglave* (The battalion of Čavoglave) in 1992. It is a track that is “celebrating his unit’s actions against Serbian soldiers”. (Baker) *Bojna Čavoglave* achieved a first breakthrough at Christmas 1991 in Split, where “the demo-version of the song was distributed into local radio stations and around several bars”. Although first played at Christmas 1991 by the Radio Split, the song was not supported by the main media representatives of the *Socijalistička Republika Hrvatska* (SRH, Former Socialist Republic of Croatia). The popularity can be traced to the fact that Split was full of "soldiers on leave and refugees from the occupied hinterlands around Drniš". *Thompson* was just another “soldier on leave” in the Dalmatian city. Yet with the support of two young *Feral Tribune* journalists Boris Dežulović and Predrag Jucić, two weeks after the first transmission, the song won the contest for the most popular patriotic song of Radio Split. This raised the interest of the local television station *TV Marijan* that produced the video footage that was also taken up by HTV within the following two months. Even the paper press showed interest. Mainly *Slobodna Dalmacija* and *Nedjeljna Dalmacija* (both primarily read outside of Dalmatia) credited this amateur song which boosted a broader interest. The vast media coverage entailed interviews with *Thompson*, the production of posters and more media appearance. As Catherine Baker argues:

“Čavogla ves representation of the war was more explicit than previous state sanctioned hits and also revived the tensions manifested during the Hrvatine controversy, eventually incorporating far-right connotations into the musical memory of the war. Distinguished from former patriotic music by uncompromising message, uncharacteristic musical arrangement and previous patriotic hits.”

This meant that the state officials and institutes needed to keep distance, as the singer’s invocation “contravened the state discourse of Croatia fighting a non-aggressive defensive war”. (Baker, 2010: 37–38) The music during the war in Croatia had its unofficial and official components with the function for one thing to strengthen patriotic feelings, calling for help and provoking. According to these duties the state subsidy was given. (Bogojeva-Magzan, 2005: 100–101) Furthermore the “[heavy] structur[ing] around the key presidential narratives” of the entertainment business and the popular music was an important political decision-maker (Baker: 1741), a delay of support by the state and state-media was the case. Already in 1992 *Thompson* could enjoy “unanimous” support by the Croatian press. Marko Perković’s person and his private story were very attractive to the media. His “song

Bojna Čavoglave has supposedly boosted soldiers’ [but also] local refugees as ‘an injection of patriotic adrenalin’”. This stood in contrast to the “show business musicians” that were getting active within another patriotic formation. (Baker, 2010: 37–38) This kind of “memorialisation process” of the war of Independence was started as early as the war began. “[S]tate and non-state actors [applied the memorialisation] to mobilise support for the war effort and government”. Behind that process the goal was to homogenize the “majority ethnic community” based on a “desired narrative of the war [but also] to attract international stakeholders to the Croatian interpretation of the conflict.”, as Catherine Baker examines. (Baker, 2010: 36–38)

Bojna Čavoglava occurred when he was fighting with the 142. of Drniš. Večernji list describes it as a “home-loving” song that helped with Hrvatine to “raise the moral within the battle against the Serbian aggressor”. (Večernji list, 2016b) Already between August 1991 and spring 1992 nearly the whole Croatian popular music scene “joined in a wave of patriotic music production.” This not just meant the forming of a Croatian version of Band Aid under the name Hrvatski Band Aid that was involved nearly all Croatian pop and rock stars of that time (Baker, 2010: 20), but also other forms of fundraising material like the production of cassettes and concerts. Those aid projects were not just bound to the Croatian territory but also considered the Croatian diaspora. (Baker, 2009a: 36). Svanibor Pettan identified those elements of an innocent representation of the Croatian nation that “forceful[ly] through the music already shortly after the war, such as Reana Senjković identified Tuđman and his party's narrative within the production of visual music material. The music's role after the war was therfore to unify the identity. (Bogojeva-Magzan, 2005: 76) Baker further quotes journalist Darko Hudelists interpretation that the presidential narrative needed to be settled in a state-driven popular music policy to, as the promotion of the ‘spiritual renewal’ of a different historical civilization background of Serbs and Croats was otherwise not possible (Baker: 1742)

An army volunteer like Thompson, engaging as a songwriter and unifying all elements of this narrative, was just a pleasant bonus to the ruling powers. Catherine Baker further argues, that "[t]he Homeland War and its victorious outcome are still officially commemorated today as the founding narrative of the Croatian state and repression of the conflict remain a common theme in popular culture and entertainment." (Baker, 2009a: 36) A

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26 Hrvatina is a “stury or Super Croatian”. It refers to being ready to “fight and die for [the] sacred home”. In further Croatian songs the Croatian fighter is also described as a heroic person. The term Hrvatine is especially popular within patriotic and nationalistic songs. (Senjković, Reana and Dukić, Davor (2005) Virtual Homeland? In: International Journal of Cultural Studies, pp. 44–62.)
very important factor in this whole narrative-production process was the state owned television HTV, “which had itself tendered for patriotic music in late August 1991.” (Baker, 2009a: 36) When the war started, HRT was the "most powerful actor in the recording industry". Next to Croatia Records, that was following the famous record label Jugoton, “HTV’S sponsorship of patriotic music may have helped sustain domestic music-making as it sustained domestic glim." (Baker, 2010: 15–16)

During the war Marko Perković Thompson wrote further songs like Anica Kninska Kraljica (Anica the Queen of Knin), Duh ratnika (The Spirit of the Warrior) and Ratnici svijetla (Warriors of the Light). Already within the year 1992 he was performing on numerous “humanitarian concerts” in Croatia. In 1995, the last year of the war, the singer returned to the 142. drniška brigada (142. Drniš Brigade) during the Operation Storm to fight in Drniš and Knin. (Perković)

Still in wartime in 1995 he secretly married the singer Danijela Martinović of whom he got divorced later. In 2003 Marko Perković got married to Sandra Rogić a Canadian of Croatian origin, which he met first on one of his concerts. The marriage was made legal at the registrar office. After a three years fight for the annulment of his first marriage to Martinović by the diocese of Split, he could marry his second wife in church, which was said to be his greatest wish. Sandra Rogić and Marko Perković have four children, Šimun (14), Ante (12), Diva Marija (11) and the twins Cvita and Katerina (7). (Večernji list, 2016b)

Marko Perkovićs post-war career was even more successful. His appearance and performances though pretty much affected the political situation. Between 1992 and 2013 Marko Perković published eight albums under the name Thompson. Starting with Moli Mala (Pray Peewee, 1992) and Vrijeme škorpiona (Time of the Scorpions, 1995) during the time of the war, he also produced Geni kameni (Genes of stone, 1996), Vjetra s Dinare (Wind of the Dinara, 1998), E, moj narode (Hey, my people!, 2002), Sve najbolje 1991-2003 (All the best, 2003), Bilo jednom u Hrvatskoj (Once upon a time in Croatia, 2006) and Ora et labora (Pray and work, 2013). (Grdović) After Tuđman’s death in December 1999 Croatian politicians were, as stated in the chapter before, confronted with “transnational challenges of the digital era” such as an upcoming “media pluralism”. Although the taking up of Tuđmans narrative subsided through the internationalization of the “entertainment framework” the patriotic popular music still remained and positioned itself under Euroscepticism and the repulsion of the Hague Tribunal that followed the next years. (Baker: 1742) Additionally the surveillance of the media sector continued. (Ramet, 2008: 49) As Cathrine Baker further states:
"The most visible interface between popular music and politics after Túdman was the production of patriotic popular music which emphasised the experiences of veterans from the Homeland War [...], as well as the need to revitalise faith in God and family." (Baker: 1747)

This means that the “culture and entertainment [sector] were heavily politicized during the [authoritarian regime] of Túdman”. (Baker: 1742), but remained under surveillance with the power transfer by the SDP-led coalition after 2000. (Ramet, 2008: 49) The explicit defining of a nation through counterpart components such as “enemies, history, territory, religion and gender roles” were a key factor to the production of patriotic and ideological narrative within the music industry and the connection to the “Croatia's geo-cultural identity”.” (Baker: 1742) It has to be mentioned that Croatian musicians had to work in a similar political context before the breakdown of Yugoslavia. The state system "aimed to implicate them in communication its own narratives. The concept of the ethno-nation as the constitutive people of Túdmans Croatia was not so different in form from the construction of the 'working class' which had constituted Tito's Yugoslavia, even though the content of Croatian nationalism rejected outright the Titoist idea that ethnicity should be subordinate to the common endeavour of socialism. For a historian, the study of contemporary Croatian culture therefore includes (at least) two layers of continuity and change: not just the extent to which conditions changed after Túdman but also whether the Túdman era itself was so great a period of change as, on the surface, it appeared." (Baker: 1742–1743)

Along with the influence of the international market within the music industry also the structural changes in Croatian popular music after Túdman’s death remain a turning point. Already in early 2000 the "broadcasting reforms introduced by the centre-left government of Ivica Račan" entailed that television was not dominated by the state anymore. The HTV was the only broadcaster with a national concession. (Baker: 1743) Yet the main remaining factor of the merger of music and politics is described by Baker:

"The greatest continuity in the relationship between popular music and politics after Túdman appeared to be the narrative that Croatia's innocent, defensive and heroic war meant that none of its participants could have committed war crimes. Túdman had striven to instil it as common sense into the boundaries of Croatian public discourse, embedding silence over war crimes, murders of Serbs, ethnic cleansing and Croatian politician's own expansionist ambitions in BiH within the all but indisputable concept of a nation rising up to resist aggression." (Baker: 1755)

The elections after Túdman’s death enabled a centre-left dominated collation by the Socijaldemokratska partija (SDP, Social Democratic Party) with Ivica Račan and the Hrvatska socijalno-liberalna stranka (HSLS, Croatian Social-Liberal Party) with Dražen Budiša. Another fierce turn of Croatian politics was the election of Stipe Mesić who won a five-year term presidency. Mesić left the HDZ in 1994 because of Túdmans policy in Bosnia-
Herzegovina. (Baker, 2010: 91) Tuđmans perception of Croatian populated part of Bosnia-Herzegovina belonging to Croatia is based on a historical, economical, geopolitical and cultural argumentation and reasoning Bosnia-Hercegovina being a artificial polity. (Sadkovich, 2008: 66–67) Already within those years between 2002 and 2005 Perković became “an increasingly divisive figure” as he found negative expressions against the centre-left government of 2002-03. Furthermore journalists uncovered that Thompson celebrated the memory of the NDH at his concerts. (Vučetić, 2011: 1–2; Baker, 2009a: 40) Although Thompson stressed in an interview with the newspaper Večernji list that he does not “have any political ambitions”, the only thing he supported is hrvatsstvo (Croatianhood). (Špehar, 2002) Just as during the war, for the elections in 2002/03, for the elections five years later and for the latest presidential elections, Marko Perković always felt the need to comment on either what to vote for or what not to vote for (Večernji list, 2016a) Those example makes it visible that MPT is involved in politics in both activism and political argument, as he uses his popularity to support the authoritarian regime and uses music to give expression to his political view. (Street, 2012: 41–45) Expressing sentiments about the election and the support of a certain party or regime is actively engaging with politics. The musician MPT involves with politics in two ways: firstly he is using his popularity for support of a candidate/party/regime, secondly he is expressing his political view in public. That means that the singer is involved in activism and political argumentation. (Street, 2012: 45) A key moment for politics and also for political expression among musicians was the extraditions to The Hague. The current president Stipe Mesić’s policy of "end[ing] Croatia's international isolation was the cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)." Labelled as "crypto-communists" both Mesić and Račan, were now providing a surface for sharp critique following with huge protests. Rallies were organized and reached their peak in 2001-2002 when the two former generals Ante Gotovina and Mirko Norac were extradited. Supporters from the music industry were amongst others Marko Perković Thompson and Mirolsav Škoro. Thompson’s songs were not just responding to the veterans protest, but he also mobilized and expressed himself publicly. Their messages were pretty much based on the rhetoric of Tuđman and incorporated “historical and epic symbolism to articulate a narrative of heroism and justify their innocence.”27 (Baker, 2010: 91–92; Pavlaković, 2008: 453–460)

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27 The ICTY was at least up until 2008 dominating Croatian politics and deviding politicians such as the Croatian society into supporters of rule of law and guiltiness and refusers of the liberal project supporting the innocence of war criminals. (Pavlaković V (2008) Better the Grave than a Slave: Croatia and the International
A key element of Thompson’s songs and his identity construction is the identification as a branitelj (defender). The term branitelji has already been used in the earliest months of the war and stayed for the veterans fighting for the homeland. Thompson personified this term and made himself even the spokesperson of the veterans. It was another possibility to spread the narrative of a Croatian defensive role in war. This again fit into Tuđmans concept who saw the Homeland war within a 1000-year old dream of freedom. Therefore the “self-defence“ of Croatians stood in a tradition to the Habsburg and Ottoman military border. (Baker, 2010: 94) Thompson’s songs were the artistic expression of disappointment with the center-left government, the treatment of the war officers. (Vuletic, 2011: 1–2) Catherine Baker further explains that

"Thompson's music expressed disappointment with the treatment of indicted officers with the perceived lack of respect accorded to veterans in general in post-war Croatian society and with the failure of the Croatian state to incorporate Herzegovina, the area of Bosnia-Herzegovina where most Bosnian Croats lived(Baker, 2009a: 40)

Marko Perković was in this respect labelled "the first right wing protest pop star in Europe", being referred too constantly as an extreme nationalist. (Vuletic, 2011: 1–2) The division of the country sprout with every step any politician made. Ljubo Juričićs, an economist and former delegate of the parliament close to the SDPs, and his visit of a Thompson concert in combination with an interview against Serbian investment in eastern Slavonia is just one example of the rising importance of music for politics and the growing separation of the constituents. Especially the “politcized memory” was not to be stopped and the “competing discourses of the left as the crypto-Communists and the rights as the crypto-Ustaše” grew. (Baker, 2010: 92–93) The “far-right revivalism” found its way into popular culture through sports and music events. Ustaša slogans were chanted at sports events and Thompson greeted, used the Ustaša salutation too and performed Ustaša songs, while some of the audience appeared with “NDH insignia”. An interesting question that was given to Marko Perković within the interview of the book “Intellectuals about Thompson” was the last one that rounds up the interview and topic perfectly. In this respect Mate Kovačević asks:

"Many people accuse you to have an uncritical standpoint towards the Second World War. Is a rehabilitation of the Yugoslav forces hiding behind those accusations, which were [Yugoslav forces] occupying Croatia in 1945, and started a genocide against the Croatian nation and hold the country within bondage of a totalitarian bolshevist ideology for about half a century?"
Thompson starts off diplomatically, about World War II he says he is "avoiding to dispute, because every discussion is leading towards a further split of the society, and that I don't want." He is conceding that it is the responsibility of historians to discuss the facts and come to a "real truth". "Sadly" he argues further "some individuals do not accept the historical facts and further accept the lying thesis which we were following fifty years." Perković is arguing that some criminals are denounced and some not, which doesn't make sense to him. For the musician the creation of a Croatian state is "since always within our nation", "a fact is that for this newly created Croatian state sons and grandsons were fighting shoulder to shoulder and spilled blood, of whose fathers and grandfathers were on the ideological counter side." He ends up praising the creation of the Croatian state which was supported all through the Croatian values and closes up: "We shouldn't close our eyes to them who still don't want our Croatia." This can be interpreted not to stop fighting the enemy. (Kovačević, 2009: 10–29; Street, 2012: 31) As Catherine Baker states: “Popular music was therefore one of the most important fields where contests over memory and historical revisionism were played out as Croatia stood between protectionist isolation and EU accession.” (Baker, 2010: 93) This quote rounds up Thompson's statement perfectly. Further Catherine Baker explains the implications of the relation between music and politics in Croatia:

"Focusing on patriotic popular music as the meeting point of music and politics in Croatia would seem to suggest that Tuđman’s success in structuring public discourse extended beyond his death, the electoral rejection of HDZ in 2000 and Sanader's defeat of the party hard-liners before HDZ returned to power in 2003. Yet the situation of Croatian popular music as a whole - music where national identity was signalled implicitly not explicitly, through knowledge of the performer's nationality, use of the Croatian language, musical arrangement and the geographical settings of songs' videos - presents a different perspective." (Baker: 1757)

This geographical, linguistic, religious and ethnic restriction triggers the creation of certain values - Croatian values that Marko Perković Thompson is referring to and applying - in interviews, statements and songs. Asking about the "spectrum of the topics" that MPT tackles in his songs like "religion, family and homeland" Thompson argues that most of the critics is not directed at the style of his music, but largely at the "messages and the people that are coming to his concerts." People that are coming to his concerts with Croatian flags and “embrace the messages and sing those songs about love to god, the human being and the Croatian veterans”. He further argues that the critics that he and his fans are coping with are a "paradox" to all what is happening. He says: "A man that is singing about mentionable values, is been denounced spreading hatred. (Kovačević, 2009: 18) Promoting something like ‘Croatian values’, can be described as a perfect example for the political communication and
representation. MPT states openly that he is representing not just the values of the former regime, but also of the Croatian people (Thompson.hr, 2016). This example shows best how music can be seen as a site of political expression, as Street explains (Street, 2012: 41–45). (Street, 2012: 41–45)

Controversies got louder especially after finishing his third album *Geni Kameni* (Genes of stone, 1996) and throughout the production and release of the album of *Vjetra s Dinare* (Wind of the Dinara, 1998) until *E, moj narode* (Hey, my people, 2002). Interestingly enough the encyclopedia entry of the Croatian newspaper *Večernji list* stated „Serb and Yugoslav circles“ accusing him of *Ustaša* engagement. According to the newspaper „attacks“ to the singer did not disappear, although MPT openly confined himself from the Nazi iconography and proved it wrong that he was performing *Jasenovac i Gradiška Stara* (Jasenovac and Gradiška Stara)28 at his concerts. (*Večernji list*, 2016b)

![Image of fans at Thompson concert in Knin 2015 waving different flags.](http://prigorski.hr/knin-koncert-marka-perkovica-thompsona/)

**Figure 3:** Fans at the *Thompson* concert in Knin 2015 waving different flags.  

Although already in 1992 *Thompson* was “unanimously supported” by the Croatian press (Baker, 2010: 37–38), the tide has turned at the latest of the elections in spring 2000 where he openly insulted the leader Ivica Račan of the elected SDP and records of him singing *Ustaša* songs such as *Jasenovac i Gradiška Stara* in 2003 becoming publicly. (Rašović, 2011) Also early supporters like the journalists Predrag Lucić and Boris Dezulović, would now be among those commentators that shifted from support to “mocking [the singer]  

28 *Jasenovac i Gradiška stara* is a song, originally written and sung during the NDH period, that is describing and glorifying the horrifying crimes against humanity taking place at the concentration camps Jasenovac and Gradiška stara. MPT performed amodernized and adapted versions at some of his concerts replacing commander-in-chief Vjekoslav Maks Luburić and the leader of the Black Legion Jure Franetić with Franjo Tuđman, but also discrediting the former Stipe Mesić. Gorin J (2007) *Nazis Rock on in Croatia*. Available at: http://www.juliagorin.com/wordpress/?p=911 (accessed 12 August 2017).

for hard-line nationalism and village-backwardness.” (Baker, 2010: 37–38) Until 2003 Marko Perković Thompson was an active member of the Hrvatska stranka prva (HSP, Croatian Rights Party) (Rašović, 2011) until he distanced himself from the party because he figured that he is not only representing HSP voters. (Pavić, 2017) The president of the HSP Anto Đapić detained Thompson of supporting his party already in 1992 in the Hotel Marijan in Split. There he performed his song Bojna Čavoglave, as he was singing within the campaign of the elections in 1997 for local elections and the elections in 2000. In 2003 Thompson decided to divide with the party because he now saw it harming his career to be bound to one party, as Đapić explained in the interview. Yet in 2007 he sang Lijepa li si at a convention of the HSP together with the singer Mate Bulić, Guliano and the band Zlatni dukati. He further argues that if Thompson is not for the HSP means that he is supporting the HDZ. (Pavić, 2017) During the electoral campaign for the Croatian president in 2015 Thompson supported the HDZ candidate Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović openly on his Facebook account. Musically underlined his post by the song Duh ratnika (The gost of a soldier) in which he wrote that this elections would be a moment were the Croatian politics, that “destroys the Croatian state and Croatian values” could be finally overthorn by those elections. He further states that with this elections some Croatian politicians that never liked Croatia and never will, could be gotten rid of. He called the people to the ballot boxes in order to send the remaining “Jugokomunism” into oblivion and finish what was started in the 1990s. (Večernji list, 2015a) After the election of the new president provided by the HDZ, Thompson again shared his happiness via Facebook. (Večernji list) Thompson as an open supporter of the branitelji movement also part wise participates in the protest at Savska street in Zagreb, where the basis (a huge tent) is positioned and manned by former branitelji. In this case the singer stands up for a certain political direction that is supported most by the right-wing parties in Croatia. Thompson called his fans for support on his Facebook page of the protesters as for 14.3.2015 about 14 o’clock an anti-demonstration of an organization called “Occupy Croatia” was announced. He didn’t only ask his fans to support the branitelji and keep them from answering on provocations, but also made up a game. Fans who send a picture of their support would take part in a raffle having the possibility to win a gift. (Večernji list, 2015b) Even Miroslav Škoro had to deal with a ban to sing in Somobor (Serbia). This was published in a very emotional letter, addressing the security measures which were giving the reason of Škoro being the godfather of Marko Perković Thompson. The sources are not totally confirmed, yet it shows the style of reporting and presenting certain diplomatic and political circumstances. (Večernji list) For the 25th anniversary of the Operation “Oluja” Thompson and the members of Odbora za proslavu
Dana pobjede (The Committee for the festive day of victory) decided to move the festivities from Čavoglave to Knin in order to celebrate the jubilee within a huger and according to him more appropriate surrounding as it is a “symbol of the Croatian majestically victory of the Croatian Homeland War- the biggest military victory in the century-long Croatian history”. The contextualization of the event shows the connections to the political ideology, yet is not reflected in the journalistic article at all. In contrast to the interview continues to harp on the theory of the divided nation, which underlines Thompson theory totally, as he argues that the intentionally produced split was something that was the hardest to happen to the Croatian nation within this time. (Večernji list, 2015d) The celebration day Dan pobjede i domovinske zahvalnosti i Dana hrvatskih branitelja (Day of Victory and Homeland gratitude and the day of the Croatian defenders) was also celebrated by some politicians like the mayor of Knin Josip Rimac and the leaders of the celebration of the defenders Duro Glogoški i Josip Klemm. Additionally to celebrate the jubilee Thompson guided colons of bikers from Čavoglave to Knin. (Večernji list, 2015f) Five years earlier the mayor of the Croatian capital Zagreb, Milan Bandić celebrated the jubilee of 5.8. with Thompson. The festivities were also covered by the Croatian daily newspaper Jutarnji list and included the imagery that was full of illustrations of the NDH leader Ante Pavelić, Franjo Tuđman, Ante Gotovac and Mirko Norac. (Pavić, 2010) An article of the Jutarnji list sparks interest where the author collects certain positions towards a legislative prohibition of the NDH-salute Za dom spremni! as it was used several times during the concert in Knin in August 2016. Whereas the HDZ does not seem to have a concrete opinion, the SDP representative Peđa Grbin does not see a need to introduce a law to prohibit the salutation as the legal norms are given. Additionally MOST and the HNS representatives would not see a need to prohibit the salutation on a legal scale. IDS (Istarski demokratski sabor, The Istrian democratic parliament), HSP AS (Hrvatska Stranka Prava dr. Ante Starčevića, The Croatian Rights Party of Dr. Ante Starčević) and the HSS (Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka, Croatian Peasants Party) representatives do support a condemnation on a legal way. (Godeč, 2016)

As a conclusion to Thompson calling for support of certain politicians or parties and actively engaging not just with political topics like the veterans or commenting on the Hague Tribune also Streets and requesting for voting certain people, but also being a member of a certain party, fits John streets explanation of political action in total:

"My suggestion was political action, and that musicians might represent causes and peoples. This does not, and cannot, happen at any time. It depends on a multiplicity of related factors - to do with the legitimation of musicians, and the distribution of a variety of forms of capital - but under specific conditions, music does animate political action.” (Street, 2012: 173)
4.1. Defining Thompson

On the basis of the interview that was held with him by the author Mate Kovačević in 2009 and in accordance with the ongoing studies it seems quite clear how Marko Perković as a singer can be defined. In this thesis the singer Marko Perković is defined as a person of public life, an extreme nationalist more than a patriot and as a right-wing extremist. Furthermore he is considered as a (Vuletic, 2011) political person, as he became political within several spheres, which were defined by John Street: “biography”, “institution”, “political communication”, “political songs” and the “genre”, all of those aspects serve the singer with “music as a political platform” and make them a political person. (Street, 2012: 61) Recapitulated, Thompsons as a part of the Croatian popular culture, his role within Pop Politics is not deniable, such as music and politics mutually define each other. The singers link to politics is also in no way refutable - supported by certain politicians, public statements concerning political happenings, elections, politicians, etc. ‘humanitarian concerts’ during war time, open support for the veteran movement and the war generals in Den Haag, but also the indirect interference as his music has been played at certain parties electoral celebrations, like the presidential election and parliamentary elections in 2015 show the connection of MPT to the political sphere.

In this respect Marko Perković Thompson is defined as a patriot and hard-line right-wing nationalist. Following John Streets approach to music and its development process, music itself should not be reduced just to consummation of its beauties but should also be seen under the light of “creating [a] narrative by which identities - national, political, personal - are realized, [and] not just 'expressed' or 'revealed'.” Street further states:

“In imagining the communities through music, we also experience them. As Simon Frith (1996: 273, his emphasis) writes: ‘Whether jazz or rap from African-Americans or nineteenth-chamber music for German Jews in Israel, it [music] both articulates and offers the immediate experience of collective identity.’ Music is not a symbol of identity so much as a way of living it.” (Street, 2012: 116)

In this sense Thompsons music and the enjoyment of a great support from various sides can be connected to the construction of a certain community and collective identity that follows a certain narrative. In Thompsons case this would be, as already invoked earlier, the ‘Croatian values’, following the former president’s Tuđmans narrative. This gives a special weight to MPTs claim that he stands for the entire ‘Croatian people’. (Baker)

The remaining questions for this thesis are: can it be argued that a certain political and ideological opinion is reflected through music? Can it be stated that certain music stands for
one’s political opinion at all? Does a certain style of music, or even more concrete, a certain band or musician reflect a political opinion? And can it be argued that once a person listens to a certain musician and/or band he too has the same opinion? Is everybody identifying with the music they listen to?

According to this definition the further research shall be drawn. Especially important is the main research question, whether people who listen to the music of Thompson share the same political opinion. Are all of his fans and supporters to be seen as extreme nationalists and right-wingers? Do people who don’t define themselves as Thompson fans support his political ideology?

5. EXPERIENCING MUSIC – EXPERIENCING POLITICS: EMPIRICAL PART

In the following chapter the answers of the interview partners will be examined. Therefore Thompson’s interviews from YouTube-clips such as from the book “Thompson u očima hrvatskih intelektualaca. Bilo je i to u Hrvatskoj.” (Thompson through the eyes of Croatian intellectuals. Once upon a time there was also this in Croatia.) will be opposed to the answers of my interviewees and the results of theoretical background that was discussed earlier. Additionally some interviews that can be found online can help to at least interpret argumentations of the singer according to the topic. It has to be pointed out, that due to this fact the analysis is to be considered an interpretation. If possible the results of the interviews shall be complemented by data obtained via the Homepage and Facebook page of Thompson and certain online newspaper articles that deal with the topic. Finally the chapter will be closed with a resume.

5.1. Croatian Music Policies – Propaganda and Censorship

Weather music contains political messages, musicians are called to propagandistic political events, politics intervenes in music and the music industry or politicians are controlling the public, all this is identified as political interference with music. (Female Lector, 2017: 99-102; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-108; Male student, 2017: 120-125; Job Seeker, 2016: 88-99) Out of six interviewees, four mentioned this direct link of music and politics concentrating on the intervention of a state into the music sphere. This also matches John Streets explanation: Music policies can in the simplest way be described as what states “do to music” and “what they do with it”. John Street describes those “elements of state power” as “instigat[ing] the action [as a] represent[ation] of the promotion
of a particular political ideology” and can be identified within either oppression or propaganda. Both policies are following a certain “embodiment of fundamental values and principles” and mostly come hand in hand, rather than being implemented separately. (Street, 2012: 9–22) This chapter seeks to examine the “political principles and practices in which the [Croatian] state engages with music”. (Street, 2012: 24–30) and how it is perceived by its citizens. How does the audience characterize music policies and is such a thing identified in Croatia? In what respect are the singers connected to policies according to the audience? Additionally a more detailed look will be taken at the position of the singer Marko Perković Thompson.

According to the interview attendee’s music cannot be seen separately from politics. The complexity of its interrelations is connected to state/party funds, but also the heavy influence on social and private life. It has to be mentioned that the relation was not mentioned in a positive tone. The interference of politics in several social practices is referred to as domination by politics of private life and the misleading of politicians actuals tasks.

The strong intervention into social practices and especially the pop cultural sector are referred to in general, such as within the political context of the FYR and the Croatian Republic. (Job Seeker, 2016: 89-90) This stays in a special relation to the states acting as guides for the “meaning and power of music”, either as a censurer or the creator of propaganda reinforcing the dominant ideology. (Street, 2012: 9-22.) The empowerment of intervention into popular culture amongst the audience is partially connected to the state (Male student, 2017; Female Student, 2017; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017), and partially to politicians themselves. (Job Seeker, 2016: 89-90) This goes in line with John Streets thesis that “music and musicians [are] the key to political communication”, such as the argument according to Susan Harewood (2008:213-5) that “music, became not just [the matter] of culture, but also helped to promote tourism, [a certain] national identity and ‘developed’ the product [within] commerce.” (Street, 2012: 24–40) Music as a social practice itself combines therefore commerce and economy in a wider sense, using language and including sports and education, sometimes even religion, which are important factors among social practices concerning the creation of a national identity in Croatia. (Bellamy, 2003: 104–171)

Yet for the majority music is connected to the promotion of certain values and ideologies. (Male student, 2017: 120-127; Female Lector, 2017: 99-102; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-110; Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Job Seeker, 2016:
Interestingly enough the interviewees saw a connection, yet just two of six questioned this connection critically. This is consistent to the theory that music can be apprehended as an “embodiment of values and principles”. It suggests that music balances for politics in “defining political values”. (Street, 2012: 9–22) Since Croatia’s independence and until the death of the first president Franjo Tuđman in 1999, “culture and entertainment were heavily politicized”. Especially the historical narrative and ideological implications around “enemies, […], territory, and religion and gender roles” were important for the “validity of pop genres” (Baker: 1742) Croatian nationalism was still not defined, as diverse oppositional ideas emerged to the “Franjoist narrative”. Breaking the formation of a national ideology down to the “level of social abstraction or core instrumental element” it is to see that “different groups and individuals used different traditions at different times”, such as the HDZ, the Catholic Church, regional groupings like the Istrians or the football club Bad Blue Boys did. Franjo Tuđman did neither succeed in unifying an integrated Croatian nationalism, nor Croatia in a homogenous way. (Bellamy, 2003: 164–165)

At first glance music policies seem quite different in authoritarian and liberal-capitalist states. Censorship and propaganda are mostly attributed to an authoritarian regimes and less frequent to democracies. It is highly interesting that the interview participant’s comments on music policies matched more the characteristics of an authoritarian state. What is characteristic for an authoritarian rule is the intimate connection of culture and ideology in connection to a (total) control of its citizen’s private life (Street, 2012: 9–40), which has been pointed out strongly by the Job Seeker. Taking a closer look at liberal-capitalist states and/or democracies music policies are directed to its social sectors that is affected through censorship, broadcasting, law and copyright, cultural policy and identity, as Martin Cloonan assigns. All of those fields have many more parts, yet covering sectors such as e.g. education, trade, immigration to intellectual property law (Street, 2012: 9–40). The Female Lector such as the Receptionist have been highlighting this element in their interview for the Croatian case.

As all mentioned aspects, with an enhanced focus on the interrelation of music, politics and economics interacting with private lives’ practices appeared in the reflections of the interviewees (Male student, 2017; Female Lector, 2017; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017; Job Seeker, 2016)

the following two subsections will cover censorship and propaganda in Croatian music industry and politics.

As previously explained Croatian music policies changed with the rearrangement of the regime and its leaders. Whereas in the Former Yugoslav Republic Croatia (FYR) the concept of socialism was leading, ethno-nationalism propagating Croatian values was predominant since independence also within Croatian music policies – what they have in common is the states’ aim of implementing their historical narrative and political ideology into communication and social practices. Even though ties got loosened within post-Tudman and governmental changes (Baker: 1742), the intervention of the state into popular culture is evidently sensed by the citizens. The relationship is determined by the audience between the state and politics and primarily connected to the media and commerce. A further connection is tied up concerning the financing of the music industry, but also larger concerts and festival, particularly during the electoral campaigns. (Job Seeker, 2016; Male student, 2017; Female Lector, 2017; Female Student, 2017; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017) In this respect reactions differed – while some of the interviewees felt offended by this connection, others understood or even welcomed this development; others again did not question it at all.

Although censorship is mostly connected to authoritarian rules, (Street, 2012: 9–40), the Croatian case shows that artistic fields, of that especially popular music, are subjected to censorship in liberal-capitalist countries too. Croatia’s socialist, post-socialist and post-Tudman era are associated with the Machiavellian exercise of power through a constant “domination and control of the people and the nation by politicians through institutional systems” (Job Seeker, 2016: 89-99) It is particularly interesting that in some cases there is not seen a difference between the exercise of power within the regime stages in Croatia. The interconnection of music and politics seems not to have changed for some participants. (Job Seeker, 2016: 90-99; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017) Partially the interrelation is seen to be channeled in different ways by the different regimes.

Less critical are the estimations by the interview attendees concerning not commonly and generally accepted, but in some way necessary inspired censorship policies and restrictions. (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-109; Male student, 2017: 120-127) Music policies as mentioned in the latter case are mostly connected to economic but also to political reasons, yet including the state as an actor within the media sector. (Male student, 2017: 1–7; Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Job Seeker, 2016: 89-98) The continuing regulations within the music sector since the communist period are perceived among the
audience. Even though it is not mentioned directly the displeasure can be deduced. Music and rock music in particular, were as an example not seen as a “dissident force” in Yugoslavia. While the communist regime did not censor rock music in particular, but even gave it a stage to promote the socialist and communist ideology, some bands made the music political by tackling certain (grass-root) movements. (Ramet, 1994c: 102–132) Using music to support ideologies, state narrative and legitimation, which included the memorization process of the Homeland war, did continue after Croatia’s separation from Yugoslavia. (Baker, 2009a: 36–40) The Receptionist finds a connection between bands that are supported by governing parties, of those he mentioned Prljavo Kazalište, which is a Yugoslav post-punk band from the 1980s. (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 104-106) This example shows several layers of music policies, varying from regime to regime. While in communist time this band was considered regime critical, the perception changed in the newly constructed state as it was connected to leftist parties, but also supported through at least a part of the new political system.

Interestingly enough the changing impact on censoring by the HDZ in the Republic of Croatia, was not directly mentioned in any interview. As the historian Dean Vuletic identified, especially Serbian musical production such as Partisan, communism and Yugoslavia glorifying music was affected by censorship. (Vuletic, 2011: 20) No interview participant seemed to be aware of the involvement of censorship towards certain music. Whereas censorship and its problematics were generally mentioned nearly in all interviews, the target groups were not directly identified. The job seeker and the male student, were the only participants that directly mentioned the HDZ connected to music. Yet the party was not mentioned concerning censorship but rather on behalf of promotion of Croatian Values or propagandistic events. (Job Seeker, 2016: 92-99; Male student, 2017: 123-124) What seems to be important is that Croatian Values were a huge factor in censoring popular music (Vuletic, 2011: 20), the job seeker and the male student, were the only participants that directly mentioned the HDZ connected to music. Yet the party was not mentioned concerning censorship but rather on behalf of promotion of Croatian Values or propagandistic events. (Job Seeker, 2016: 92-97)

This demonstrates that the audience is aware of censorship but the majority does not take up on the backgrounds it in a more detailed way. Only the job seeker identified a highly repressive political system that seems to reach its’s goal in any possible way. Additionally the parties who make up the system are not referred to. While it is generally perceived that some musicians support certain politicians, it is not that prevalent that particularly in the Tudman-
era musicians had advantages of supporting the HDZ. This does not mean that the people do not know or are not interested in this fact, but rather that it might not be that important to them or that they simply do not follow up on it. What seems more striking and notable for the music consumer in this study is political propaganda through music.

According to the audience music is in general connected to some sort of propaganda (system). Being mentioned directly by the participants as a tool, mainly channeled through media, to promote certain values or even war within the Tuđman-era (Job Seeker, 2016: 93-99), propaganda was also mentioned indirectly. The strong link to media as a feature of propaganda is an important fact to many music consumers. (Male student, 2017: 120-122; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-107; Female Lector, 2017: 99-102; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-94) Music is further seen as a kind of propaganda to channel certain ideas. (Female Lector, 2017: 99-100)

Propagandistic songs amongst the audience are especially identified within the spreading of national ideology. Those songs are further mentioned as being disseminated mainly through “media [and] certain political encounters or certain sports events and accruing public holidays”. The job seeker argued further that “those national songs are political songs. They have an emotive status and appeal on [one's mind], and through a person on the society, and through the group on the masses and through the masses on the nation/people.” (Job Seeker, 2016: 95-99) John Street also identifies propaganda as an “announcement of the state” itself, which is in a “musical form” a national anthem or an electoral soundtrack. (Street, 2012: 24–40) Streets interpretation strongly reflects the interviewees interpretation of propaganda. Particularly the forming of a national identity and a (imagined) community is a factor that for several music consumers goes hand in hand with a national anthem that is further seen as a propagandistic musical piece. Additionally there seems to be awareness of a “changing moment”, when music started to get extremely important for propaganda, although this particular moment cannot be named. (Female Student, 2017: 116-120)

The opinions on the song Lijepa li si and the singer Thompson vary. All participants estimate the song as a sender of messages concerning a certain geo-political and historical narrative and the promotion of Croatian values. (Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Male student, 2017: 120-127; Female Lector, 2017: 99-101; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-110; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-116; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-96) Whereas a part is confident that Thompson dominates the “mass of the people” 87-95), others see the singer’s music simply in promoting ideological goals, identity and values. (Female Lector, 2017: 99-102; Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Female
When it comes to the question of the “national anthems” interesting interpretations can be detected. *Lijepa li si* was partially described as an unofficial Croatian hymn. The majority however did not mention the song as a Croatian hymn on their own. Mostly, after questioning carefully about the perception of the song, the majority agreed on the song being an unofficial anthem. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-116; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99; Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-109; Female Lector, 2017: 99-102; Male student, 2017: 120-126)

Only two respondents would not totally agree on that assumption, as they do not want to enter a generalization. (Female Lector, 2017: 99-102; Female Student, 2017: 116-120)

Nearly all participants connected the song to either sport events, or political gatherings and elections. (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-109; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-116; Male student, 2017: 120-127; Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99)

The singer himself is aware of the connection between his song and sports. As he explained in the interview with Kovačević, it makes him proud that “They [athletes and fans] have the same ideology as I do” and that they get a motivation out of his music. (Kovačević, 2009: 28–29)

Interestingly the male student interviewee rated the song *Lijepa li si*, as a kind of an unofficial hymn after being asked more concretely. He further estimated that one could find more people that know the whole text of the song *Lijepa li si* than of the official Croatian anthem *Lijepa naša domovino* (Our beautiful Homeland), furthermore he predicted that more people could name the author of *Lijepa li si*, than the official Croatian anthem. (Male student, 2017: 124-126)

According to a graduate of communication studies a song such as *Ljepa li si* is not just a beautiful artistic peace but also unifies people because of the promotion of certain values and therefore gives people the feeling of connection and feeling as a nation should be a part of every country. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 112-113)

Apart from national anthems or hymns in official events and state affairs, the usage of music within electoral campaigns is widespread. Speaking of “electoral soundtracks”, musicians that support certain politicians or parties, politicians that gather around celebrities from the music industry or the usage of music for their events, shows a further scope of propaganda and political communication. (Street, 2012: 9–24) Within this subchapter the focus is narrowed down to the “electoral soundtracks”, while political communication will be tackled in a following chapter.

Political events rarely take place without music – music is played in the background, is featured at a party, or seemingly often musicians are hired or asked to perform at a concert.
This is apprehended by the music consumers too. Diverse Croatian musicians are also known for performing at political events, which is partially perceived as propagandistic purpose, such as the band Prljavo Kazalište mentioned earlier. (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-107, 2017: 2–3; Job Seeker, 2016: 92-99) This is especially the case when it comes to the distribution of political ideologies (Job Seeker, 2016: 92-97). The connection to popular culture does not exclude any music genre. (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 104-106; Job Seeker, 2016: 88-90) Beyond that, the financing of music through the state is considered as a connection of music and politics, as “the institutions of every city, every region [and] every state are financing certain parts of culture”. The linkage between music and politics is therefore also apprehended within the governmental structures. (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 104-106)

In addition the influence of media on the music industry is determined. As media is focusing on what the majority of the people wants to listen to, music for many cannot be separated from it. (Male student, 2017: 122-123) The CMC music channel, where music can be ordered through a kind of “SMS-Juke-Box” (Male student, 2017: 122-125; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 112-115) shows the impact of profitability. Yet the interference of a state can always be considered in the “background”, at least for those within the media sector that are governmentally owned, which entails that some musicians are boosted more then others. Marko Perković Thompson himself is perceived as a product of the media that is well sold. It appears as if he is aware of that fact. (Female Lector, 2017: 101-102) MPT has been asked if he counts in what people want to hear and if he then starts to work on his pieces. The singer answered that he sings about "what he thinks and deeply feels and lives". What the singer reads out of this fact is that if many people like his work this further shows that many share the same (political) conviction with him. He explains this with the song Bojna Čavoglave, which "was not planned to be popular". All he wanted is to show his feelings at that time. (Kovačević, 2009: 22) This may count for the song Lijepa li si too, that is considered a beautiful song, singing and celebrating how beautiful Croatia is. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 112-113) Counting Herceg-Bosna to the Republic of Croatia, focusing on regions like Zagora, Slavonia and Lika, leaving the capital Zagreb away serves as political communication and propaganda elements that spreads the rightwing and nationalist opinion taken up from Tuđman. Additionally certain historical hints of the music video are only brought up in some of the interviews. The mentioned historical
references concern the rural and martial elements that are presented as ancient-Croatian. This connects to the Ustaša-Ideology and it can be debated whether this references were made on purpose or not. (Marko Perković Thompson, 2011; Ivanišević, 2010)

Besides that the differences between the urban and the rural area also play a role in the development of the music scene. Especially since the officially mediated picture of the society during the wars of 1992-1995 was more in accordance with the rural population than the majoritarian liberal seeming urban one. This lead to a shift in the importance of cultural codes which based on an examination of rural and urban identities, and got a criterum for inclusion and exclusion. (Galijaš, 2011: 274–275) The singer Thompson is also aware of this interest and even plays with it when subjecting concert bans in cities (Kovačević, 2009: 26–27)

Apart from political impact on music and vice versa, effects of politics on media should not be ignored. The ministries leverage on controlling media is commonly mentioned. It assumes that the music industry is widely influenced by politics in the end. (Job Seeker, 2016: 90-92) For example, economic reasons cannot be left apart as marketing and commercials are also an important financing factor within media and the music industry. (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 104-106)

Finally music is often referred to as a “place of freedom” that is not, at least when it comes to its artistic value, connected to politics. (Female Lector, 2017: 100; Female Student, 2017: 116-120) Thompson himself sees music as an artistic field too, that offers a wide range of topics and that wouldn't be possible without a certain (artistic) freedom. (Kovačević, 2009: 18–19) According to John Street music “in part, […] stands as the epitome of human freedom and a means by which we announce our liberty. At the same time, music stands for the trivial and inconsequential.” (Street, 2012: 10) However this does not exclude the consideration of music as political communication. According to some music consumers, music can and should be seen as one of the most distant arts of all, at least when it comes to its artistic value. When it comes to the text and lyrics of an artistic piece of music, a political association is created. (Female Lector, 2017: 99-100)

In conclusion music consumers seem quite aware of the role music can play for propaganda, although it is not always mentioned directly within the interviews. Political propaganda seems to be more on the screen of the audience than censorship. Yet what plays an even more important role is the system that lies behind it – according to the participants

31 The music video of Lijepa li si can be watched online on YouTube: Marko Perković Thompson “Lijepa li si”, youtube.com, online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DBmy_oSyjE (20.08.2017).
this are the media and the financing sector. Still, political communication is identified and valued differently. The assessment is based on the musician, content and purpose. In conjunction with Thompson it depends on the specific pieces as well. Lijepa li si is mainly valued as a beautiful, sometimes even the most beautiful home-loving song, not being questioned critically from the majority at all.

5.2. Making Music – experiencing beyond the sound

The female lecturer connects music to politics on behalf of a soldier entering war, but argues that there is no real home-loving song, although she thinks that this is sometimes necessary. While she believes that a home-loving song can also be something very good and beautiful, in her eyes this kind of music is often used badly. (Female Lector, 2017: 99-100) This example illustrates several points to approach the artistic creation of sound, such as text and experience. Studying the lyrics opens the field not just to the analysis of the words that make up the text itself, but also to the approach of a certain narrative. John Street concentrates on the power relations of narratives within political history, such as on the construction of a history and the political meaning that is invested into history. The question is in which ways music can be seen as writing history itself. (Street, 2012: 98–117) Based on John streets structure the chapter will tackle texts as narratives itself, using or producing a narrative, taking the advantage of an imagined community, and therefore writing a history. (Street, 2012: 98–117)

5.2.1. The Croatian narrative within music

“This song [Lijepa li si] is always sung, because [...] they consider the song as a gratitude [...] to the Croatian state, the Croatian people, the Croatian society [...] and its seen as a song that promotes and that means the culture, the values of the majority population.” (Male student, 2017: 123-124)

Taking a closer look at the singer Marko Perković Thompson and his pieces, shows that the “Croatian historical statehood narrative” and certain “accounts on the Croatian national identity” are a fundamental fact (Bellamy, 2003: 32–104). Based on ‘Croatian Values’ such as unity, family, religion, love and love to the homeland (Baker: 1747) which were taken up from Franjo Tudman, incorporated within the lyrics of his music and also reproduced within MPT’s performances on and off stage. This is also the case for the idea that Herceg-Bosna does or should belong to the Republic of Croatia. This is also noticeable amongst the interview attendees. Taking Lijepa li si as an example, one will realize soon that the majority sees the piece as a home-loving and beautiful song. It seems to be important to some music consumers, that the song does not say anything against anybody, but is only
representing how beautiful Croatia is. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-112) Nearly everybody mentioned the discrepancies about the inclusion of Herceg-Bosna, yet opinions concerning the case vary. While some criticize the mentioning of the Bosnian-Hercegovinan region as part of the Republic of Croatia (Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Female Lector, 2017: 99-100; Male student, 2017: 122) others don’t see it as problematic (Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-110), others again believe it’s the right thing to do (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-116). This shows the power relations within the construction of a history and its political meaning. Further it illustrates how music is writing and reproducing history and narratives within a political historical context, such as John Street argued. (Street, 2012: 98–117)

Those Croatian values and the old-statehood narrative are basic elements of Tuđman’s narrative (Bellamy, 2003: 20–170) such as of MPT’s music. The (re-)produced narratives within his songs and the taking advantage of an imagined community are elements which are important in this chapter, as it suggest that the singer is writing history himself. (Street, 2012: 98–117) This seems especially important, as according to Baker taking up on Tuđman’s narrative marked the “greatest continuity in the relationship between popular music and politics after Tuđman” as well (Baker: 1755). In addition the singer Marko Perković explains in the interview with Mate Kovačević that he is writing songs that are not just important to him, but also to his ideology. Describing his intent, he shows political interest and political engagement. When writing songs, he explains, he is researching the topics, follows the happenings around them and finally combining the facts to songs. What is always on his mind is that he created something for his nation and something about what is always forgotten. It is important for him is as well, that his songs always stay in relation in to Christianity. He states: "We Christians are called from god to shape the world.", and takes this motive as an inspiration for his live and for his work. (Kovačević, 2009: 21) The intent of creating a narrative is obvious.

The interviewer Mate Kovačević makes connecions between the songs of Thompson and some centuries of Croatian literature and asks whether that is the way Marko Perković writes his songs. The singer answers that he is not the first, neither the last one to give answers to questions of today and that this also does not stay in his focus. Yet he finds relations from the past to today. He argues: "When it is hard for a man or a nation [in contemporary times], one always goes back deep into history, towards one's roots to extract moral [and instructions], because only like this one can persist and take misadventures that one got hit with." Marko Perković makes his ideology clear - taking history and the
"historical" roots as a legitimation for a nation, and the way the nation has to go on in contemporary but also future times. This romanticized idea of a nation is a concept that was formed amongst others by Rousseau, Herder, Hegel and Fichte and also inspired Franjo Tudman. (Kovačević, 2009: 22)

At the point where the singer MPT applied the narrative of the Croatian national identity such as reproducing and propagating Tudman’s narrative, a certain acceptance of the audience has already existed. Therefore the receiving of the newly contextualized narrative was welcomed within the times of war. How come that his songs and especially *Lijepa li si* are still affiliated in such a great manner around twenty-five years later?

Vjeran Pavlaković offers an interesting thesis in this context. The historian sees a reason in the self-victimization of the Croatians concerning the Yugoslav-period and the wars in the 1990s. Self-victimization and trauma can reinforce collective memory. (Jorgačević, 2015: 1–5) Interview participants also mentioned sort of a (self-) victimization concerning periods of time the earlier mentioned, yet they also included other powers that were involved, such as e.g. “the West”. (Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99) It can further be argued that music itself and the song *Lijepa li si* serve as a platform for collective memory. The narrative is not just passed on, but also set in a different scenography (through the musician) and in addition the concept of a certain, in this case Croatian, community is created or at least imagined, which share and commonly remember certain narratives. According to Street, through music the narrative is therefore not just passed on, but is making the narrative perceptible too. (Street, 2012: 98–116) The singer Thompson is frequently associated with the narrative about the Croatian people, often referred by him and his sympathizers as Croatian values, as he sings “for love, for the homeland, for god.” (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-114; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-110) In this sense MPT argues that some national traditions are even “quite disregarded”. He therefore states that he finds those national elements attractive, because “they especially show the character of the Croatian man”. He argues that those values that are “formed through the inexistence and the fights against the several centuries hostile surrounding” and “through the help of god [are to be seen] the basis of a dignified human being." (Kovačević, 2009: 21) In the interview from 2009 MPT further explains that the other artistic pieces like for example *Ero s onog svijeta* (Ero the rascal) of the composer Jakov Gotovec is an inspirational source because of the shared Christian values. Those values are not just important to the songs but also to the singer MPT, as he and other artists grew up and got educated by the same "traditional values of the Croatian man and the Croatian society". He explains further: "And those belong to the
Christian ideology, especially the characteristics of love to the homeland the affiliation to the family and the love to the land as a gift of god and so on.” (Kovačević, 2009: 21) The interviewed music consumers did not enter a deeper discussion on Croatian values. Yet this does not mean that they don’t have an opinion on it. It is to argue that more obvious and general topics were striking during the interview, such as the geo-political question. Herceg-Bosna as an often perceived Croatian territory is a part of the historiographic narrative of the historic lands of Croatian that is promoted by Thompson through the most popular piece *Lijepa li si*. The ideological implications are openly presented. People are referring to it within the promotion of political goals such as love to the homeland (Male student, 2017: 120-127; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-116; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-110) and doubtless facts (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-116), whereas others are also contextualizing it critically as the promotion of a coherence of the Croatian state beyond its actual borders (Male student, 2017: 1–6; Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Female Lector, 2017: 99-102). This “modern hit” that everybody knows is the story of Croatia and make the people feel, experience and celebrate it. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-116; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-110; Male student, 2017: 120-126; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99)

To conclude, the Croatian narrative is commonly known. However it cannot be assumed that the Croatians in total agree with this historical interpretation. The interview participants mentioned either Croatian values or the geo-political discrepancies, but did not all agree in that perception.

**5.2.2. Experiencing music – experiencing narrative – experiencing politics**

“For love, for the homeland, for god”, all those elements are important to round up other ideas of what a Croatian and the Croatian state is portrayed for many Croatians and Thompson fans. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-116) Those elements and the earlier mentioned partitions of the Croatian narrative serve as a fundament for the forming of histories, and even for some political identities. The narrative that gets passed on through music is made a place of rememberance and enjoyment. With the merging of “musical experience and imagined identities” music itself can get a “part of a larger historical narrative”. (Street, 2012: 116) Marko Perković’s musical productions have to be given a huge importance due their success. This is not only because of the “most beautiful home-loving song” *Lijepa li si* that is mentioned by several interview participants (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-110; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99; Female
An even more fitting example is the publishing of the compilation *Antologija. Bog - Obitelj - Domovina.* (Anthology. God - Family - Homeland.). The compilation with the 57 biggest hits was released according to the 25th celebration of his career, which is nearly congruent with the beginning of the war in Croatia. The publishing was scheduled just a month before the 20th anniversary concert of Knin. (Homepage Croatia Records, 2016) Until December 2016 it was at the first place of the *CMC TOP 40 domaća* (Top 40 of Croatian interpreters) for ten weeks in total. The rating of the *CMC* music channel and the valuation of *Croatia Records* underpins the huge importance when it comes to the (re-) production of a (historical) narrative. *Thompson's* popularity is often referred to by the younger participants through the *CMC* music channel, where music can be ordered through a kind of “SMS-Juke-Box” (Male student, 2017: 120-125; Female Student, 2017: 116-120) Yet the desired way of experiencing *Thompson's* music besides a virtual space of music like *CMC*, are festivities in private or public. Fairly often the tunes of Marko Perković are played at private parties, ranging from birthday parties to weddings. Obviously bound to family and friends, *Thompson's* songs give the feeling of unity and produce a familiar and convenient setting for remembering and celebrating certain (maybe sometimes undefined) issues. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-115; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-108) Additionally festivities of political parties are associated to the music of *Thompson*, fairly often through the song *Lijepa li si* (Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-110; Male student, 2017: 120-127; Female Student, 2017: 116-120) Moreover Marko Perković’s concerts itself are not to be left out as a place to remember and celebrate his reproduced and promoted narrative. Where the singer in a “contagious” (Male student, 2017: 120-126; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99) performance and atmosphere celebrates the narrative with his audience, of those some explicitly, some partially, some do not share at all, the total ideological components of the singer’s lyrics and background. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-116; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99; Male student, 2017: 120-127) A further virtual space for experiencing communities and political ideologies are homepages that offer a music downloading service. An interesting example is the Croatian webpage *crnalegija.com*, offering nationalistic and patriotic music. The site is organized by certain categories of which one is the category "Marko Perković Thompson" amongst patriotic, home-loving, etc. This virtual community gives the possibility to "enjoy a feeling of togetherness" which is an important momentum for
the identity formation. (Senjković, Reana and Dukić, Davor: 45–47) This particular webpage and similar examples were not mentioned by the interview participants. Yet the virtual space of the TV music channel CMC seemed to have an importance for some of the music consumers.

According to Benedict Anderson’s concept of an ‘imagined nation’ (Anderson, 2006: 4–6) the imagining of a certain community can also come along by listening to the music. This is especially the case when taking a closer look to a concert of the singer and in particular in connection to certain already mentioned anniversaries, such as the event in Knin in August 2015, celebrating Croatia’s independence through a concert of MPT. This examination is underlined by the participants elaborations on where, when and how Thompsons music is consumed.

Fairly interesting and similarly important is the connection to sports, which is present through at least the song Lijepa li si that is often played during or after sports events. Also the interview partners mentioned the strong connection of the song Lijepa li si within the context of sports, mainly football. Thompson himself considers the connection as present as well. Also the people who are engaging with him at least through a certain interest in his music or happenings around his figure, would connect his music and sports in some cases. Especially in the context of international football games, Lijepa li si is considered as important as the official Croatian hymn Lijepa naša domovino. Only the female lector stated directly that sport should not be used as a political platform, as well as music shouldn’t. (Female Lector, 2017: 99-102) As already mentioned imagining communities through music is encouraging political experience.

Highlighting the imagining and/or creation of a community in connection with a collective memory and celebrating it through music leads to a certain experience (Street, 2012: 164) which was mentioned by some interview partners. In this respect it can also be argued that those experiences, from sport events to political anniversaries, are connected to a set of emotions, which further leads to a “symbolic representation”, like explained in the previous chapters. This is also sensed and highly credited by the music consumers, supporting or not supporting Marko Perković’s music.

5.2.3. Re-Producing and making history through music

"[...] during the nineties we all loved Thompson a little because we were in the situation I mentioned earlier, which means that the human, when its live is endangered, also listens to the music differently and in general reacts differently. And now twenty years after the war, now we all managed to establish a certain distance, towards history I hope and towards this war." (Female Lector, 2017: 100-102)
Music takes up upon a certain narrative through text and its reception. It gives the possibility to remember and celebrate within a certain created and/or imagined community. Just as examined within the theory earlier, a “history making” process can start, which generates a new or additional narrative. (Street, 2012: 116) The female lector’s statement was indicating such a process. Whether one agrees or disapproves with the narrative the process is taking place. This can be underlined with further statements from other interviews, where participants were intimating the historical context of songs that were created during war. In this respect the importance of marking a certain historical time underpinned through music as examined earlier, has to be pointed out. The “imagination of a revealing content”, the “identification of conditions and interests around a specific moment” and the interpretation of “sound and images as ‘reflections of their times’ are the three music production components according to John Street that can be found within the interviews too. These three pillars of historical production through music are mentioned in several ways by all participants. The revealing content is mentioned through Croatian values and the examined historical interpretation (Male student, 2017: 120-121; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 113-115; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99). Conditions and interests around a specific moment such as the reflections of their times are examined through the political interest of politicians and the goals during the war by all participants. This goes beyond Cathrine Bakers examination on the music production based on patriotic motives during the war. The interview partners are all aware of the several shifts that the music production went through, although not everybody is aware of the turning points. (Female Student, 2017: 116-120) This can be further connected to Croatia Records interpretation of Marko Perković Thompson, who is characterized within the specific era. (Homepage Croatia Records, 2015a) The pop-rock singer is without any exception seen within the context of patriotism and war. This is due to his career start during the war, but also due to his active engagement as a war veteran, even being honored with the “Golden Plaque” this year. (Directno)

Thompson personified this term and even made himself the spokesperson of the veterans. This aspect results in a huge amount of supporters. Spreading the narrative of a Croatian defensive role in war, combined with Tudman’s concept of the homeland war for a thousand-year old dream of Croatian freedom (Baker, 2010: 94) exemplifies the commemoration and celebration of the past within Thompson's songs. This if further noted on behalf of his concerts and is an important identified element by the recipients. (Male student, 2017: 120-127; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-110; Female Student,
Especially the importance of music within the war, in particular for soldiers was a striking fact, in connection to a motivating but patronizing role for soldiers. (Female Lector, 2017: 99-102) Again this points out how a certain narrative is generated and perceived by music consumers, if in support or not.

On concerts Thompson commemorates the happenings of the 1990s within a certain style of performance. The singer sees himself as one who remembers and glorifies the past and one who is aware what the “Croatian people had to suffer until now.”(Kovačević, 2009: 20) Within the interview of Marko Perković by Mate Kovačević the singer gets a lot of compliments for the scenography and is asked to explain his concept. MPT explains that for him the scenography needs to follow the story and the message of the songs. He states that he could turn that in a way so that also the Croatians abroad don't have to have a complex because of the Croatian music. Again repeating his values and ideology he explains that “it is important for the Croatian people within and outside of the state boarders, that the Croatian music shouldn't be something to be ashamed of, rather a music that makes them proud”. (Kovačević, 2009: 25)

The utilization of Ustaša slogans and symbols on MPT’s concerts is widely noticed. In recent years debates and critiques by politicians and media representatives are rising. Interview attendants mentioned not just Thompson, but also fans taking up on Ustaša symbols. It is also widely known that the singer uses the salutation Za dom! Spremni! at MPT’s concerts, at least when announcing the song Bojna Čavoglave. (Jutarnji list, 2017; Pacek, 2017)

However no interview participant mentioned utilization of Ustaša slogans and symbols directly during the interview. Although Marko Perković is mainly seen as a highly political person, the connection to the reengagement of national-socialist attitude was not discussed in the interviews. It cannot be proofed whether it is simply not on the interviewees mind, it does not have relevance for the participants or if really no connection is seen. According to the singer and his fans there is no connection to the period of World War II, but that the song has to be considered within the context of the Homeland War. Therefore it is argued that the attitude cannot be seen as reengagement with the national-socialist time. Additionally members and supporters of the Hrvatske obrambene snage (HOS, Croatian defense forces) during war time do underline this argumentation. (Bujica Z1 TV, 2017) It has to be mentioned that the television report seems quite biased, since no Thompson critical voices were included. Yet especially the yearly concert of 5th August, The celebration day Dan pobjede i domovinske zahvalnosti i Dana hrvatskih branitelja (Day of Victory and
Homeland gratitude and the day of the Croatian defenders) in Čavoglave and the 25th anniversary in Knin in 2015 (Večernji list, 2015e) symbolize the whole commemoration process. Especially because the concert is widely known and reflected as such a place for celebration it can be considered a way, place and time to commemorate the war. The yearly tradition of the concert therefore writes history too.

A certain imagined community connected to sports, as mentioned earlier gives the narrative a possibility of experience through music too. Especially the song Lijepa li si is connected to such moments and is referred to that everybody knows and enjoys the song. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-115; Male student, 2017: 120-125; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-109; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99) As John Street argues songs cannot be seen as Oral history just because they are sung, they have to be seen in “revelation to history”. Songs might be seen as historic documents, as being written in a certain time, and being a “piece of a narrative of cultural history”, still the place and the experience of it make it a “part of [the] present as well as [the] past.” (Street, 2012: 98–116) This is not just the case for a concert but also for a sports event, where music is played. A common narrative connecting to myths is also visible for some music consumers. Thompson’s songs and the narrative that he is using are tackling upon historical myths as well, as it is quite popular for nationalist narratives. Lijepa li si significance rises with its reception after several sports events, of those international football matches are the most popular one’s outside of Croatia. The “interdependencies and interconnection of sport and the expression of national identity” (Brentin, 2014: 187–189) is highly noticed within the interviewed music consumers. Thompson is occurring comparatively often in connection to war and the music the Croatian War of Independence, referenced too as ratna glazba/muzika “war music“. Within the society he is not just linked to the war itself (Female Lector, 2017: 99-102; Female Student, 2017: 116-120), but also the movement of the branitelji. (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-108; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99) This is not a surprise as he openly identifies as a branitelj.

In this respect it can be seen again that the singer is implementing Tuđman’s narrative into his social practices. As a musician the narrative is wrapped within his performances and as a public person Marko Perković is taking part at certain (political) events, such as gatherings of the branitelj. Especially through the tradition of the celebration concerts of anniversaries like the 5th August, he is creating a frame to remember certain events, and a certain narrative. The community that joins him, individuals either identifying as fans or not, for this procedure and the social practice are likewise entering a writing history process.
5.3. Political communication and representation – becoming and being political

As discussed earlier political communications and representations connection to music is drawn through a communicator that provides certain messages and in some cases represents a certain amount of people having similar or same ideas. While music consumers vary in their opinion if people who listen to Thompsons music do support his political opinion or not, it can be seen that political communication and representation is highly connected to this particular music. Additionally it can be seen how Marko Perković Thompson is being political at first place, but also what people he is representing. Taking into consideration that his is a part of the branitelj movement is only one stance. A further line can be drawn by considering the fans that participate in his concerts. Interestingly enough the interview participants analyzed MPT’S political representation and communication quite differently.

The musician’s power through his popularity is noticeable through “communicating political ideas and values” and because of the “claim of representing causes and people”. According to John Street the “ability to convey ideas and embody communities” is the most significant factor within this process (Street, 2012: 41–42) Marko Perković Thompson is broadly seen as such a musician. Besides that he is partially singing about politics and partially writing political songs, he is also communicating certain values and ideologies, but is also representing them as well. (Male student, 2017: 120-124; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-107) (Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-117, 2017: 1–7; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99) That’s also how the singer positions himself. Being asked about his successful songs by Mate Kovačević, who wants to present Thompson in the best spotlight, the singer answers that in his songs he sings about the topics that stress him. In those songs, he explains, he delivers his deepest and most intimate feelings. He further says: "But it is not that I am only singing and talking about them, I also live them, actually I first live them and then I take them over into my songs.” (Kovačević, 2009: 20) This illustrates the importance of the artists’ motivation. Thompson even declares himself as representative of all Croatians. (Kovačević, 2009: 10–29) It is clear that not all Croatians confirm this testimony. Yet for some parts it can be argued, that the often quoted “most beautiful home-loving song” Lijepa li si, does at least at official sports and political events represent the Croatians internationally. Additionally it is also a representation within Croatia when certain parties use the song for their electoral campaigns and parties, as for some people it might seem as a representation of all the Croatians that voted for the party. (Male student, 2017: 120-127; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 1–8; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99; Homepage Croatia Records, 2016) Taking this into consideration it
cannot be denied that the singer MPT represents at least a certain community of Croatians, within a certain context. Of course the setting needs to be defined for every situation: timeframe, political and social context, community that is represented. Asking about *Thompson* and the connection to politics the singer always gets mentioned within a political. It has to be pointed out that by asking about the connection of music and politics within Croatia, it was never the case that *Thompson* got mentioned immediately as a political person or a representor of political ideas and values. Asking for him as representing political values and ideologies the majority would agree. What John Street describes as the most interesting thing is how and when music gets written or performed (Homepage Croatia Records, 2016: 44) The Croatian singer started his career, directly at the front, as Cathrine Baker described pictorially. From the beginning on his songs were highly political and sending out ideologies. The Croatian values that were taken up more directly throughout his career, were at that point already highly important for the narrative of the Croatian state. This was again sensed by the music consumers, but not always combined with the exact moment. (Female Student, 2017: 116-120) This can be seen as the “interesting moment” that John Street addresses, where “musicians feel compelled or feel able to comment on politics” (Street, 2012: 44), which can be directed towards *Thompson* from the beginning of his career, as has been noticed by several interview participants. (Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99; Female Lector, 2017: 99-102; Male student, 2017: 120-127)

Be it Marko Perković’s connection to politics through commenting on it, motivating people to engage politically or playing concerts that are set within a political context like jubilee dates. When talking about jubilees like the 25th of June *Day of Croatia Statehood* or the 5th of August *Victory and Homeland Thanksgiving Day* and the veterans movement most people link it directly to the singer *Thompson*. It is linked to either nationalism or „love to the home-country“. (Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Male student, 2017: 120-127; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-115; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-109; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99) The singer is definitely perceived as a political person, although people would not directly name it in this way.

If the musician himself does not position himself within a political context through writing political songs or engaging in any of the mentioned fields, he can get politicized through being interpreted like this. At the latest this happened with all the bans of performing abroad and at home that the singer Perković was confronted with. In this respect he was politicized in a first instance by certain governments, politicians or activists that banned his concerts abroad and within the country. Media jumped in as well by covering those instances
and discussing it, which refers to international and Croatian media. Marko Perković Thompson is widely perceived in this manner, it does not matter if one is a fan or not – when talking about Thompson, the topic of bans is omnipresent. (Male student, 2017: 120-127; Female Student, 2017: 116-120; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-109; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 1:10-116; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99) The question is why a musician feels obliged to comment or engage in politics at all? Why does the artist involve in political activism, argumentation or even polemic? This question cannot be generally answered and explanations differ from musician to musician. (Street, 2012: 46)

Talking about Thompson's case one might argue that all was initiated already with the starting point of his career. As an unknown person he already gained popularity by making a highly political song. Fighting and supporting his country wrapped up in overwhelming love of his native country was his emblem from scratch. Until today the singer's mission statement are the Croatian values. (Bujica Z1 TV, 2017; CMC TV, 2013) It has to be mentioned that both channels are positioned quite positively towards the singer, however they therefore seem to represent his ideas and values the best. Thompson presents himself as a person that is aware of the Croatian people and what they „had to suffer until now“. This will be clear at the latest while reading about his motivation, where he explains that he didn't only want to focus on his everyday environment but include inspirations from different live experiences such as traveling certain regions:

"As a musician I was visiting all our regions. From the center Bosnia, Hercegovina, Slavonia, Lika, well all to Istria and Zagorije. Of course, I didn’t choose inspiring motives, they all come from themselves, but a way into the songs finds only that what impresses me the most."
(Kovačević, 2009: 20)

This shows that remembering the past is not the only part of his private life and artistic work, but also to spread an explicit political idea - the one of the boarders of Croatia during the Ustaša regime with assembling regions from today's Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Another connection mentioned in the theoretical part is the creation of a specific sound. Thompson with his rock sound is sometimes preferred because of the genre. To some extent people link the theme of the songs with his personal music style. In other words the topics covered by MPT are argued to to fit better to the heavier sound and the rock genre. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-115) Sound as a contributor to the likability of a music is also mentioned by Job Seeker, yet he did not connect it to the music of Thompson in his statements. Nonetheless this has to be distinguished as very subjective
estimations as every person connects different emotions and experiences with a certain music genre. In addition political communication and representation is based on a certain style and moral capital as examined earlier. Marko Perković Thompson’s performing style has also been under discussion quite often. Mostly people’s opinions are divided about how to describe his performance. (Male student, 2017: 120-125; Female Lector, 2017: 100-102)

The fact that Thompson uses myths and historical symbols to illustrate his historical interpretation and narrative (Kovačević, 2009: 18–19) shows the pure engagement and representation of politics. “Representation stands or acts for a community” is how a musician might describe himself. Interestingly enough the bans and the critique the singer and also his supporters are confronted with is not to be underestimated, as it is a quite commonly discussed issue. All interviews attendees talked about the criticism that the singer is confronted with. While some mentioned the bans in Istria and abroad (Male student, 2017: 120-126; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 110-115), others indicated the critique of the media towards the singer. This was especially noticeable when the interview participant introduced special broadcasts and shows that discussed the controversy about the singer. (Male student, 2017: 120-125). Interestingly enough it was mentioned two times that some people feel ashamed of listening or supporting the song. This would be either in private in a way that people wouldn’t dare to express their encouragement for the singer and his political ideology (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 112-114) or in public, where the singer might not be played and supported to the same extent as other performers. The assumption lies in politicians feeling ashamed of listening to MPT because of his media presentation connecting him to Ustaša reengagement. (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 105-109) Additionally the ban of performing the song Ljepa li si by a student at an university event was mentioned in this context. The refusal was issued on behalf of the singer’s reflection and representation of a certain political ideology. (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 112-114) All those cases show that Thompson definitely stands for a nationalist and right-wing ideology and that he represents it. People identify his music with certain politicians and parties such as the HDZ. His concerts represent his ideology and narrative and this is not just because of the already described scenography and holding at Croatian jubilee dates, but also because of the audience that appears. Although the majority wouldn’t go in line describing all people that listen to Thompson as full supporters of his political ideology, hard-core nationalist and extreme right-winger was always mentioned. The “aesthetic dimension” with “representativeness performable” in combination with fans and fandom makes the
experiencing within a community possible. (Street, 2012: 58–60; Thompson, 1995: 220–225; van Zoonen; Ankersmit, 2002)

The question of how representation can be described among fandom is being answered partially by the interview participants. As Marko Perković Thompson is clearly sending messages at least through his song Lijepa li si (Job Seeker, 2016: 91-98), communicating his political and ideological views through his songs and performances (Female Lector, 2017: 99-102; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 114-115) and the dates chosen, (Female Lector, 2017: 99-102; Female Student, 2017: 117-118; Male student, 2017: 121-125; Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 114-116) a political representation is to be identified. Further he is also connected to certain politicians, mainly of the HDZ. (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 105-109; Job Seeker, 2016: 92-98; Male student, 2017: 121-124) He builds a community of the HDZ supporters that listen to him as well as fans of the Croatian football team cheering for their country representation (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 114-115; Female Student, 2017: 117-119) but in the end also a huge amount of Croatians. (Male student, 2017: 127-127; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99). The majority experiences Lijepa li si as a beautiful home-loving song representing the country and its people. (Male student, 2017: 127-127; Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 103-109) Some do not identify his songs as political at all (Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 104-105), whereas others do and describe and consider him a product of the media. (Female Lector, 2017: 100-102)

The burning question remains, do people that listen to his music share the singer’s political opinion or not? This question provokes a very individual and subjective answer it can in no way be generalized. As some do not think about politics when thinking of Thompson, because it is more a reflection of love to the homeland than politics (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 114-116; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 104-105), it shows the complexity of the interpretation. Although “love to the homeland” was identified within this paper as a “Croatian value” and part of the identity forming concept of Tuđman, the HDZ and the singer Thompson, it is in some cases not experienced or sensed as political. Even if MPT’s themes are a part of a political concept, it cannot be argued that a single experience of the singer’s appearance is reflecting the political stance of the artist. An experience cannot be right or wrong in that matter. It is as it is. What remains to discuss is the scope that such an experience might provoke in a further everydaylife context. It is widely believed that the Croatian society and supporters of Thompson too are split into “50/50” (Female Lector, 2017: 100-102) which suggests that the singer does not represent all
Croatians (Female Lector, 2017: 100-102; Male student, 2017: 126-127) This is especially important when arguing about the more radical right-wing and extreme nationalist fans that are mentioned fairly often (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 112-115; Male student, 2017: 125-127; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017) These radical thoughts were mentioned for (politically disappointed) fans at concerts (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 111-115; Male student, 2017: 125-127; Female Student, 2017: 117-119) but also for the “right-wing population that sees him [and his ideology] as a symbol” for the right-oriented part of the society. (Female Lector, 2017: 100-102) Asking about sharing the same political ideology as the singer the answer varied from partially (Female Graduate from Communication Studies, 2017: 111-115; Receptionist and Mechanical Technician, 2017: 107-110), or the majority would not share the same political thoughts (Female Lector, 2017: 100-102), or the majority (Male student, 2017: 126-127), to everybody who listens to Thompson has the same political stance (Job Seeker, 2016: 87-99; Female Student, 2017: 117-119). Interestingly enough was the mentioning of younger audiences, since they would listen to him with a “certain distance” and with a “doze of humor” and not support his political stance at all. (Female Lector, 2017: 100-102)

5.4. Discussion

All interview participants underlined a huge interrelation between music and politics in a general perspective. Yet no interviewee mentioned Marko Perković Thompson in that connection without being asked by the interviewer. When being asked, everybody mentioned an interrelation between the singer and politics, but did not necessarily see the singer himself as a political person, or his music as political, or the occurrences around his personality. The answers depended on the interviews relation to music in general. An additional fact was the appreciation of Marko Perković’s music. What can be pointed out is that the interview partners who share the same ideas argued that his political stance is not important; interviewees that disagreed with his political stance emphasized that the political attitude of a musician is important.

One can further see that many topics mentioned and discussed around and by the singer himself, do repeat in this thesis, especially when analyzing the interrelations of music and politics. This is due to the different angles that can be taken as starting point for the research of the interrelations of Thompson’s artistic and political behavior. What is to be pointed out in addition is that the interconnections are not to be seen as a simple pattern, but are rather showing the complexity and the strong entanglement of the cases analyzed.
While the music consumers are aware of censorship and propaganda the perception towards it varies. On the one hand censorship is being connected to the state and certain parties but on the other hand it doesn’t seem to be as important as propaganda. Interestingly enough the system behind the censorship is more relevant than the censorship as such. This stays in contrast to the reflections on propaganda, where the system behind it is the most striking part for the interview participants. A possible explanation can be that the censorship system was loosened with the shift in politics after Tudman’s death, but that political propaganda is perceived to be persistent.

Music is further experienced beyond the sound. A strongly pointed out marker is the Croatian narrative combining a certain historical perspective and Croatian values. Yet it cannot be assumed that all people listing to Thompson’s music support this narrative by conviction. This is also being supported by the responses of the interview participants. But is it really that easy to just listen to music without supporting the musician’s political stance? Especially when bearing in mind that the celebration of a collective memory through music is connected to experiencing politics? The answer depends on the music consumer’s opinion on music and politics in general and should not be answered collectively. What can be argued is that music consumers do support such a process indirectly by simply consuming music through radio, TV, buying CD’s or attending a concert. They are therefore giving an indirect support through money or representation by appearance. A good example are the around 10,000 Croatians that were being counted at the Šalata concert in September 2017 that I attended. In this respect in a the singer’s speech addressing all the fans and every single person as supporting him at this concert, my person was included into the crowd as a supporting MPT’s statements although I attended because of research but not with the idea of supporting his political stance. Yet some of the interview participants see the concerts as a fitting place to celebrate certain anniversaries that are held up by this particular historical narrative and Croatian values.

All in all the singer is seen by the majority as a highly political person; if not so, then the music is being used by politicians for political goals. Some songs bear political messages. Although it has to be outlined that not everybody that listens to MPT’s songs supports his political values, yet a certain support exists actively or passively and has the effect of a general support by music consumers apart of his convinced fans, of those some used the same wording and argumentation within the interviews held for the TV and newspaper reportages.
Figure 4: A Thompson concert at Šalata in Zagreb September 2017: King Zvonimir (11th century) as a stage setting and a wave of flags in the crowd. Photography: Christina Rajković.

CONCLUSION

While the interrelations of music and politics on a theoretical part can be pointed out quite directly and unambiguously, the music consumer’s opinion was more ambivalent. The interconnections of music and politics in Croatia can be drawn from several angles. Taking a closer look at those two domains, a relation can be detected when it comes to the states interference through propagandistic music or the censorship of artistic pieces. Further connections can be pointed out like musicians that play concerts for politicians and/or electoral campaigns, or politicians gathering around artists. All those examples show links between music and politics, which altogether represent the interrelation of those fields.

Taking a closer look at the singer Marko Perković Thompson several ways of interrelations between music and politics are indicated. The beginning of his career already can be seen as the starting point of the merger of music and politics. As the singer started his career with a strongly political song about the War of Independence, with references to the Ustaša period, it can be argued that the singer himself was a highly political person from the beginning on. Although MPT was not listened to and perceived by everybody in the early times of the war, he soon gathered broader recognition around Croatia. The HDZ would also play his music at humanitarian concerts for soldiers. The singer could further benefit from the state’s support of patriotic and home-loving songs. His popularity did not decrease over the years. A first shift in the perception on media can be detected with the change of the political situation in Croatia. With the Socialists majority within the administration in the early 2000s and the efforts concerning the EU membership of the young Republic, Marko Perković found a new enemy to speak against, describing them as “Communists”. Shortly after, the first

32 The photography is in the personal archive of the author.
voices emerged against the singer. He was accredited to be a strong-nationalist with extremist thoughts, such as entering the reengagement of national-socialism. The singer denied several accusations but never publicly denied to be an *Ustaša* supporter.

However, this did not entail a setback for his career. Marko Perković *Thompson* is a persistent star within the Croatian charts, his song *Lijepa li si* is played at official celebrations and anniversaries in Croatia, such as at electoral parties of the HDZ and after (international) sports events. It seems as if everybody knows at least this particular song. One might further get the impression that the singer and some of his other songs are very popular amongst Croatsians. He has plenty of fans and supporters from diverse parts of the society: the clergy, politicians, sport stars attend his concerts together with adolescents, children, families, groups of friends and fan clubs. Yet members of the clergy, politicians or sport stars and artist are sometimes even part of the show. The concert at Šalata in September 2017 showed that after several years it finally was possible for the singer to return to Croatia’s capital, where he had problems to perform in the previous last years. On media coverages this was discussed e.g. by the Croatian politician Bruna Esih, who attended the concert. At this concert *Thompsons* commented on politics and gave hints to the Christian believe. The singer also thanked the youth appearing at the concerts and told them they show Croatia’s unification. He spread the message that “they” [the leftist part of the country] do not get the chance to split the Croatsians. In addition the bishop of Sisak was read a poem to one of Thompson’s songs. In the background Croatian landscape, historical Croatian figures and the flag of the Croatian Republik were displayed. What was omnipresent: a wave of Croatian flags from several historical stages of Croatian states. One could see flags from the Republic of Croatia, Ustaša and HOS flags, but also a flag that combined the Croatian and the Czech one. The audience was quite mixed, but many people with HOS Shirts and uniforms were present, which reminded of the *Ustaša* uniform. People talking about the Second World War and the often called “Homeland War”, could be heard everywhere. It seems as if a concrete of Thompson cannot take place without those components. This empirical description of the concert matches other reports and video clips that can be found online. It also fits the description of the concert in Knin 5th August in 2015, where the twentieth anniversary the Croatian independence was celebrated through a concert of *Thompson*.

*Antologija. Bog - Obitelj - Domovina.* (Anthology. God - Family - Homeland.) that was published on 29th July 2015 with regards to the 25th celebration of his career, which is nearly congruent with the beginning of the war in Croatia. The compilation was published just a month before the 20th anniversary concert in Knin. (Homepage Croatia Records, 2016)
According to Croatia Records Marko Perković Thompson offered not just the “hymn” *Prijatelji* (Friends), and the “legendary song from the times of the Homeland war” *Bojna Čavoglave* (The battalion of Čavoglave) but especially the “most beautiful home-loving song” *Lijepa li si* to the Croatian people (Homepage Croatia Records, 2015a) The high selling point but also the high view-numbers on YouTube speak for themselves. This also gives the impression that Thompson has a point by arguing that he is representing the Croatian people, especially by being described as such through a former governmentally owned company such as Croatia Records (Homepage Croatia Records, 2016; Vuletic, 2011; Kovačević, 2009)

However, taking the research questions into account a fairly clear picture emerges concerning the reception of the singer and his political stance and appearance. Addressing the question if everybody who listens to Thompson’s music supports his political stance the reflections of the six interview participants showed that no collective interpretations can be set. It has to be kept in mind that some of the interview participants define themselves as fans, some explicitly don’t. The perception of the audience depends strongly on the individual’s themelves. It has to be pointed out that the political interference was seen more critical by people who did not define themselves as a fan or mentioned disapproval to the singer, than actual fans or people that did not mention any criticism about him. Talking about the identification of the singer, his appearance and the relations between music and politics, a general consensus can be determined concerning a political appearance. While everybody would identify an overall interrelation within music and politics, interpretations on the singer did very strongly. While some identified Marko Perković as a (highly) political person, others did not see him as political. However, some songs would therefore be seen as political or carrying a political message. Others would argue that the singer is political but the songs and his music in general are not. What was remarkable was the further mentioning of the category “home-loving” within the interviews. All, besides one, interview participants used the word home-loving in the context with the song *Lijepa li si* but also with Thompson. In this connection the earlier defined Croatian values were also mentioned quite often. Interestingly enough it sometimes seemed as if those were presented as a defence for the singer. This was especially noticeable when explaining that the song *Lijepa li si* is (one of) the most beautiful home-loving songs, where the singer would not do anything else than describe the beauty of Croatia. In this respect also the video clip was mentioned, as one of the only ones, where all regions are displayed with their beauties and people in folk dresses dance the traditional Kolo. This case also shows the differences in the perception of the Croatian narrative. Each participant seemed to have its own definition of what Croatia is and what it looks like. Only in
two cases there were compliances between the singer’s presentation of the Croatian narrative and the expressions of the interview attendees. Within other interviews there couldn’t be found similarities between the singer’s political statements and attitude and the interview attendees remarks. The most accordance between the music consumers could be found concerning the song *Lijepa li si*, as elaborated earlier before. Questioning the differences between an active and a passive audience it can be argued that the passive audience might not be as interested in the political messages and meanings because of not actively turning on and listening to the music. This is also reflected within the interviews attendee’s remarks.

The thesis demonstrates that the political opinion of a music consumer does not necessarily correlate with a singer’s political stance. Listening to a particular song cannot be connected to a political opinion in general. This might be true for some of music consumers but not for the general audience. This is also the case for the audience of Marko Perković Thompson.

Despite the combination of theoretical and empirical part the state of the art could be investigated through a direct interview with the singer himself.\(^{33}\) For this research it was only possible to include interviews and statements of the singer through second hand. One of the long-standing issues could be the investigation to research both the audiences but also the artist’s perspective on the interrelations of music and culture. How does the singer himself interpret his importance within the political sphere? How can the difference between the artistic and the political importance be set? In what way does the audience and the artist agree or disagree on the singer’s appearance within the public sphere? Further interesting investigations could be made by including politicians and party spokesman/-women on their projections concerning the interrelations of music and politics and the case of Marko Perković Thompson? How would the answer differ based on what party the politicians belong to? Or would it simply show the same results. In addition city festivals and anniversaries offer interesting case studies for a field research as Thompsons music is played in such context quite often and many visitors can be watched singing along with the songs.

All in all it can be argued that factoring in further participants would probably lead to the same complex and ambivalent result, as the experience, interpretation and perception of music and its political scope depends on the music consumer and varies from person to person.

\(^{33}\) Unfortunately within the scope of this research it was not possible to arrange an interview with the singer himself. The attempt of an interview with the singer Marko Perković was made twice, yet it could not take place due to some time issues.
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ANNEX

Questionaire

- I realized that a lot of people know to chant the song „Lijepa li si“ of the singer Thompson. What do you think about that? What can you say about that?
- Do you think that the songs of Thompson are often to hear?
- It seems as if the song „Lijepa li si“ is an unofficial hymn of Croatia, as the song is eg played after football games. What do you think about that?
- What do you think about Thompson and politics? (Would you say that he is a political person? That he is sometimes interacting with politics? Or would you say that he is important for Croatian politics?)
- What do you think about political thinking? What would you say – are the people that listen to him sharing his political opinion?

Interview Transkripts

Interview with IP1

Zagreb, 2016-12-01
Duration: 20:05 minutes

Gender: Male
Year of Birth: 1968
Profession: Job seeker

Profile: The Job seeker is living in Zagreb, but is originally from Prijedor in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The job seeker came to Croatia during the war as a refugee. He did not mention if he defines himself as a fan of the singer Marko Perković Thompson.

IPA: Ti si uvijek bio intelektualno, iznad svih ovih, u našoj, znaš ono kad pričaš o nekim stvarima, tu se vidi da imaš pojma o problemima u životu i inače. I politički si bio jako...

IP1: Najveći utjecaj na glazbu je ostvario Bob Dylan sa svojim socijalnim tematikama pjesama u doba kada se Amerika borila za demokraciju i protiv rasizma da crnci budu jednaki sa bjelcima. I onda tu je Donovan, a od rock glazbe tu so Animalsi, (???), Rolling SIP1s, Beatleisi, Status Quo...

I: Jimi Hendrix...

12 IP1: Jimi Hendrix, Dire Straits i Novi, U2, to je to;
IPA: Ima čovjek pojma, ha?
I: Ima, totalno.
IP1: To tako ide, ali kroz, naj aj aj bolji način izražavanja pjesme je na emotivan način izražavanja pjesme je kroz glazbu. Političke poruke, socijalne poruke, ljubavna tematika i te stvari. A kad se ukomponuju i uskladitelj sa glazbom onda to ima svoju svrhu smisao, glavu i rep. A u životu čovjeka pojedinca se ništa slučajno ne dešava. Sve je smišljeno do... od rođenja do smrti. I sa tebom vladaju drugi i zakoni, a političari vladaju preko institucija sistema narodom i medija, televizije i radija sa narodom ali imaju prirodni zakon koji vladaju njima da sve ima svoj početak i kraj, kulminaciju i par.
IPB: Bez ikak‘e muke, ovo dalje!
IP1: I to je jasno. Sve što se rodi mora da umre. Da sazrije i padne podjelo (???) A najbolje kad žige ide ispod žiga, a lišće ispod drveta.
IPA: Samo malo. Nešto pričaj njoj...
IP1: Kad to se... A sve filozofska tematika.
IPA: Da a da se vratimo naše ovo.
I: A meni je to baš interesantno, jer je to to o čemu ja pišem. Baš taj odnos. Kako se to može isčitati iz glazbe.
IP1: Poruke političke socijalne tematike kroz glazbu se ispoljavaju i time vladaju strukture emocije nije... Zlouporaba vlasti kad političari pozivaju glazbenike na svoje političke skupove jer na taj način ustvari, svoje određene poruke i žele vladati putem medija putem glazbe narodom, jednom državom. Država je ustrojena tako da ima zakonodavnu, sudsku, izvršnu vlast i mehanizme funkcioniranja te vlast koje se prenose sa jedne poluge na drugi na drugu polugu vladavine prava. A pravo kao pravo je širok...
IPA: E da odete vi u kuhinju da mi možemo pričat, ajd odete vi...
I: Može. (PAUZA) Pa to je, meni je to izvrsno što ti pričaš jer ja, ja sam to pokušavala tati objasniti što želim istraživati a on uopće nije skužio što sam ja rekla.
IP1: Od mene baš nečeš puno naučiti
I: Ja mislim da da..
IP1: jer ja sam... škrt u svemu tome iznad u načinu shvaćanja i prožimanja... imaju ljudi više intelektualno... sposobniji od mene, ali glazba kao muzika da li se zavisi s kojima najveći utjecaj su ostvarili glazbenici u bluesu, country bluesu, rock bluesu i čistom rocku a svi glazbenici su poubijani... koji su nešto značili, jer su prevladali sredinu u kojoj žive i nisu odgovarali sistemu vladavine... pardon podrigivam, jeo sam luk... I to je čisto predočenje, ali političari pokušavaju vladati svime preko
medija i preko institucija sistema poluga vlasti vladati glazbom i kontrola i cenzura svega od glazbe do stihova do rocka i poruka. I nije slučajno da su se i Hitler i Goebels koristili glazbom i muzikom kao sredstvo predočavanja svojih osjećaja jer oni su govorili što puta ponavljena laž prerasta u istinu jer je mediji prihvatne. Evo primjera radi, neko se ubojstvu odnesi u Austriji. Motivi tog ubojstva nisu poznati većeras si vidjela petero ubijano, ubili i kućinog ljubimca i dijete pet godina. Sada može... su svalili sve na nju, ona ispada psihički bolesnik sizofreničar, posljednji stadij delirij ludila, a možda ona nije ubila nikoga, nego služba sigurnosti kojoj ona ne odgovara ili nekog ‘ko joj se želi da osveti al i isl je za široke medije i za narod i za svjetsku međunarodnu javnost ono što televizija, mediji objave.

I: Da.

IP1: povoljni i povlašteni, kaj objave i one svi će prihvatiti ono što su rekli na vijestima, a iako isl može biti sasvim i druga, treća, četvrta, peta dok istražn
foreničari, dok sudci, ne ustanove istinu, onda se ne može govoriti u naprijed o svemu tome, ali I, ChrisI, i glazba ima svoje poruke.

I: Da.

IP1: Jim Morrison iz grupe The Doors imao je strahovit utjecaj na masu. I on i... se koristio seksualnim orientacijama pri predočenju svojih poteza u Rock glazbi da je izlazio pred široke mase i masturbirao.

I: mmh.


I: Da.

IP1: A Jimi Hendrix je ispoljavo se kroz gitaru soling Rock i svirku gitare Fender a imao je specifičan zvuk. No međutim njegov rock (???) zabilježen je u svoje vrijeme kao najveći klasičar na gitari i najveći poznavaoce gitare. Što je danas Mike (???) [Mark Knopfler] iz Dire Straits. I sad ti s...s’vati poruke s kojima oni žele ostvariti svoje ciljeve. Zaraditi za ekzistenciju. Biti medijski prisutni, biti popularni i biti ne dodirljivi slučajevi politiku i za sudstvo i za ostale institucije sistema.

I: Da.

IP1: A to je komplicirana stvar i sve se jedno na drugo veže... kako cigla ide na ciglu stvara se zid tako riječ stvara se pjesma tako stih po stih stvaraju se albumi i ostvaraju se poruke koje se 24 sata dnevno emitiraju putem radne televizije i ostvaraju svoje ciljeve. Ali ako hoćeš iskreno i poštenu, ne može se omogućiti medijski pristup tržištu ukoliko čovjek nije u istinu močan da ostvari svoje ciljeve i ono što pjeva narodne mase prihvat. On može biti genijalan svirač, može biti genijalan pjesnik ali njegove pjesme mogu krasiti i ostvarivat vel’ke hitove i zarađivati, jer su politički podobni. Politička podobnost danas je moralna, određuje sve.
I: Da


I: Da.


I: Da.


I: Da.

IP1: Kao i u životu. I jedan koncert traje dva sata i jedna pjesma pet minuta jedan soling minut. Ali sa tim osjećajom notama putem ljubavnih poruka, putem političkih poruka, oni vladaju medijima, vladaju narodnim masama vladaju... Mediji su radio, novine i te stvari televizija, i oni na taj način vladaju sistemom i podobni su jer mogu biti nacionalistički bendovi mogu biti narodni bendovi mogu biti politički bendovi orijentirani, mogu biti filozofski orijentirani sa psihoporukama i svime onim što se dešava u životu, svakodnevno “dvacetčetri” sata. A ti si svjesna toga u sred noć ustaneš upališ radio glazba muzika.

I: mmh.

IP1: ili klasična ili, to jest ozbiljna, ili rock pop, narodna i te stvari, tamburice i te
stvari. I sa dobrim notama, željama kroz glazbu čovjek ostvaruje svoje poruke. 
Putem tim ide i utiče na narodne mase i narod to prihvaća i od toga živi.

I: Da. (pausa) Jel bi ti rekao da se može onda vidjeti muziku ili glazbu kao glazba bez politike ili da su oni uvijek u odnosu. Jer se to..

IP1: Oni su uvijek u odnosu. Oni su međusobno vezati i međusobno se prožimaju. Da bi bio danas glazbenik moraš imati gitaru. Meni su oduzeli gitaru i (nerazumljivo 14:08) a ako ne odgovaraju njima imaju sisteme vladavine terora i način kako da te sputaju sa pravog puta i svedu na svoj nivo. Da li je to filozofski, da li je to politički, a najčešće je politički nivo, da li je to militarni nivo, da li je to socijalni, da li je to pravni aspekt gledišta spriječavanj njihov ili nije oni su na vlasti... Uvijek su u pravu država je uvijek nevina, ona je čista, poštena, ne navodi na samoubojstvo, ne ubija nikoga, ne prozračenje nikoga, ne zatvara nikoga, ne mijesja se nikome u život, ali no međutim država ubija, pljačka, siluje, sprovodi terror kroz aparate institucija sistema, vladavine prava, službe sigurnost nemaju šta da rade, preljevaju iz šupljeg u pravno i određuju sve i petljaju se čovjeku u život. Država je kao institucija sistema vladavine prava čovjeka o čovjeka, naroda u ime naroda, vlada jedan pojedinac i sistem mehanizmi poluge vlasti, zakonodavne, izvršne, sudске. Kad se oni poremete onda dolazi do revolucije i do promjene vlasti. A u demokratskim izborima, državama se dešava svako pet godina ili četiri godine putem izbora. No međutim u Americi jedan mandat vladaju demokrate a drugi mandat republikanci. Amerika ima dvijestepedest miluna stanovnika sa strancima, pardon.

I: Ništa.

IP1: i ona (PAUZA) ima Republikance i Demokrate. Hrvatska ima četiripol miljuna stanovnika a ima “devedestri” politički partije. Svi se bore za vlast al nisu predodređeni da vladaju. I tako je i u glazbi. Svi slušaju glazbu, razumije... ili muziku... razumije ili ne, svi je slušaju na taj način sprovode vrijeme, krate vrijeme, a mediji od toga žive i oni koji izvode glazbu zarađuju i iz toga imaju egzistenciju. Politika i glazba se međusobnom prožimaju i međusobno se vežu pogotovo u državama bivšeg realsozializma koji je utopija i koji je paž zbog politički... sistema i načina igara što je to ovaj. Hrvatska ima tobože nacionalnu momčad, desetu na svijetu. A ja tvrdim (PAUZA) da je to većinu ispraviti (pauza) Svaki politika se petlja u sve. Politika je vezata uz glazbu a glazba je vezata uz politiku. I to tako od pamitivijeka i drugičije ne može bit.

I: Da.

I: Ja, ja to isto tako mislim. Točno tako. A ima netko to ...

IP1: Tko će pobijediti za pjesmu Eurovizije određuju službe sigurnosti.

I: Da.

IP1: Tko će otić na pjesme Eurovizije, određuju službe sigurnosti. Tko će pobijediti u nogometu, određuju službe sigurnosti. Tko će biti prvak Europe i doći u finale to... jer je to biznis, to je zarada. Evo ti jedan primjer. Hrvatska ima dobro nacionalnu momčad, desetu na svijetu. A ja tvrdim (PAUZA) da je to većinu ispraviti (pauza) Svaki politika se petlja u sve. Politika je vezata uz glazbu a glazba je vezata uz politiku. I to tako od pamitivijeka i drugičije ne može bit.
služba sigurnost podmeću, daju, nitko ne može na stadion unijeti transparente,
bengalke, petarde, da ih oni ne puste. Stadioni su kod nas slabo izgrađeni. Nemamo
Evo drugi primjer, ako dođe europsko nogometno prvenstvo u Hrvatskoj tu je
zarade samo dvije “milijarde” dolara od prenosa. Izgrađeni stadioni. More bit
europski, sa krovom, grijanjem trave, tribine i te stvari, sjedišta, WC, toaleti,
restorani, pordon, izgrađeni stadioni, TV reklame, radio prenosi i sve se plaća, onda
rock-koncerti tu dolaze ako su arene, izrađeni popunjeni stadioni sve se međusobno
veže. Zbog čega jedna Njemačka, Engleska, svake godine Španjolska, Italija se bore
da imaju ligu prvaka. Tko dođe u ligu prvaka zaradi deset “miljona ojra”. Jedna
pobjeda u ligu prvaka je “milion ojra” plus pun stadion, plus TV prenosi, plus
povećan broji turista, plus popunjeni hoteli, plus reklame i tu je zarada. Ljudi od
toga [blagostano] žive tako je i u muzici, a da bi ti došao na te grane, politika mora
ta da te pogura. Ti možeš biti intelektualac ma kol’ki god hoćeš. Ti si rekla, eno PuI, ja
se njega bojim. Ne trebaš se bojat PuI, ja PuI znam osobno. Ja sam sa njim osobno
išao avionom. A samo drži jezik zazube da ne bi bilo da ja izmišljam. Ja znam PuI
osobno. Netrebaš se ti bojati PuI kao čovjeka, kao političara. Više se trebaš bojati
Billa Clintona koji vlađa svijetom a Rusija sedamdeset posto, oni su trideset posto
dvjaeta država (???) 20:28) Ti se PuI ne trebaš bojati. Danas se ne vode više globalne
politički sukobi, oni se vode politički sukobi se vode još ali se manifestiraju na
slabijim nacijama i slabijim narodima, gdje dolazi do gradskih ratova i gdje dolazi
do preuzimanja zapada ili istoka i stvaranja hegemonija interesnih političkih
strateških sfera. I nije slučajno rat u Siriji se desio. I nisu, Sirija između Amerike
koja je sve potpalila i Rusije, izabrala je i Rusiju i oni za dva mjeseca uveduše mir.
Mi smo zapadna hemisfera, NATO pakt i mi pripadamo zapadnom i glazbenom i
političkom i vojnom utjecaju i kod nas se prelamaju interesi velike Srbije koja
nikada nije postajala i prestala postajati nego se još uvećala. Nikad veća u povijesti
bilo nego što je u Cara Dušana do dana danas. Hrvati o tome šute kao popisane
koze i jarci. Ne smiju ništa. Malo tržište, četiri i po’ milijona stanovnika i sad naši
rokeri Gibonni, Thompson i drugi, Bare i ostali probijaju se i kroz glazbene izričaje
predočavaju stvarnu političku, socijalnu, pravnu sliku u državu RH i kroz pjesmu
ostvaruju svoje političke utjecaje. Ti se ne trebaš u životu bojati nikoga sem boga.
Ako si časna i poštena. Razumiješ.
I: Da

IP1: Ne trebaš se ti bojati PuI, to na zapadu provikat ne boj se PuI. Rusi će doći.
Neće Rusi doći, nego na taj način straše ljudje. Straše ljudje. I na taj način oni vladaju
i ostvarivaju svoje ciljeve. Gdje god odeš moraš ustaći, raditi, školu završiti,
zaposlíš se, biti odgojena, vaspitati, poštivati zakone, sredinu u kojoj živiš. Ali je
problem kad ta sredina ti ne može dati posao, kad te ta sredina ne poštuje kad te ta
sredina ne vrednuje, kad te ta sredina krađe, a to sve rade politika. Politika i muzika
su međusobno vezate kao karike u lancu to je to.
I: Da.

IP1: To je to.

I: Evo imam još jedno pitanje i (PAUZA) Ovako, ja sam primjetila da da mnogo
ljudi znaju pjesmu Lijepa li si od Thompsona i ja se sada pitam aam.. Je li ti
poznaješ ovu pjesmu?
IP1: Poznajem, djelomično. Ne znam je pjevati jer ja pjevam samo svoje pjesme.
IP1: A što se tiče Lijepa li si, to se odnosi na... može se odnositi na državu geostrategski i geopolitički, nasljedstvo, a može se odnositi na ženu Hrvaticu koja predstavlja državu i te stvari. A sada u ovom slučaju radi se o geopolitičkom području kojem je hrvatski narod objedinjava, postoji od sedmog stoljeća i na kome se živi i dešava. To je tipičnopolitička pjesma sa političkim porukama. Ali je veliki hit. I ne izvodi se baš nerijetko na svim nogometnim skupovima, na svim političkim skupovima, na svim proslavama državnih praznika i tih stvari.
I: Da. (PAUZA) Znači dobro sam to vidjela.
IP1: To si dobro vidjela.
I: Okej. Aaaa na kojim političkim događajima se može slušati ili čuti tu pjesmu?
IP1: Na nogometnim događanjima, nogometne utakmice reprezentacije, onda na političkim skupovima i treće je na..
I: Od koje (PARALLELNO).
IP1: Državnim praznicima, kao što je dan Oluje, Dan neoviznosti, Državnosti i tako dalje gdje je narod manifestiraju svoje nacionalne osjećaje.
I: Jel se to može vezati na jednu aaa posebnu stranku ili je to...
IP1: To je više narodna pjesma ne može se vezati na jednu stranku iako HDZ sebi prisvaja sve nacionalne vrijednosti koje su ostvaruju hrvatski narod. PAUZA Kad se objave dosjeji, jednog dana, onda će svi pljutili po Franji Tuđmanu. To je jedan od najvećih zlikavanja u povijesti hrvatskog naroda, prevaranata i kriminalaca. U deliriji, neobrojivom stanju, u sotoskoj sizofreniji za koju čovječanstvo nema lijek, sem glogovog kolca, električne stolce i vješala. Ostali lijek za to ne postoje. On je sve sebi priheftovao, samo je bio lukav i na jedan perfidan i način bacanje prašine u vjetar i sipanje magle u oči ljudi, sistemom zastrašivanja ostvario primat nacionalnog junaka on je jedan obični kukac. PAUZA
I: Da

IP1: On je jedan obični kukac. Kao njegov sin Miro ratni zločinac koji se izživljavao na hrvatskom narodu. A popljač’o druge i u blagom stanjem živi i glumi doktora. Sad je veći od samog Pape, sjedi u Šaboru.
I: Baš sam htjela pitati je li još uvijek u Saboru.

IP1: Jeste. Al neće dugo kad se objave dosjeji, dobit će najmanje 40 godina specijalnog programa.
I: Da. Ja sam ga jednom vidjela u gradu i točno izgleda kao Franjo.
IP1: Zovu ga gorila.
I: Zašto to?
I: Hm.
IP1: Sad smo se dotakli druge strane medalje. Svaka medalja ima dva lica. Napora, patnje, slave i lovorovih grančica i medalja u zlatnom sjaju ali... po onome što ja znam o Miri Tuđmanu, to je ratni zločinac, osobno sam ga isprob'o na svojoj koži i uvjerio se u zlodjela koji je on izvršio nad hrvatskom narodnom masakru, radi se o masovnom genocidu. PAUZA Hrvatska država je podijeljena, politički, socijalno, filozofski, pravno, moralno, krišćanski, nacionalno. U okviru tih aspekata gledišta postoje interesne sfere stranih obavještajnih struktura koje žele ostvariti svoje ciljeve na mračne načine. I vječita je smjena dobra, svjetla i mraka i u sklopu toga postoji čovjek koji se ne prodaje kao ja koji ide svojim putem bos po trnju, odbačen od svih i ima... zna pravu istinu. Al tko ne zna pravu istinu i tko podlijegne utjecaju terora noža, a zvjerstva država sprovodi oni... služba sigurnosti provodi ljude ovo što ču ti reći to će sad tebi zvučati grozno. Fiški likvidiraju ljude na brutalne načine. To se dešava i u Hrvatskoj. Pljačkaju ljude na brutalan način. Prisvajaju tue diplome, dokumente i sebe predstavljaju za njih a pravi su sa lažnim dosjeima koji oni vladaju i smještaju zatvorena im vrata svugdje u svijetu. I onda moraš da svatiš opet ono što se dešava. Politika određuje sve i miješa se u glazbu i u muziku. Glazba je ozbiljna muzika a muzika postoje žanrove Rock, Blues.
I: Da.
IP1: Jazz, Pop, Rock, Country, Nardodna glazba, Rock, Blues i te stvari ja nebi objašnavao jer to nije tema sad toga. Oni određuju točno tko će se čime baviti u životu. Kako se predsjednik sada odredi za “dvacet” godina da se školuje da bude predsjednik, nasljedstvo kraljevske krune tako i oni određuju sve putem škole, putem doduše malo i talenta, ali većinom financije sve ovdje određuju.
I: Da.
I: Da
IP1: Ti živi svoji život, završi školu.
I: Probati ću.
IP1: Nadi dobar posao, živi ne petljam se nikome u život. Oženi... udaj se, djecu rodi, imaš svoju obitelj i briga te za sve. Ništa promijeniti ti ne možeš.
I: Da mislim da je to isto tako.

IP1: Ja, ja sam Hrvat zakleti. Ali ja ja sam realni i pošten. Ne postoje genocidnija
država u povijesti Europe je čovječanstvo od države Hrvatska koja je nastala na
genocidu na vlastitom narodu. A taj genocid su sproveli komunističke fašističke
službe po naređenju Beograda i Berlina da bi vladali Hrvatima ekonomski i sputa i
sveli na četripo miljuna stanovnika, a bilo ih je '69. osam milijna Hrvata. PAUZA i
držali su Vojvodinu, Zemun, držali su Prekomurje držali su Bokokotarski zaljev,
cijela Bosna. I svi su potpisali sve Republike bivše SFRJ su potpisali da je to
AVNOJ-ska granica države Hrvatske.

I: A to je bilo 69. godine?

IP1: Da. I gledaj sada i od oni su pobili sve podobne ljude i Titovu vojsku i narod i
Bosnu etnički očistili, Vojvodinu i Prekomurje, Bokokotarski zaljev od Hrvata i
ostali su samo cediljke na cediljekama pijeska. A pijesak postavlja narod. I u okviru
evega toga javljaju se novi buntovi javljaju se nove političke sisteme htjenja,
javljuju se samim time novi načini izražavanja čovjeka putem muzike i nove pjesme
i to narod pjeva i dešava se euforija nacionalnog ludila. Ali euforijom nacionalnog
ljudila pjesmom se može proglasiti dušmanov rat, ali je to kao sredstvo
propagandno koje jača volju za ostvarivanje svojih političkih ciljeva. Bilo to u ratu,
kroz domovinske pjesme jača ta volja sa ciljem ostvarivanja pobijede u ratu.
Hrvatska slavi pobjedu u ratu, Hrvatska uopće nije pobijedila u ratu. PAUZA Mi
nismo u AVNOJ-skim granicama mi ne držimo Bosnu. Srbi su stvorili veliku Srbiju,
a oni su perfidni lukavi i banditski sotonski raspoloženi i dalje rade i sprovode
specijalne ratove protiv države Hrvatske i samim time, oprosti, samim time vladaju i
scenom i narodom i politikom, a i muzikom i glazbom kao sistemom načina
predočavanja i izražavanja svojih nacionalnih, socijalnih, političkih, klasnih ili
ljubavnih ciljeva i svemu onom čemu suvremen čovjek stremi. Ti si mlada još ali ne
trebaš se bojati, opet kažem, nikakvog PuI. Ti se samo boji boga. I poštuj
boga i svoje roditelje i svoju obitelj i druge ljude bez obzira na vjeru, naciju, boju kože i
dobro ćeš živjeti. Nemoj pasti u uskogrudne... (PAUZA) a samim time i u
sizofreničarske vode, niti dozvoliti da te drugi navode na mlin... (PAUZA)

I: Da...

IP1: Što je država? Država je... Sva carstva i kraljevsta su propala. Država je uvijek
bilo i bit će, a čovjeka pojedinca nikad nije bilo niti će bit. Jer su ljudi gusto posijati,
arejtko su nikli.

I: Da tako je.

IP1: A ti imaš jedan život. I kad ti netko uništi jedan život ti si gotova. Treba se
dići, poput ptice Feniksa iz pepela, zamahat krilima i otići u nebo. Al’ to ne može
svatko.

I: Da.

IP1: Mene ubiju pedeset godina. Ja sam državni neprijatelj broj jedan od 70-ih. Ja
sam prošao preživio fizičkih likvidacija i točno znam na mjestima na kojima su
vršena masovna ubojstva putem atomskog oruženja određene kilotonaže, a koristili
su najveći na poligonima. I meni ne treba nitko bacat prašnu u oči, udarat u prsa da je veći Hrvat od mene. PAUZA Ja kažem za sebe u životu sam pojeo toliko repe, kuruze, ??? kuhanih kopriva da me sramota krmke Stipe Mesića, Franje Tuđmana, Stipe Šuvara pogledati Vesnu Škare Ožbolt,Mate Granića, Ivo Sanadera pogledat u oči. Jer ja njih držim za krmke, a ne za druge. PAUZA Ali... ima druga stvar Margarita Sante Sporkoz keros ne bacaj bisere pred stoku. Ako nemaš... pred krmka... ako nemaš kuruza da bacaš pred krmke, da ih hraniš onda će skočić na tebe, tebe pojести, onda ćutti, poklopi se i odi odatlen i živit ćeš u izolaciji i druge nemaju. Inače ćeš okrenuti životinje protiv sebe. E to je način predočavanja političkih koji prerasta u glazbeni, muzični i scenski i sve ostalo što se odvija i što je vezano u svezi glazbe. 

I: Da. (PAUZA) Uspomenio si i ovu propagandnu pjesmu. Je li znaš neku za Hrvatsku? Je li postoji neka uopće?

IP1: Pa propagandne pjesme su pjesme nacionalnog žara(PAUZA) koje se predočavaju putem medija, određenim političkim skupovima ili određenim sportskim događajima i okupama ili državnim praznicima. I te nacionalne pjesme su političke pjesme, imaju svoj status emotivnog djelovanje na psihu čovjeka, a putem čovjeka pojedinca na grupu, a putem grupe na masu, a s masom na narod. 

I: Da.

IP1: I te pjesme su jako popularne i poznate. Moja domovina, Vukovar, Hrvatska mati, Crvena ruža, sve su to nacionalne pjesme... koje su međusobno i emotivne. I zato su hitovi, mega hitovi. 

I: Da. A da se vratimo opet na Lijepa li si. Jel se može reći da je to pjesma kao inoficijalna himna Hrvatske. Jel bi ti to rekao ili ne?

IP1: Ne. Himna hrvatske bi bila Bože čuvaj Hrvatsku. 

I: Od koga je ta pjesma?

IP1: Bože čuvaj Hrvatsku.

I: To se sigurno može naći u internetu.

IP1: Može. Kak se ova pjesma uhvaća... čekaj da se sjeti... Dalmač je. Znam ga od malih nogu. PAUZA Baš neki dan je bio... Prošlu subotu... Lijepom našom... samo nije pjevao tu pjesmu.
I: Aha.

IP1: (DUGA PAUZA) Ne mogu se sjetiti.

I: Možda ćeš se posilje sjetiti. Ali meni je zanimljivo da ti kažeš da se Lijepa li si ne može vidjeti kao inoficijalnu himnu. Jer ako se pregleda mmh istraživača iz ne znam Njemačke, Austrije možda čak i velike Britanije oni često pišu da je Lijepa li si inoficijalna himna Hrvatske (IP1: sporedna himna) i da da da (IP1: sporedna) zbog ove nogometne igre gdje se to poslije..

IP1: Da, da to je fina pjesma, ali narodne mase jako dobro prihvaćaju, sa tim se želi poslati poruka o lijepoj hrvatskoj domovini u kojoj hrvatski čovjek bitište i stoluje. (PAUZA) Kako se zove... sad sam (PAUZA) znam kako izgleda... znam...

I: Doći će ime. Meni isto često tako da... a ubiti se nikada ne mogu sjetiti imena. (PAUZA).

IP1: Dani.

I: Dani...


I: I onda me još zanima Thompson. Je li ti misliš da je.. ili što misliš o Thompsonu i politici?

IP1: Njegove pjesme su političkog karaktera, nacionalno opredijeljene, sa jasnim porukama, dobro ukomponovane, glazbeno, scena mu je izvaniredna na koncertima i time vlada narodnim masama. Baš sam ga gledao ja za dan domovinske zahvalnosti u Kninu koncert. Tu nastupaju samo podobni. Kako se ponašao i kako je izveo pjesme su političkog karaktera, nacionalno orijentirane i definitivno hitovi. Ja ga držim za jedan od boljeg rockera i glazbenika koje ja poznajem u Europi koji su u mega hitovima.

I: Je li ti možeš opisati kako je bio koncert. Je li to iz ove godine ili prošle?

IP1: Ove godine. Ove godine. Euforija nacionalnog... (PAUZA) Euforija nacionalnog zadovoljstva. Sam taj praznik koji Hrvati slave kao slave kao pobjedu u Domovinskom ratu koja nikada nije ostvarena do kraja... jer Hrvatska nije u svojim AVNOJ-skim granicama, ali granice su potpisate na pedeset godina i pobjednica će se mirnim putem. Sud određuje danas gdje su granice.

I: Da.

IP1: Onda tu postoji sud za vođene granice, sud za kopnene granice u Amsterdamu. Osim toga postoje tu i međunarodne trupe putem UN-a koje dolaze na liniju razgraničenja. Hrvatska je sada u mnogo povoljnijoj situaciji nego što je bila, jer je članica NATO pakta i granice će se pomaći tamo, vamo u... mirnim putem. Ali Hrvatska nije pobijedila u Domovinskom ratu. I ona je bila izaduta u Domovinskom ratu, a izdajstvo počinje od ureda predsjednika pa naniže. Riba smrdi od glave, a čisti se od repa i to je to.
I: Da. A jel bi ti rekao da je Thompson jedna politička osoba?

IP1: Pa normalno da je javna osoba i politička osoba.

I: Da to je isto jako...

IP1: On je podoban sistemu vladavine u kome se smjenjuje vlast svako četiri godine i kao takav on dobro bitiše i egzistira. Da nije podoban, ne bi držao koncerte i snimao albume niti mogao... imao sistem načina predočavanja svojeg glazbenog repertoara... na medije... radio... televiziju.

I: Da, ali za vrijeme izbore 2003. godine on se javno izreko protiv vlade.

IP1: Pa samim time politička je javna ličnost. PAUZA Ja sam u sudskom sporu sa Vladom.

I: Da...

IP1: Ja kao takav sam nepodobna ličnost i osoba za sistem vladavine. Jer... A oni imaju svoje sisteme prisile: policiju, sudstvo i ostale represalije s kojima mogu ostvarit svoje ciljeve.

I: Da...

IP1: A način izražavanja i s kojem te mogu držati u izolaciji. Način mog izražavanja je predočavanje istine. Može biti samo taj da se objave dosjei pravi i onda da se narod upozna o onome što se zbivalo i omči koja mu je stavljata oko glave. Jer oni su u Domovinskom ratu htjeli Hrvatsku napraviti federativnom republikom.

Hrvatska ne može opstat kao republika, kako bi opstala da je Knin federalni dio države RH. I tome je bio naklonjen Berlin, a Hitler i njegove trupe su se uvježbavale u Jugoslaviji i u Vukovaru su izgubile dve hiljade (2 000) tenkova devedesetletnog proteženog vojnog štaka i u Hrvatskom proljeću od 2000 tenkova deset hiljada (10 000) tenkova. Deset hiljada (10 000) tenkova, osam hiljada (8 000) oklupnih vozila. Cijela JNA je bila razoružana i Hrvati su trebali samo ući u Vojvodinu i ući u Bosnu i napraviti multijonalno društvo, a Tuđman nije dao. A što ćeš... Od svega toga sam ja, kao čovjek koji je prošao bitke i koji se borio za Hrvatsku i protiv koga su izvršene urote. I samim time nepodobna osoba. Vojna obavještajna služba upadne u stan, ukrade diplome, ukrade vojne knjižice, pretuku te, ubiju te i onda te bog oživi, ili oni... Promjenu organe... ako... ti si pobodan za njih da se netko smiluje, ako nisi, ajde u zemlju. I tome ne možeš ništa. (PAUZA)

I: Da. A da se opet vratimo Thompsona. Je li ti ako misliš na Thompsona misliš i na politiku?

IP1: Ne, ja ne mislim... kad slušam muziku, ja slušam muziku zbog načina predočavanja i zbog zvuka i nota koji odgovaraju slušu mome i mome sistemu shvaćanja pjeseme kao glazbenog scenskog događaja kao načina izražavanja. Thompson je politička figura i on kao takav odgovara vladajućoj klasi i uspješno, egzibiciono ostvaruje svoje koncerte i bitiše na ovom području.
I: Da. I sad u biti zadnje pitanje. Aah jel bi ti rekao da ljudi koji slušaju Thompsona da oni dijelu istu isto političko mišljenje kao on?

IP1: Pa normalno da dijele. Čim ga slušaš dijeliš sa njim. Kritičari ga hvale, narod pjeva sa njim pjesme i dijeli njegove osjećaje koji mogu biti opet i politički i socijalni i filozofski i psihološki i ljubavni i moralni i nacionalni i u svemu tome pronalaze sebe. Odgovara širokim narodnim masama. (PAUZA)

I: Da. (PAUZA) Jel ti misliš da jako puno ljudi slušaju Thompsona ili da se to samo tako primjeti.

IP1: Ti si se uhvatila Thompsona kao pijan plota. On ima svoj krug obožavatelja i... ljudi popune mu uvijek koncerte gdje god bio, znači vlada masom.

I: Da...

IP1: Vlada situacijom.

Being mentioned directly as a tool mainly channelled through media to promote certain values or even war in the Tudman-era,

I: Mene to tako zanima jer se to tako piše znači Lijepa li si je inoficijalna himna Hrvatska

IP1: Pa mogla bi biti inoficijalna himna države Hrvatske, ali nije.

I: Dobro. Jako zanimljivo i bitno za moji diplomski rad.

INTERVIEW WITH IP2

Zagreb, 2017-02-10
Duration: 11:24 minutes

Gender: Female
Year of Birth: 1967
Profession: Lector

Profile: The female lector is living and teaching in Zagreb. She does not define herself as a fan of the singer and band Marko Perković Thompson.
slobodu.

I: Znači nema nekakav stil glazbe koji je isto vezan?

IP2: Stil glazbe koji stoji iza politike, to se ono... učili smo u povijesti... to su eventualno vrste glazbe koje potiču na borbenost odlazak u borbu, podizanje morala kod vojnika... a to je onda glazba u službi. Evo to postoji naravno ne možemo to poricati. Eeheh ali mislim da je takva vrsta glazbe potrebna zato što na žalost čovječanstvo pokazuje da do dan danas ne može bez ratova... eh mislim da se ljudi moraju obraniti... svoj ljudski goli život i ekzistenciju pa možda tu čak i glazba ima neku pozitivnu ???

I: Da

IP2: Znači vojnik koji odlazi u vojsku... Danas je i jako teško biti domoljub u vremenu globalizacije, u vremenu interneta, sve vrijednosti su se promijenile, izmiješale, okrenule na glavce.

I: (SMJIE SE)

IP2: ...i mislim da pravog domoljublja zapravo niti nema... onog iskrenog... jer ne smatram domoljublje nečim negativnim. Ono se može jako zlo upotrijebiti, ali mislim da može biti vrlo pozitivno ako je ljubav prema domovini, a onda i ako to glazba i prati onda to može biti pozitivno.

I: Dobro. A ja sam primjetila da mnogo ljudi znaju pjesmu Lijepa li si od pjevača Thompsona, i am sad bih htjela znati je li i Vi znate ovu pjesmu?

IP2: Pjesmu Lijepa li si?

I: Da

IP2: Da. Pjesmu Lijepa li si znam i eh ona izaziva kontroverze mislim... Zato što... jer je to zapravo lijepa pjesma. Ima neke stihove koji su možda dvojbeni, ono: Hrvatska Herceg-Bosna (I: Da), to je jedini stih koji bi eventualno mogli smatrati diskutabilnim, u smislu političkom, ali sve ostale strofe, kitice u toj pjesmi, zapravo pjevaju o ljubavi i domoljublju (I: Da) znači o tome koliko volimo tu zemlju, te pojedine dijelove zemlje i to, onako, po isječcima. Znači, ljubav... To je zapravo po meni ahm domoljubna pjesma regionalna, to nije nacionalna zato što ona baš se fokusira na pojedine regije... S time da je ono malo diskutabilna ova regija koju sam uspomenula.

I: Da.

IP2: Za neke ljude (I: Da.), manjine.

I: Jel bi vi rekli da je to neka inoficijalna himna za Hrvatsku?

IP2: Mmh ne bih se osudila to tako reći. Za dio populacije je, za dio nije. Rekla bih čak pola pola.
I: Da.

**IP2:** Za pola populacije jest, za pola ne, jer je naša društvo duboko podijeljeno.

I: Da (PAUZA). Ja to pitam jer se često čuje ta pjesma poslije nogometske igre (IP2: Aha, mmh.) tako da, da je to ako se gleda na stručnu literaturu se to tako napiše u biti da je to neka inoficijalna himna jer se to poslije igre koristi i pjeva i nogometaši se to isto (IP2: Aha) pjeva.

**IP2:** Dobro ja himne ne vežem isključivo uz sport možda onda možda onda iz tog… Iz te perspektive ne mogu to tako nazvat.

I: Dobro. Aa.

**IP2:** I ne volim isto kada se sport mjеša s nacionalizmom i domoljubljem... Mislim da je i sport mjesto koje bi trebao biti neutralnije nego što jest u današnjim dobu.

I: Da. Aam mislite li Vi da se Thompsonove pjesme može čuti često u Hrvatskoj ili svugdje ili (PAUZA) svakoi(??)?

**IP2:** Jako mi je teško odgovoriti jer ne slušam sve medije i ne pratim sve, eh mislim da ih se možda može dosta čuti među teenagerima. Jer s njima imam direktni doticaj, imam sina koji je teenager oni jako puno slušaju Thompsona, ali slušaju i srpske pjesme sličnoga karaktera. Ali oni to slušaju sa dozom humora. Znači teenageri su našli neku vrstu distance… Ja promatram svoga sina kad sluša… neki dan mi je puštao četničke pjesme i jako se smijao pri tome… Ja sam rekla da stiša jer želim slušat Čajkovskog ili nešto (I: SMije SE, IP2: SMIJE SE) a on je to puštao i ja to smatram pozitivnim pomakom, jer sam se cijelo vrijeme bojala… Činilo mi se da naši teenageri idu krivom smjeru. Međutim teenageri idu u smjeru svoga bunta. Prirodnoga ljudskoga, dječijeg, teenagerskog. I oni zapravo u svemu tome pronalaze distancu, ironijsku distancu, i čak i humor... njima je to presmiješno. Smiješna im je scenografija, kostimografija, melodija, riječi sve.

I: Sve? I riječi?

**IP2:** Sve.

I: Jako zanimljivo. Tako da oni nisu sad fan ili nešto oni to samo ovako slušaju.

**IP2:** Mislim da… Mogla bih čak mogla bih reći da možda… Naravno da se to jako sve promijenilo u odnosu devedesete (I: Da.) Devedesetih smo mi svi pomalo voljeli Thompsona zato što smo bili u situaciji koju sam spomenula prije, znači čovjek kada je životno ugrožen onda drugačije sluša i glazbu i drugačije općenito reagira… a sada dva’esetpet (25) godina nakon rata, sada smo uspjeli uspostaviti neku distancu svi mi, prema povijesti nadam se i tom ratu, a teenageri su najbolji… Možda najtransparentniji primjeri jer oni… u tome nalaze čak i humor.

I: To isto nije loše. (lacht) Super. A ja sam još primjetila ahm kad sam pratila predsjedničke izbore i parlamentarskih ili saborskih am da su poslije am kad su došli rezultati, ja sam pratila HDZ i čula sam pjesme od Thompsona. Je li možete nešto o tome reći?
IP2: Dobro mene samo zanima jeste li samo Thompsonove pjesme čula ili ste čuli i neke druge? Vjerojatno su bile i neke druge.
I: Bile su i neke druge, ali kad su... Mislim... ja sam pratila HRT i onda su oni snimali tu feštu i prva je pjesma bila od Thompsona. Mislim da je čak bila Lijepa li si.
IP2: Mhh dobro. Ah mislim da sam već napomenula tijekom ovog intervjuja, da je hrvatsko društvo duboko podijeljeno...Reći ću vrlo jednostavno... desno i lijevo i da se ova desna strana našega društva priklanja Thompsonu i kao nekom.. kao nekoj vrsti simbola, znači svoje ideologije. Ali tu se zapravo glazba samo zloupotrebljava ah, ah za nekakve ideološke ciljeve protiv čega sam a priori. (I: Da.) I mislim da nisam... Kako bi sad to rekla jednostavno? (PAUZA) Ne mogu nikome propisivati kako da organizira svoju kampanju, ali ja ih ne bi tako organizirala s takvom vrstom glazbom.
I: Dobro. A onda još jedno pitanje. Am ako Vi mislite na politiku jel bi Vi onda isto mislili na Thompsona?
IP2: Direktno nikako ne. Ne bih mislila na Thompsona. Mislim da bih na cijelu tu scenografiju koja se okreće oko Thompsona, na medijski pompu. Ja mislim da je on zapravo jedan medijski produkt (I: mmh) Medijski produkt iii... Vrlo uspješan!.. iii da je sam toga svjestan i da je danas sve reklama i sve je jednostavno podređeno medijima, mi živimo u svijet medija, informacije primamo... A tako i glazba postala medijska glazba, koristi se u različite svrhe, pa tako onda i može i politički. Ali nikako direktno ne bih dovela u vezu.
I: Mmh, super. I zadnje pitanje. Jel bi Vi rekli da am ljudi koji slušaju na primjer Thompsona isto imaju isto političko mišljenje kao on. Ako se to opće općenito može reći.
IP2: Mislim ne, mislim da većina oni koji slušaju Thompsona slušaju Thompsona iz pomodnosti i opet zbog utjecaja medija pogotove se to tiče mlade populacije koja nije ni živjela u doba rata ni ne razumije povijest ne uči povijest niti ih to zanima. Mislim da oni to slušaju možda posredno od svojih roditelja ili djedova, baka ili slično pa su možda neki pod utjecajem. Većina mladih sigurna sam da nema nikakve... nikakav interes za politiku uopće. Mislim da su oni dapač apolitični. Da njima se svima već dosta ratova, dosta im je politike i ideologije na ovim prostorima. A što se tiče starije populacije mislim da neki slušaju Thompsona iz političkog uvjerenja, a drugi možda iz nekog korist koristoljublja...
IP2: Hvala Vama.
I: Interview 11.2.2017 u Zagrebu. Aaa znači moji diplomski rad se bavi temom veza između glazbe i politike i mene sad interesira kako Vi to vidite, jel postoji neka veza između glazbe i politike?

IP3: Veza između glazbe i politike? A definitivno a definitivno postoji... to je, ovoga, kroz kulturu, jel... znači muzika je kultura. I naravno da svaki znači grad znači, županija i državna institucija ima znači i odjele za kulturu koji znači se financiraju kroz te znači jednine lokalne samouprave ili državne i na neki način znači postoji onda veza između i glazbe i politike, jel... i gradovima upravljaju i državom znači i malo dolje na nekim lokalnim jedinicama upravljaju znači političari i politika i na taj način postoj i na i veza preko znači financiranja kulture odnosno i glazbe.

I: Da

IP3: Vidim na taj način znači vezu i sponu znači politike i glazbe odnosno kulture. Ajmo reć. To je to. Da.

I: Jel bi to isto rekli za popularnu kulturu? Kao ne znam pop glazbu?

IP3: Aha misliš komercijalno.

I: Da.

IP3: Komercijalno eeh ah, komercijalni sadržaj, on je sve više oni se više reklamiraju kao kroz marketing više se financiraju i ovoga znači tu su izvori, znači preko reklama marketinga promocije i toga, ti recimo zadržaje se manje se financiraju iz jedinica znači iz država, gradova i toga. Ovaj, tako da je to u manjoj mjeri, znači, taj komercijalan sadržaj. Da, se financira.. ono, kak bri k’o, vidim manju vezi između sponu između politike i te... Makar, makar ovogaa, samoj politika i političari vole ovoga... biti, ajmo reć, kak bri k’o, blizu tih recimo blizu pop zvjezda i tih stvari, ali ovoga jel nam oni na neki način ovoga, su kampanjama i tako dalje, ne... pa onda, al to je opet al to financiraju stranke i tako tako da opet.

I: Da.

IP3: na neki način, eto, i tu je neka veza između pop kulture i politike.

I: Da.
IP3: Eto.
I: Jako zanimljivo.

(PREKID JEDNE OSOBE, KOJA IMA PITANJA)

I: Je li onda možda imate primjer za to, za neku stranku i pop zvijezdu ili političara ili?

IP3: Aha, pa ne znam ono, šta ja znam... Evo imam, ne znam, pa šta ja znam, mislim da ne znam, ne znam, Prljavo Kazalište je, ne znam sviralo za SDP, ja mislim.
I: Aaah.

IP3: Mislim da je popularna (I: Nisam znala) grupa, nisam siguran, al mislim nisam sto posto, to treba provjerit ili su svirali za SDP ili za HDZ.
I: mmh.

IP3: Oni su svirali u kampanjima, preizvornim kampanjima za politiku, za političku stranku. Recimo, Prljavo Kazalište je jedna od najpoznatijih grupa osamdesetih i devedesetih godina u Hrvatskoj i jedna, ajmo reć, kultna grupa. Ovoga koja ono, svira taj upravo rock-pop neku glazbu... oni su ono, možda i jedna od najpopularnijih grupa ikada u Hrvatskoj. Ono, sigurno top 3, ja bih rek’o (SMIJE SE) po popularnosti.
I: Pa jako su poznati, da...

IP3: Po broju prodanih, ovoga, ploča i svega tako da ovoga, eto mislim da oni se eto mislim to je baš primjer ono life primjer suradnje između politike i pop kulture, ajmo reć eto. Zadnje? Evo mislim ov, ovo ne vidim drugi znači na drugi način ne vidim poveznicu ovoga između pop muzike i i i politike, fakat ne vidim ono. Jel inače sami glazbenici iz pop pop muzike.
I: mmh

IP3: I pop kulture nije baš da previše obožavaju političare. Ono, mislim da se bave... nisam čuo da se bave ti pjevači i ti glazbenici da se bave baš aktivno profesionalno sa politikom. To ne. Čak sportaši neki da, ali glazbenici ovoga baš profi politikom i ne. Eto. Imamo recimo u sportu imamo ne Mirko “Cro Cop” Filipović je bio saborski zastupnik nezavisni saborski zastupnik na listi SDPa tamo početak... dvijetisućetreće ili početak od dvijetisuće treće, recimo... A za nekoga poznatog glazbenika... pogotovo pop glazbenika ne znam ne sjećam se da je bio aktivno bio u politici eto.
I: Super primjeri.

IP3: Da
I: Baš mi je drago. Aaa znači sada imam jedan konkretan aahm primjer.
IP3: Pa novac i interes su poveznica.
I: Da.
IP3: Novac i interes su poveznica između pop glazbenika i pop kulture… sa… pop glazbe sa, jel, sa politikom. Eto to je tak.
IP3: Da.
I: Da. Je li i Vi poznate tu pjesmu?
IP3: Da.
I: A što vi mislite (IP3: ?????) o tome?
IP3: Aha, mislite o… Pa to je onaj! To je jedna pjesma, to je Thompsonova pjesma. To je jedna prekrasna domoljubna patrijotska pjesma.
I: Jel se to isto može vezati uz politiku?
IP3: Pa ne. Ja to čak ne bi vezao. Mislim ta pjesma kao pjesma ne. A Thompson kao Thompson eeh on se može vezati on je ono sam veli da je, ono, desno orijentiran. Znači on, ajmo reć, je kao neki aktivni simpatizer desne opcije u Hrvatskoj evo, ajmo reć. Mislim, ne veže se uz ime niti jedne stranke, ali ono zna se da je on, ovoga, desničar, jel. Znači on to ne skirva znači domoljub, domoljublje. Ne bih rekao nekakav neki ono turbo nacionalista ili nešto, nego, ono domoljub ono, on voli svoju zemlju i pjeva svojoj zemlji i ono to je to. Ne vidim nikakav tu problem, al mislim da se on ni za jednu stranku baš opredijelio.
I: mmh
IP3: Da on, ovoga, javno simpatizira samo jednu stranku desne opcije to ne. Ovaj eto, tak da, ono. Ali to je mislim Lijepa li si, ono, po meni ono prekrasna (PREKID JEDNE OSOBE) Lijepa li si je prekrasna domoljubna pjesma.
I: Da.
IP3: Jako ljepa pjesma i meni osobno, ono, i jedna od najljepših domoljubnih pjesama ono na.
I: Jel bi vi rekli da se ah ovu pjesmu može i opisati nekako kao inoficijalna himna jer se ta pjesma isto često poslije nogometske (IP3: utakmica, da) igre?
IP3: Pa ono može da, na neki način ono ima ima više tih pjesama, a Lijepa li si je jedna od kak sam ono, rek’o jedna od najljepših domoljubnih pjesama, ono, ovoga i eto može se na neki način kao himna prezentirat evo može da.
I: mmh.
IP3: Da.

I: Aaa što vi mislite jer se ahm Thompsonove pjesme često može čuti u ne znam po gradu ili po medijama kako bi Vi to opisali?

IP3: Pa to pa, pa eh. Thompsononove pjesme se eh (PREKID OD TELEFONA) pa sad ću odogovorit, sam da se... Molim! (RAZGOVARA NA TELEFONU)

IP3: Pa to pa, pa e (PREKID OD TELEFONA) pa sad ću odogovorit, sam da se... Molim! (RAZGOVARA NA TELEFONU)

I: Da.

IP3: Ovoga ne znam di smo dalje koje je pitanje.

I: Aah.

IP3: Sljedeće.

I: Jer...

IP3: Di sam se...

I: Je li se može aahm Thompsonove pjesme često čuti ili svugdje čuti?

IP3: Ja bih rekao da Thompsonove pjesme recimo na radiju na tim recimo na radiju i televiziji kao mediju se ovoga pa ovoga... nije baš često da se mogu čuti. Nije baš često ovoga, aaa... jedno gdje se mogu češće čuti je na nekim, recimo proslavama ovo ili privatnim tak, privatnim proslavama... Tipa, ne znam, vječanja, svadbe i tak jel neke.

I: mmh.

IP3: Takve stvari rođendani neki tak... neka tak… Ali inače, po meni, u medijima se nenedovoljno puštaju te pjesme tak. Da.

I: Kako to?

IP3: Pa ne znam evo, ne znam zašto. Možda, možda političare eeh sram ovoga eh ne znam, ovoga… Ono, jel je bilo govora da ono... njega se vezalo uz ustaštvo i to pa onda su… ga izbjegavaju, na neki način da zbog toga, možda mediji, pogotovo državni ga kao izbjegavaju, ono da… što manje se pušta njegove pjesme tak jel. Jer se njegovo ime dosta vezalo i njegova publika je dosta desna pa ono i na njegovim koncertima zna biti neprimjerenih nekad sadržaja. Ono tih kao U i to kao ustaše na nekim majcama i to, pa zbog toga onda možda ono jel... Kao nije im dobar onda PR marketing, onda, tako da. Imidž će im se narušit, ovoga eto da. Ovo eto ali ono po meni je malo ono velim baš je ono na radiju i televiziji se jako dosta rijetko sad čuju te pjesme.

I: mmh.

IP3: Evo mora se pogledat neka utakmica, reprezentacija Hrvatske, pa se onda čuje ono na poluvremenu, ono ne, kad komentator govori, pa onda nekad se čuje Lijepa li
I: Da, da, da.

IP3: Da, inače ono dosta, ono... Dosta...


IP3: Pa je pa da pa mislim ono puštaju ono uvjek tu pjesmu i to je ono ok, lijepa pjesma. Ono stvarno nikog niti ne vrijeđa, ni ništa... govori o ljepoti zemlje. Eto. Mislim ja sam bio u... ja sam bio recimo osobno ono... bio sam u Engleskoj dva mjeseca ooo to jugozapadna Engleska taj Forestov Deen se zove taj kanton, županja kak bi rekao da tamo žive ti foresteri, taj je dio zanimljiv i tako... tam je blizu i ljjetnikovac od kraljice ove eh Elisabethe i tak... Ta cijela regija i tak, ono, oni su jako domoljubni ono... ja bih rekao da su oni čak izrazeto nacionalno nastrojeni...

Englezi kao Englezi...

I: Mmh.

IP3: Tak da... Ne vidim razloga zašto mi ne bi voljeli svoju zemlju (PREKID TELEFONA) Eto.

I: Dobro.

IP3: Da.

I: I ako Vi mislite na Thompsona je li onda mislite i na politiku?

IP3: Ne, ne, ne, ne, ne. Uopće znači... asocijacija mene na Thompsona nikad nije asocijacija na politiku niti političare. Ni ništa, nego ono... na pjevača domoljubnih pjesama, evo... tak...

I: Dobro. I obrnuto?

IP3: Aah kako misliš?

I: Ako mislite na politiku je li onda mislite na Thompsona?

IP3: Ma kak je (I: Isto ne) mislim na korupciju (SMIJSE GLASNO, I: SMIJSE GLASNO).

I: Dobro. I to je isto zanimljivo. (SMIJSE SE).

IP3: To me asociira... Prva stvar, prva stvar u u kad se u Hrvatskoj uspomene Hrvatski po... Hrvatska politika odnosno Hrvatski političari prva stvar znači koje me apsolutno... to je korupcija. To je znači broji jedan, znači, asocijacija na političare i Hrvatsku politiku to je korupcija. To je broj jedan asocijacija znači korump...korupcija i građani. Evo. To je to.

I: mmh.
IP3: Ovoga i eto, to je to.

I: Dobro.

IP3: To su mi ono to su mi prve neke onoga stvari koje mi padaju na pamet (SMije se).

I: Da.

IP3: Na žalost.

I: Pa da isto nije dobro (SMije SE).

IP3: Da.

I: Samo da. (PREKIDA IP3)

IP3: Mislim i sam sam se bavio s politikom.

I: Da.

IP3: I onda sam vidio sustav pet godina.

I: Da...

IP3: I vidio sam sustav iz unutra i ovoga ono ostao sam razočaran, da, razočaran i ovoga eto tako baš ono razočaran (SMije SE).

I: Mmhm

IP3: Da mislim da se… Mislim da se na taj način ne ne bi smjela voditi bila koja država, a kamo li naša, jel… eto.

I: Da.

IP3: Da.

I: Nije baš logično da se tako još uvijek radi.

IP3: Paaaaa fff šta ja znam... Možda, ono… Možda stvarno stvarno mora proći par generacija da dođe ove mlade generacije koje su se tek rodili... Znači

I: Mmh.

IP3: Koje ajmo reć, ove generacije iza dvijetisućih. Još mora proći... evo još možda dvije ili tri generacije... To je možda dvajst, trijst godina... ovoga... da prođe da, ovoga... malo, ovoga, naraste malo svijest ljudi... ova ooo o tome kako se voli svoja zemlja, kako se upravlja svojom zemljom i tak evo ga.

I: Da.
I: Zadnje pitanje isto veženo uz Thompsona, ah jel bi vi rekli da ljudi koji (PREKID JEDNE OSOBE) ljudi koji slušaju ah glazbu od Thompsona da li oni isto imaju isto političko mišljenje kao on?

IP3: Eeh, pa, ne. Ne, eh, evo ja znam recimo evo ja znam recimo imam puno prijatelja mojih susjeda znači ovoga, koji ono vole ono slušat Thompsona pogotovo na tim nekim feštama i tako dalje... recimo ono, glasači su SDP-a, ono, kao lijeve opcije, ono pa baš ono evoo... Imam primjer mojeg susjeda ono, evo ono baš ono kuća (I: Da) do kuća ono, jel. (PREKID ČOVJEKA: Tko to, tko to?) Znači nije nije nije nije nužno ono stvarno ono što je i na neki način dokaz da njegove pjesme nisu ovoga aah tako baš i on nije tako baš kako ga se prikazuje.

IP3: Eeh, pa, ne. Ne, eh, evo ja znam recimo evo ja znam recimo imam puno prijatelja mojih susjeda znači ovoga, koji ono vole ono slušat Thompsona pogotovo na tim nekim feštama i tako dalje... recimo ono, glasači su SDP-a, ono, kao lijeve opcije, ono pa baš ono evoo... Imam primjer mojeg susjeda ono, evo ono baš ono kuća (I: Da) do kuća ono, jel. (PREKID ČOVJEKA: Tko to, tko to?) Znači nije nije nije nije nužno ono stvarno ono što je i na neki način dokaz da njegove pjesme nisu ovoga aah tako baš i on nije tako baš kako ga se prikazuje.

I: Mmh.

IP3: Jel... Žele prikazat... Neki dio nekih medija, recimo turbo-lijeva orijentirani jel.

I: Da.

IP3: Da.

I: Da.

IP3: Da.

I: Da.

I: Da zbog toga pitam.

IP3: Da.

I: I mislim u općenito u stranim medijima se isto tako piše da većina ili svi ljudi koji slušaju Thompsona da su oni desničari i (IP3: Ne moji susjed.) i nacijonalisti.

IP3: Moj susjed znači on je čak on je čak gradski viječnik SDP-a grada Kutine, kuća do kuća smo, znači gradski viječnik SDP-a i on voli slušati Thompsona na feštama... Te njegove pjesme tako. O ima ima ima ima tih jedna pjesma malo problematična (SMIJE SE) ona Jasenovac i Gradiška Stara, ali ovoga to je problematično, al velim, ono stvarno on ima toliko dobrih tih pjesama o, o domoljubnih i patriotskih pjesama da ono njega, njega voli desničari ga jako vole, a i velim, ono, ima ljudi iz lijeve opcije koji ga ono, slušaju ga ono, jer ga vole (I: mmh.) Nemora bit, ne mora bit, ono ako si ljevičar da si ti neznam pro... da ti ne voliš Hrvatsku zašto (PREKID ČOVJEKA: njega vole samo da je Gradiška Stara i da Hercegovina lacht) dobro za čut (ČOVJEK: ???) Pa vole ono mislim imaš ono lijepa li si... i ovo ima ti stvarno dobro pjesama (ČOVJEK: dobro njma su, uglavnom domoljubne i... većinom ne) Da... Mislim ima ono... Im’o je par... Ima taj Gradiška stara, (???) je kritična bila ako (PREKID ČOVJEKA: ???) nije njegova pjesma bila u principu, nego, on to malo (PREKID ČOVJEKA: izlazi malo iz ovkira u početku) al sad... (ČOVJEK: A sada mislim da se već) Da ima stvarno ono... Mislim nije nije to pravilo onako... baš je ono... to mediji pogotovo lijevo orijentirani mediji možda neki mediji vani ‘oče njega prikazati kao ono znači nekoga ustašu fašista i tak dalje, al to opće nije istina. Mislim da se stvarno radi o čovjeku koji zapravo domoljub. Ono jednostavno (I: mmh) voli svoju zemlju i pjeva o njoj... Ima ono stvarno hruhu hruhu lijeptih pjesama. Eto da. Jedna od tih je Lijepa li si. Evo koja je ono jedna od najljepših pjesama općenito. Da.
I: Dobro.

IP3: Da.

I: Hvala. To je to.

IP3: Eto. Molim.

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INTERVIEW WITH IP4

Zagreb, 2017-02-11
Duration: 18:25 minutes

Gender: Female
Year of Birth: 1990
Profession: Graduate from Communication Studies

Profile: The female graduate from Communication Studies is born in Peru. Her family belongs to the Peruan Croatian Diaspora. She is living, studying and working in Zagreb. She defines herself as a fan of the singer and band Marko Perković Thompson.

I: Aaah znači mmmh. Kako ti vidiš vezu između glazbe i politike?

IP4: Eeeh mislim da ovisi... mislim... dosta pjevača, ono, ne samo i Hrvatskoj nego inače na svijetu eeh dosta ljudi i pjevači kad pišu svoje pjesme, ako su zainteresirani za politiku onda će pričati o politici. Ali mislim da to prije je bilo više. A sad ova komercijalna glazba, ono što se čuje eeh nije toliko vezano uz politiku, ne vidim. Većina pjevača ne pjevaju… ili više… o politici možda zato što je teško zato što je, ono, ne znam kontroversalno jer da lakše je nešto drugo ono nešto neutralno.

I: Da. I am znači da ti isto vidiš aha da je ova popularna muzika kao za masu da više nije političko?

IP4: Da, da. Ono ne samo u Hrvatskoj nego i inače na svijetu. Mislim da ono komercijalna glazba više nije o politici. Ovo što... ove grupe i pjevači koji pjevaju o politici nisu toliko popularni. Eee prije, na primjer, ja znam ono... na primjer jedan super primjer koji imam je Shakira.

I: Da.

IP4: Jer Shakira kad je počela pjevati na španjolskom, kad je tek krenula ona ti imala dosta socijalne pjesme. Kao ono: o politici, o ljudima, o obrazovanje i eeh ekonomiju... svašta je pjevala a sad, sad ono što pjeva nisu pjesme nego su gluposti. (I: SMJE SE) Ono skroz se komercijalizirala. Mislim možeš biti komercijalno ali pametan.

I: Da.
IP4: Ono skroz je promijenila, ono, a kad slušaš Shakriu prije deset godina ili od petnaest ne bi mislila da je ista. Ono pjesme su imali smisla prije. I onda dosta pjevači ili su ostali kao ono, ono što jesu ali nisu toliko popularni ili da budu popularni su promijenili ono što nisu htjeli zapravo na početku.

I: Da.

IP4: Rijetko se neki pjevač... rijetko neki pjevač kojeg ja znam, je ostao tako kakav je i je popularan. To je rijetko.

I: Mmmh.

IP4: Ne znam zašto ljudi eeh ono za za, mislim za nas, uglavnom je slušati lakše stvari koje nisu baš pametne.

I: Da. A ide bolje (SMIJE SE). (IP4: Nadam se (SMIJE SE)) Kad gle gledamo na Hrvatsku ja sam primjetila da mnogo ljudi zanju pjesmu Ljepa li si. Ti je isto znaš?

IP4: Mhm.

I: Aahm kako bi ti aaahm opisala tu pjesmu i što bi ti rekla za tu pjesmu?

IP4: Ja obožavam tu pjesmu. Mislim da pjesma je kao modern... mnogo ljudi sluše kao neki moderan himna za Hrvatsku. Jer priča o cijeloj Hrvatski i ljudi i sve ali i eeh zbog pjevača mislim da mnogo ljudi kaže kao ne ne ne ne nizam tu pjesmu ili ne slušam tu pjesmu. Ali ako staviš tu pjesmu bilo kad je nogomet kad je rukomet bilo što nešto važno svi znaju tu pjesmu.

I: Da.

IP4: Problem je da jedan ne voli pjevač i i i ne želii priznat da vole pjevač... mnogo ljudi, ono, je ja stavim tu glazbu i onda kao znaju sve pjesme ali ne ne ne ja ne slušam Thompsona ali zna se pjesme.

I: Da

IP4: Neki... Ne znam je li je strah eeh ili da se srami ljudi ili eeh jer ne znaju razlikovat ono... Ti možeš voljet neke pjesme i jednostavno ne slaže se sa sve što ta osoba koja pjeva kaže. Evo, jednostavno neke stvari. Kao bilo gdje, kužiš, ne znam... Ja sam Katolika ali neke stvari o crkvi ne slažem se. (I: Da.) Ali ne znači da ne vjerujem. Isto s glazba i politika. Onda za mene pjesma Lijepa li si... ja mislim da svi Hrvati znaju samo da dosta njih srami se više... više nego da se boje, srame mislim da sve znaju pjesme i da vole pjevati jer je pjesma lijepa.

I: Da.

IP4: Ono nema ništa... Pjesma ne kaže ništa protiv nekoga, ni za nekoga nego jednostavno pjesma kaže kak je lijepa Hrvatska što je.

I: Da.
IP4: I mislim da svaka država bi trebala imat neku pjesmu takvu kao ono moderna pjesma gdje ćeš pjevati kako je lijepa tvoja zemlja.

I: Mmh.

IP4: Mislim da nema ništa loše na tu pjesmu.

I: Da. Baš mi zanimljivo da si to tako opisala jer ja sam isto mislila na to da ih mnogo ljudi zna ovu pjesmu i da, da je kao inofficjalnu himnu baš zbog utakmice i takve stvari ja sam to tamo primjetila.

IP4: Da. Na primjer ja sam to htjela pjevat na Croaticumu.

I: Da.

IP4: Ne znam je li se sjećaš i da su neki ljudi iz ureda rekli da ne mogu to pjevati jer pjesma, ono sve je lijepo u Hrvatskoj ali kaže Herceg-Bosno... ali Herceg-Bosno, ja sam iz Hr...mislim ne ja, moji tata i moja mama su iz Herceg-Bosne i tamo, tamo su Hrvati. Ono, i ja sam prije mjesec dana bila u Kupresu i tamo imaju zastavu od Hrvatske oni su Hrvati. Ono što je bilo nakon rata da su sad podijeljeni to nema veze s time kako se oni osjećaju, oni su Hrvati. Ne možeš ti sada krenuti državu koja ne postoji. Bosna i Hercegovina nije nikad postojala tak da nemogu ni sada koji su cijeli život bili Hrvati sad više nisu. Onda kad su rekli, kao, da ne želi da ja pjevam tu pjesmu samo zbog toga da kaže Herceg-Bosno, onda na kraju sam rekla ako ne pjevam to onda, ne pjevam ništa... jer ne mogu ja ići protiv sebe ono.

I: Mmh.

IP4: Moji su iz Herceg-Bosne.

I: Da.

IP4: Baš sam se naljutila na to iz Croaticuma ali dobro to je Filozofski fakultet.

I: Da.

IP4: Nemoj to reć. Ma dobro anonimno je.

I: Ma da. Ali mislim već je i u drugom intervju isto. Osoba koja sam intervijula je to isto ispričala da se to desilo znači mislim da je okej da se i to da se to zna da ima neke.

IP4: Da.

I: Da, neki drugi misao o tome. Aaam A kak što bi ti rekla je li se eem Thompsonove pjesme često čuje u Hrvatskoj?

IP4: Ovisi gdje se ide. Ako si u Zagrebu onda rijetko se čuje. Ali, za primjer, sam se iznenadila jer prošle godine je bilo jedan festival ne sjećam se ime, Rujan Fest, Rujan Fest i iii to je tamo gore prema Zaprešića ja sam išla on je zatvorio Fest.
I: Mmh.

IP4: Znači on je bio zadnji koji je pjevao.

I: Da.

IP4: I to je nešto jako čudno jer je Rujan Fest u Zagrebu jako popularan i su ga pozvali na to i bilo je pun ljudi. Ja sam išla sa prijateljicom ono. Bilo sve normalno. Kužiš ima neki ljudi ono koji su malo ludi su malo ono predesničari, ali većina su bili normalni i jednostavno ideš tamo zato što voliš pjesme.

I: Da.

IP4: I nema veze šta on misli i šta ljudi misli nego samo ono voliš ići tamo i slušati pjesme. Na primjer za mene su pjesme koje sam slušala cijeli život od kad sam mala. Tata je to pustio doma ne samo to ali sve pjesme znamo i ja sam uvijek bilo kao ono life goal ići na koncert od Thompsona i uvjek kad budem znala da će bit neki koncert ja ću ići.

I: Da.


I: Okej.

IP4: Ne, ne sjećam se nisam razumjela kad su pokušali objasniti, ali su rekli kao da ono da su prije više slušali a sad kao da više ne, ono vole stare pjesme od Thompsona a ne nove ali jednostavno ono kad ima koncert oni bi išli zbog pjesme, stare pjesme, ali nitko ti to ne priznaje to s Hrvatima a nego, na primjer, sa mnom… Ja sam iz dijaspore onda tada da. Ali, ono, kad su svi Hrvati zajedno nisam nisam puno čula da čuju.

I: Znači ako je većina Hrvati da se ne baš mnogo priča o Thompsonu?

IP4: Da, da da. Pogotovo u Zagrebu… Kad sam išla u Osijeku tamo svi znaju za Thompsona i čuje se na radiju i sve… U Zadru isto… Ja sam bila u Splitu isto. Ali

I: Da. Čula sam da za Dalmaciju isto popularan...


I: Da.

IP4: Ali za Zagreb, ne… U Zagrebu ne čujem pjesmu uopće.

I: Netko je spomenuo da se Thompsona slavi nekako kao heroj u Dalmaciji. Je li si ti to isto primjetila?
IP4: Nemam pojma. Znam da... Znam da kad su te koncerte i na primjer kad je
Oluja aaa isto i u Čavoglave se slavi pe...mislim da to je peti osmi aah znam da on je
tamo pjevat. Isto dosta ide u Kupres, na primjer tamo ima dosta koncer... mislim ne
tamo ali blizu. U sedmom mjesecu, na primjer ima neki kao festival tamo u Kupresu
i onda stalno ide tamo pjevat. Eee jer tamo su ljudi koji njega slušaju. Sad, u
Zagrebu ima svašta... Ima ljudi koji ga slušaju, ima ljudi koji ga ne, ali neznam da li
če uopće biti neki koncert od njega tu. Mislim da...mislim da više ne, ne barem u
Zagrebu kao je bilo na Maksimiru bio je jako jako velik koncert.
I: Čitala sam da je Bandić nekako izrekao da je eeh on nebi Thompsonu zabranio da
on ima svoj koncert ovdje ako se ništa primjeti da se nešto kaže o politici ako vidi
da ima neke veze sa Ustaštvom Ustaštvom onda će braniti ali do sada nije tako tako
da će Thompson imati koncerte ovdje.
IP4: A nadam se... To mislim ono to da li ima veze i s čim ima veze to je k’o bilo
koje pjesma možeš interpretirati pjesmu kako god želiš.
I: Da.
IP4: I to je isto kao ne znam na nogomet igra. Hajduk i Dinamo... Ti ne možeš
zabranit da idu tamno navijat, ti navijači koji su i ‘di će napravit glupe stvari.
Jednostavno to postoji. Sad, ne možeš ti braniti zbog deset, ono, deset posto ljudi
koji su glupi, ne možeš da ostalih devedeset posto da ostaju bez koncerta ili bez
nogometa. Ono, jednostavno tako je bilo gdje nisu svi iste.
I: Da. Točno tako.
IP4: (SMIJE SE)
I: Ako ti, je li ti misliš na politiku ako misliš na Thompsona?
IP4: Ne, ne ja kad slušam Thompson meni su lijepe pjesme zbog... Više zato što su
povezani s domovinom i obitelji jer ima nema samo ono... ima par pjesma gdje
kažem protiv nešto ali većina su za Hrvatsku.
I: Mmh.
IP4: za ljubav, za domovinu, za boga. Ne primjetim kao ono da on pjeva i... Jer
ljudi kažu kao da on pjeva da on da on je potpora za mržnje... a ja ne primjetim da je
To je to. Samo.
I: Da. (PAUZA)
IP4: Što je istina
I: Pa da. Aa je li tebi isto važno njegov stil kako on pravi glazbu znači kao glazba
kao sama sebe?
IP4: Pa sviđa mi se rok. Sviđa mi se rok. Nije sad nešto što ja sad slušam svaki dan.
I: Mmh.

IP4: Eeeh mmh nije da ja sad slušam svaki dan rok i tako jake pjesme ali iii (PAUZA) Pa stil sviđa mi se. Da., mislim da ide... ne ne bih stavila takve... takav tekst uz nešto da nije tako jaka glazba. Rock i gitara i ono... malo jače.

I: Mmh.

IP4: Ne, ne ne ne bih skobinirao. Sad da bi samo slušala taku glazbu bez teksta mislim da ne. Ono to ide zajedno.

I: Da.

IP4: Osim Lijepa li si. To je lijepa je i glazba.

I: Da.

IP4: Da.

I: Cool. A ti si spomenila da si iz dijaspore mmh kako je to tamo? Mislim je li se tamo sluša Thompsona često ili?


I: Meni je to tako zanimljivo da postoji takva dijaspora.

IP4: Pa postoji, postoji, na primjer...

I: Da.

Jer... ne znaš... ja ne znam drugačije bit. Ja sam išla na neki, ne znam, tradicionalne festivale iz Perua to je sve lijepo, ali ne osjećam se kao ono da to je moj habitus.

I: Da, da. Jako zanimljivo. To bi mogao biti slijedeći rad. (SMIJE SE)

IP4: Imam prijatelj koji je zapravo sad u Peru. On je sad na Filozofskom i piše diplomski rad o tome povezanost između dijaspose i Hrvatske.

I: Ozbiljno

IP4: Da, i on je išao tamo napraviti intervju.

I: Cool to mi moraš poslati ako završi. To bi rado čitala. Jako zanimljivo. Da se vratimo opet u Hrvatsku, a moje zadnje pitanje je aaah jel bi ti rekla da ljudi koji slušaju Thompsona djeluje isto političko mišljenje kao on?

IP4: Eh ja mislim da možda neki dio da aaah s... ono... Neki dio sigurno skroz dijeli sve. Neki dio ko i ja nebi skroz dijelio sve. Ja zapravo nisam baš ono, jesam nekako apolitika ne ne mislim o politici ne ne nisam ni dosada glasala u Hrvatskoj jer nisam informirana na to i više ne vjerujem u politici ne ne vjerujem da... ja vjerujem više da će ljudi promjeniti državu, nego političari mmh onda nisam toliko povezana s time. Ja jednostavno slušam glazbu, volim pjesme eeh, volim tekst ali ne ne želim ići dalje jer mislim da je to bezveze. Ima ljudi koji se stvarno miješaju s time i ili su protiv ili su za. Ono, skroz su kontra ili skroz za. A ja jednostavno mislim da ima svašta. Ima ljudi koji ja da idu zato što su slušali cijeli život, ima ljudi koji idu zato što je njima to zanimljivo, ima ljudi koji idu zato što su skroz za, ima i koji ne idu zato što su skroz kontra. Tak da ne možeš ih svi stavit u istom u istoj kutiju.

I: Da.

IP4: Nisu svi iste.

I: Super. To bi bilo to.

IP4: To bi bilo to.

I: Da. Hvala puno.

IP4: Ništa.
**Profile:** The female student is living, studying in Zagreb. She does not define as a fan of the singer Marko Perković Thompson and does not listen to his music actively.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I:</th>
<th>Intervju 10.2.2017 u Tvornici.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IP5:</td>
<td>Ma ne sve okay. Da ja pričam unutra da se pribilžim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:</td>
<td>Da ako te ne smeta. Znači aam tema je općenito veza između glazbe i politike i mene interesira kako ti to vidiš.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP5:</td>
<td>Aah, pa ja vidim da glazba može povezati politiku tj. povezat politiku s ljudima eeh iii ljude… ljudi se preko politike mogu povezati s glazbom i sigurno da možemo vidjeti bezbroj primjera a u povjesti pogotovo u rađenju država nacija gdje je nekakav politički identitet usavršen kroz glazbu i slično ali moje osobno iskustvo je na primjer ne znam ako bih sudila po svom osobnom iskustvu onda bih rekla da je to više nešto što onako može imat utjecaj na tebe u pubertetu, kad je na mene imalo utjecaj, ali tu sam fazu prošla i suočila se sa stvarnim životom jer sve te neke ideologije su baš to i ne može se gledati nekak crno bijelo. A kad si teenager onda još možeš. Eto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:</td>
<td>Baš je zanimljivo. Super. Ja sam primjetila da mnogo ljudi znaju pjesmu „Ljepa li si“ i znaju je pjevati i mene sad interesira je li ti poznaješ eeh tu pjesmu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP5:</td>
<td>Da znam ju ali ne znam ju pjevati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:</td>
<td>Dobro ali što bi ti rekla o tome?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP5:</td>
<td>Pa to je pjesma di se spominju različitih krajeva u Hrvatskoj i još jedna, valjda od tih pjesama u maniri tih… te glazbe koja uzrdžava državu naciju tako je i geografski označena Hrvatska kao država nacija u toj pjesmi, svim tim krajevima ali… ne znam to je jedino nekakvo moje mišljenje o toj pjesmi baš me briga iskreno.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:</td>
<td>Da. A ja sam to primjetila jer se to često svira poslije na primjer nogometne igre, utakmice I eeh jel bi ti rekla da se može reći da je “Lijepa li si” kao neka inofficijalna himna Hrvatske? Ili ne bi rekla?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP5:</td>
<td>(PAUZA) Pa možda i da. Mislim, ne zašto što se svira poslije nogometnih utakmica nego ono, al ne znam možda i bih možda i ne bih. Više mi se čini kao da je došla u nekom trenutku kad je ljudima možda to iz nekakog razloga bilo potrebno… Iskreno ne znam koji je to bio trenutak, ali znam da ono kad tijekom rata je bila hrpa tih pjesama ono s više pjevača ili jednim pjevačem o Hrvatskoj i tome kako je lijepa bla bla i onak tu pjesmu stavljam u koš s tim pjesmama ono za neko križno razdoblje na neki način. I to je to. Jesam li to ok odgovorila? Trebam li obrazložiti više ili?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:</td>
<td>Ne mislim da je to to. Odlično kako si to rekla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP5:</td>
<td>Da ono imaš onu pjesmu “Moja Hrvatska.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:</td>
<td>Da.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IP5: Tu se spominju različiti dijelovi Hrvatske i takve gluposti. Šta?
I: Croatian Aid.

IP5: Da
I: Kak se to zvalo?
I: Band Aid, Croatian Band Aid.

IP5: Da, da.

IP5: Znam da Davor Gobac tamo pjeva.
I: Da.

IP5: Da svi su tamo.
I: Pet puta, pet puta sam vidjela video. (PAUZA) aaah sljedeće pitanje. Jel bi ti rekla da se Thompson često može čuti? Eem ako se šetaš po gradu ili ako pratiš mediji i..

IP5: Pa ne bih baš rekla. Mislim da ne. Mislim da stvamo tipa kad je neka utakmica ga puste a ono na eeh često ljeti gledam po cijele dane program Croatian Music Channel gdje puštaju samo Hrvatsku glazbu i… CMC, tako je… Ili Thompson je u istom omjeru kao svi drugi izvođači i nisam primjetila da se više pušta, tako da… Jedino kažem kad su te utakmice ili, ne znam, peti kolovoz i znam da puštaju takve stvari a to je to.
I: Pet puta, pet puta sam vidjela video. (PAUZA) aaah A sljedeće pitanje. Jel bi ti rekla da se Thompson često može čuti? Eem ako se šetaš po gradu ili ako pratiš mediji i..

IP5: Pa ne bih baš rekla. Mislim da ne. Mislim da stvamo tipa kad je neka utakmica ga punte a ono na eeh često ljeti gledam po cijele dane program Croatian Music Channel gdje puštaju samo Hrvatsku glazbu i… CMC, tako je… Ili Thompson je u istom omjeru kao svi drugi izvođači i nisam primjetila da se više pušta, tako da… Jedino kažem kad su te utakmice ili, ne znam, peti kolovoz i znam da puštaju takve stvari a to je to.

I: A ako ti misliš na politiku, jel bi ti isto mislila na Thompsona ili obrnuto?

IP5: Misliš kao politiku i glazbu ili?
I: Da, da.

IP5: Pa ne znam mislim… Kad mislim na njega i politiku nekako čak uopće niti ne razmišljam o njegovoj glazbi nego o njemu kao u pojaviti nekakvoj i svemu što dolazi oko njega i u tom kontekstu glazba mi je i onako… sporedna pogotovo što znam i neke ljude koje su s njim povezani poslovno ili rodbinski i onak… vidim to više kao dio nekog konteksta nego neke glazbene scene šta ja znam. Nisam baš povezivala tu njegovu glazbu… Ne znam… rijetko povezujem pjesme sa nekim nacionalizmom. Na primjer, ono, ona pjesma…. Ne slušam te pjesme pa ih onda niti ne mogu povezat nije me briga za njih. Ona pjesma od Miroslava Škore na primjer „U mom dvorištu“ ja sam mislima da je to neka glupa pjesma o selu i bolila me briga i onda mi je netko rekao ne to je pjesma u Hrvatima i Srbima i kako se stalno bore za svoju granicu kao dva susjeda… onak bože mili… dakle uopće ne razmišljam o tim… o onim pjesmama koji ja volim slušati ili izvođačima za koje je mene briga tu uvijek, onak, sam kritična…
I: Mmh.

IP5: I stvarno razmišljam o tome što rade i o čemu pjevaju, ali o ovim glazbenim djelima za koje me nije briga, ne razmišljam. Kažem i više mi je taj kontekst zanimljiv nego sama glazba kao takva.

I: Da.

IP5: Dakle mislim da glazba kao družveni proizvod nekako tu je povezana s politikom ali gra-glazba kao umjetničko djelo nije. To bih rekla. Ako je medijski proizvod onda je. Eto.

I: Da. Aaa Jel bi mogla uspomenuti koji ljudi ili koji političari su vezani uz Thompsona. To si mislim uspomenila.

IP5: Pa desničari. Pa HSP bih rekla.

I: Jel imaš.

IP5: Ili HČSP. Ma ne znam možda.

I: Meni je to malo teško istraživati.

IP5: Možda, fakat nemam pojma. Ne znam ne gledam te seljačke proslave izbora i sličnoga tako da stvarno.

I: Je li to onda više lokalno?

IP5: Ne, ne, ne to je na nacionalnoj razini sigurno alii... onako... eeh... mislim da kad su ti neka nacionalna događanja kao što je peti kolovoza, sinjska alka, dan državanosti, njegovi koncerti, izbori, pa nešto sa braniteljima, ne znam kad su bili šatoraši ili šta već.

I: Da.

IP5: To sigurno ima političara koji se povezuju s njime i on se povezuje s političarima, ali...

I: To se sigurno može naći.

IP5: Da.

I: I znači ako ti. Moram to sad ponoviti... (PAUZA) Ako ti misliš na Thompsona ponekad misliš na politiku ali ne uvijek. Jesam dobro shvatila. (PAUZA).

IP5: Eh tako je, ponekad mislim na politiku, ponekad mislim samo idem to izbjeći bezveze mi je i to je to.

I: Dobro.

IP5: Ali da iskreno stvarno više ga povezujem sa politikom nego s glazbom.
I: Mmh.

IP5: Ako je to pitanje. Više ga povezujem s politikom nego s glazbom.

I: I zadnje pitanje. Eem Je li ti misliš da su ljudi koji aah slušaju njegovu glazbu ili njegove pjesme da oni imaju isto političko mišljenje kao on?

IP5: Pa mislim da dosta njih ima. Većina ljudi koje ja poznam da ga slušaju se slažu s njim u političkim mišljenima da.

I: Interesantno. Ovo drugi su do sada rekli da ne.

IP5: Ne po meni većina da.

I: Jer (???)

IP5: Ja se čak nemogu sjetiti niti jedne osobe koja ga sluša a da nema ista politička mišljenja kao on.

I: Mnh... A jel bi ti rekla da ima dovoljno ljudi koji ne znam slušaju ponekad pjesme i možda nesvjesno ali ne dijeluje političko mišljenje. Znači kao na primjer pjesma „Lijepa li si“.

IP5: Ne, ne bih rekla. Mislim da eeh (PAUZA) da je ljudima odmah asocijacija slušat ću Thompsona... Ljudi koji ga slušaju automatski... Mislim da oni automatski razmišljaju isto kao i on... to jest isto onako kao što je predstavljeno političko mišljenje kroz njegovu djelovanje i glazbu. A oni koji ga ne slušaju da čak iako im se možda sviđa nešto što on radi ga principijelno zbog te političke dimenzije neće slušati i eto.

I: To je to.

IP5: Okey.

I: Hvala puno.

IP5: Ništa.
**Profile:** The student is living and studying in Zagreb, but originally from Rijeka. He did not mention if he defines himself as a fan of the singer Marko Perković Thompson.


IP6: Da jasno.

I: Aaa, dobro znači kako ti vidiš vezu između glazbe i politike?

IP6: Pa kako ja vidim vezu između glazbe i politike?

I: mmh

IP6: Pa, aah, da vidimo. Glazbi bi se, glazba je svakako nešto što mislim privlači veliki broj ljudi, naravno. I sad svaki glazbenik ili, ne znam, neki glazbeni bend, naravno, ima svoju publiku. Netko neku manju publiku, netko ima veliku publiku i naravno, mislim, jedan popularni glazbenik, koji ima... on može bez problema popunit neku granu od petnaest tisuća ljudi ili ne znam, ili čak možda stadion di stane trideset, pedeset tisuća ljudi i onda naravno kada, mislim, na takvom mjestu imate tako veliku publiku, tako ogromnu publiku onda naravno da imate auditoriju kojem, znači, možete izložiti neke svoje ideje, naravno, skrivene kroz pjesmu. Tako da... da glazba, mislim kroz glazbu svakako mogu... jedan... može biti jedan od medija da se može... kroz koji se može širiti neka određena ideja koja se zastupa i on to može, dakle, dostu lako raditi upravo zato što, ako ima toliko veliku publiku na jednom mjestu... onda tako svakako veza može biti... jakih veza.

I: Da. Super i aam.. koju ulogu vidiš u mediji što se tiče glazbe i politike?

IP6: Uloga medija. E sad. Što se tiče... eee... uloga medija što se tiče glazbe, mislim, eem danas su mediji, rek'o bih više fokusirani, jel, na pop glazbu ili, ne znam, ili dosta... eem mediji u ovom dijelu regije na turbofolk možda glazbu i slično. Uglavnom, više se... puno više, rekao bih, što se tiče žanrova glazbe, rekao bih da, naravno, puno veću pozornost privlače upravo te vrste muzike. Jer, ono, jer mogu privući... jer imaju velik krug slušatelja, a naravno, mediji se fokusiraju na ono što veliki broj ljudi prati i... Valjda imaju tu logiku imitirati ćemo i obrađivat ćemo i istraživaćemo ono što velik broj ljudi prati, jer će to onda velik broj ljudi gledat. Oni vjerojatno ne žele...

I: Da.

IP6: ...nešto što će malo ljudi poslijegledat ili slušati, ovisi ako je radio ili tako nešto. Malo je, zaista... I, naravno, postoje neki mediji (prekinut zvonjavom mobitela) ...postoje neki, naravno, mediji neki više koji su više na tom alternativnom diru, kao recimo, evo, ima.

I: Da.

IP6: Koji više su fokusirani na to... alternativnu muziku... ali to je naravno... oni su... prvo im... imaju sigurno i manje resursa i manja sredstva, pa to, ali postoje. Eto to, to je bio moj odgovor znači mediji i glazba.
Da, super. Aah, dobro onda idemo dalje. Ja sam primjetila da mnogo ljudi znaju aahm pjesmu ili znaju čak i pjevati pjesmu „Lijepa li si“?

I: Da. super. Aah, dobro onda idemo dalje. Ja sam primjetila da mnogo ljudi znaju aahm pjesmu ili znaju čak i pjevati pjesmu „Lijepa li si“?

IP6: Aha dobro.

I: I ah od Thompsona. Aaahm je li ti isto znaš tu pjesmu?

IP6: Da li znam „Lijepa li si“?

I: Da.

IP6: Aha dobro. Aahm je li ti isto znaš tu pjesmu?

IP6: Da li znam “Lijepa li si”?

I: Da.

IP6: Eeh ne cijelu, znam refren samo.

I: Ali poznaš je.


I: Dobro. Šta ti misliš o tome iii... kako bi je kontekstualisirao. Ili šta bi uopće rekao o tome?

IP6: O baš toj pjesmi „Lijepa li si“?

I: mhm.

IP6: Aha. Eh pa što bi rekao... hm... samo malo... Iz pjesme Lijepa li si, naravno... Ta pjesma je... naravno, ona je nastala upravo nedavno, nedugo nakon Domovinskog rata... Znači kada je Hrvatska, jel, stekla i borila se za svoju samostalnost i osnovala svoju samostalnu, suverenu državu... Da, mislim da je on tada, jel, eeh napisao tu pjesmu aah... Pjesma, naravno, pa mislim, vidi se i po riječima i po melodiji, znači, upravo cilja na te neke domoljubne osjećaje... cilja na neki, neko povezivanje svih Hrvata... Doduše, u toj pjesmi čak, više u tekstu te pjesme se čak spominje... sve hrvatske regije se spominju... čak eeh... čak i di Hrvati žive, čak se spominje čak i Herceg-Bosna... To mi je baš zanimljivo... Koja inače nije u sastavu Hrvatske, nego u sastavu BiH, al se... ali se poziva i na Herceg-Bosnu, znači, zato što tamo su Hrvati većinski narod. Znači, ono, pjesma zaista, ono, eeh... (PAUZA)

I: Hvala (DRUGI LJUDI). Da idemo pomoć.

IP6: Pa da, stvarno ima puno torbi da...

I: Da.

IP6: Da odemo mi. Jel treba? A da čujem što (???)

I: Dobro

IP6: Eeeh. Tako da... Mislim... to je ono što sam primjetio već u toj pjesmi da se poziva na sve one krajjeve gdje su Hrvati većinski narod i valjda mu je, znači, cilj mu je valjda bio da upravo to promu... kroz tu pjesmu promovira neko zajedništvo svih Hrvata, jer valjda on u tome vidi kao neku snagu... je’an vid nacionalne
IP6: ...koji želi promovirati i... Tako da i tu... i to je ta pjesma zaista i došla i ima velik odjek ta pjesma. Ona se, znamo za u... uvijek se pjeva na svakoj utakmici kad igra neka hrvatska reprezentacija... Bilo nogometu ili u rukometu i onda uvijek se... u dvorani se pušta pjesma „Lijepa li si“. Tako da... ljudi to... čak je postalo nezamislivo, meni osobno je postalo nezamislivo... eeh... bit... pogledat utakmicu ili bit na nekoj utakmici pa da barem na jednom čujem taj refren te pjesme, jel...

I: Da

IP6: Da.... To je i u tom segmentu je jedan Thompson koji je i tu pisao tu pjesmu i jednostavno bio je uspješan. Ta pjesma, koja je već stara valjda oko dvadeset, dvadesetdvije, tri godine, ta pjesma se i dalje često i izvodi i pjeva i naravno i to posebno političari HDZ-a to uvijek imaju na svakoj... uvijek kad je kampanja, kad imaju, ono, izbornu noć.

I: Da.

IP6: ...stvarno uvijek se ta pjesma pjeva zato što da... to je kao... mislim, oni na tu pjesmu gledaju kao na neku odu, neko... neki hvalospjev. Općenito svoje... prema hrvatskoj državi, hrvatskom narodu, kulturi i ono... Oni u toj pjesmi vide... kao pjesma koja sve to promovira. Znači kulturu i vrijednosti većinskog naroda i njima tu nema ništa sporno. Oni, mislim, vole tu pjesmu.

I: Da. Baš je zanimljivo da si to rekao, jer sam i htjela na za to pitati. Jel bi ti onda rekao da je to aahm da je ova pjesma „Lijepa li si“, da se to može vidit vidjeti kao neka inoficijalna himna.

IP6: Aha kao neka neslužbena himna... aah da... ah... Pa! da pa reko bi da može, da s obzirom... S obzirom na to koliko je... Da ima... Da je vrlo popularna svih godina i da mnogi mladi naraštaju svi znaju tu pjesmu i oni... I svake godine kad imamo ove mlade generacije to znaju. I ovi sa osamnaest godina i šestnaest godina... mislim da skoro... mislim da bi, kad bi tak tražili... Da sada idemo tražit neku generaciju koja još ne zna tu pjesmu, mislim da bi morali ići, ne znam, možda do sedmog, šestog razreda osnovne škole. Znači, to su djeca od, ne znam, od dvanaest, trinaest godina, do tako nešto bi morali ići, a svi oni koji su stariji, i od toga mislim da su svi upoznati s tom pjesmom. Tako da... može, da... Čak mislim da više, da bi našli više ljudi koji znaju cijeli tekst te pjesme nego znaju cijeli tekst od službene himne „Lijepa naša domovino“.

I: Da.

IP6: Da i tako da ono. Također, isto tako, vjerujem da je... Kad bi sad išli pitati eehm, tako, naraštaje publike tko je napisao pjesmu Lijepa li si mislim da bi sto posto ispitanih znalo da je to Marko Perković Thompson, a kad bi ih iš’o pitat za službenu himnu, mislim da ne bi baš svi znali da ju je napisao Antun Mihanović.

I: Da.

IP6: Posebno ovo školska populacija baš nije nešto za učenje i tako...
I: Da.

IP6: Tako da… Evo, eto, da… Rek’o bi onda da da, moglo bi se reć da je neslužbena himna.

I: Jako zanimljivo. To je nešto novo za mene. Da. Super. A kako bi ti rekao jel se Thompsonove pjesme može čuti često u Hrvatskoj i svugdje ili?

IP6: Aha da li se mogu često i svugdje…? Pa sad da razmislim samo mmh pa ovisi… a ovisi ponajviše, rekao bi više ovisi o prigodama… o… o situaciji koja je… koja se događa u nekim… ovisi o događajima koju su aktualni. Tako da ne znam stvarno… da je prije godinu dve, kada je recimo bila također vrlo popularna uvijek kad su, kad smo imali izbore one se uvijek svirala u stožeru od HDZ-a i zapravo ga je tako… mislim… i opće, općenito u tom razdoblju HDZ je… vodstvo HDZ-a je vodila… je sačinjavaš jedna… ljude koji su bili vrlo izrazito nacionalistički nastrojeni. I tako da… mislim… među… poslije mislim među desnom populacijom i općenito se ta pjesma, naravno, često… oni su… često može čuti, tako da eto...

I: mmh

IP6: Mislim ne toliko k’o prije, ali mislim da, mislim se općenito može često da čuti. Tako da mislim… da to je...

I: Samo trenutak.

IP6: Dobro.

I: Ja ću to sve platiti. (PAUZA) Tu sam.

IP6: Da, eh… može..

I: I na medijama ili u medijama. (SMIJE SE)

IP6: Da li se, šta, u medijima može to čut?

I: Da

IP6: Pa sad...

I: Sad Thompsonove pjesme općenito.

IP6: Pa znam, recimo… Ne znam sad tokom… eeh… medijima… Možda toliko baš ne gledam… Ali mislim… ako, ako ću, ako sad eeh ako ću se prisjetiti malo ove, mislim u Hrvatskoj postoji ovaj muzičke televizije… Ovaj… Croatian Music channel, CMC

I: Da.

IP6: Na kojem se, naravno, pušta samo muzika i naravno u velikom dijelu programa je i velik dio programa televizije otvoren za gledatelja. Znači, oni pošalju kao
poruku koju pjesmu žele čut. Znači kao taj jedan, kao neka vrsta sms jukboksa...

I: Da.

IP6: E, i tu… onda kad se tog sjetim… I onda često, znam da često ljudi zna, ono, puštat Thompsonove pjesme zato što ljudi to traže preko poruke. Da… I puste onda recimo, da recimo tako da na toj televiziji mislim da se… znam da, ne baš sad stalno, ali bude često se zna pustiti ili pjesma Lijepa li si ili neka druga njegova pjesma. Jer, naprosto, oni puštaju u tom dijelu programa koji je otvoren za gledatelje, oni puštaju ono što oni pošalju sms-om svoju želju, nego da... I uvijek bude barem neka jedna ili dvije njegove pjesme, tako da ono, to ljudi traže. I, naravno, time doprinose da te njegove pjesme i dalje budu prisutne.

I: mmh.


I: mmh

IP6: i znam zato što je… malo... Istra kao regija, u vezi tog, protiv... Ne podržava neke Thompsonove stavove koje izražava kroz pjesmama i on tamo, definitivno, nije prošao… Nije baš omiljen. I onda u slučaju kad su mu zabranili da drži koncert u toj areni i onda je, recimo, onda da naravno, to su... Taj slučaju su svi mediji popratili i onda je naravno... sam pjevač je bio onda… tad bio dosta u fokusu interesa i onda, naravno... a i njegovi podržavatelji koji su se onda često i povezivali, evo vidite kako njemu dopuštate, zašto njemu zabranjujete pjesme... Ima i puno gorih… A ovim, recimo, Turbofolk pjevačima iz Srbije, oni mogu pjevat u Hrvatskoj i zašto ne može Thompson... I onda...

I: Da...

IP6: ...u tom slučaju se, recimo… u tom trenutku je bio taj slučaj na… ne, ne na… u medijima, onda je on bio dosta prisutan, sam pjevač, a, naravno, preko njega a ne sam nego i pjesme. To su... Danas, danas se često se kao... Znam da se često se, kao… Sjećam se jednom da su čak i imali... znalo je bit tu i tamo neka emisija di se pozove kao, gosti i di, kao pričaju da... ima li neke ustaške poruke kroz te pjesme ili nema. Čak se znala napravit emisija samo o njegovim pjesama.

I: Kako se ta emisija zvala.

IP6: Ems pa stvarno ne znam… Mislim da se ne sjećam… Mislim da možda nije bila baš emisija nego više kao, ono, gosti gosti u dnevnicima.

I: mmh.

IP6: Znači dnevnik. Nekog pozove, pa onda… kad bi bila... On je često... ne samo u
Puli on je dobivao i zabranu da pjeva u Švicarskoj i on je dobivao... znam da ima zabranu da u... ne smije samo često pjevati u Švicarskoj nego...

I: U Njemačkoj isto...

IP6: U.. Eto...

I: u sve??

IP6: U nizu europskih zemalja. Svaki put kad bi dobio zabrane i onda bi se samo o tom pričalo i naravno da je mnh... kol’ko se sječam sad... mislim da... znal se tu i tam zvat neke goste kao tipa neke socijologe, neke povesničare, tako nešto koji bi možda kroz tekst dali neku analizu... Ima li tu tih ustaških nekih stavova ili slično, a... ima li razloga da li... To jest, komentirali su, znači, da li su ti njegovi tekstovi njegovih pjesama tol’ki problem i općenito ima li razloga da sve te zemlje zabranjuju Thompsona. Tako da eto. To je, mislim, to je više bio u sklopu informativnih emisija, ne mislim posebna emisija, ali opet u dnevniku se čak, znači, se pričalo o njemu i njegovim pjesama.

I: Da...

IP6: To je, ono, ako ništa drugo, barem je to... barem je to postigao. Taj... Sam pjevač.

I: Jako zanimljivo. To ću morati istraživati, ovu emisiju.

IP6: Mislim... To su više bili dnevici ne samo emisija jedna ali...

I: Ali dosta je zanimljivo da već treba dnevnik za to. Mislim... Da...

IP6: Da, točno... Mislim... Iako, to je naravno... To je bilo, ono, možda... To je nekoliko minuta razgovora, nije bio cijeli dnevnik posvećen tome, ali jedan dio, mali dio dnevnika je bio posvećen tome.

I: Da...

IP6: Toga se sječam... To, to je mislim... Prije deset godina sam i ja bio još malo dijete, malo još, pa se baš ne sječam... Nisam tad ja baš pratio toliko ali...

I: Da.

IP6: ...ali onako se sječam kroz maglu kad sam... Na televiziji bi vidio, onako...

I: Super...

IP6: Tako da.

I: I aam u kontekstu svim ovim, a... jel bi... jel ti misliš na politiku ako misliš na Thompsona?

IP6: Aha da li mislim ako mislim... Da li mislim na politiku ako mislim na
Thompsona. Pa aah… Pa mislim, pa da… Zapravo, da… Rek’o bih da me asocira me kad čujem, znači...

I: mmh.

IP6: ...i njega i njegove pjesme da… onda me, naravno da me... Onda mi jedna od prvih asociacija bude politika. Upravo zato što... Upravo zbog, ne znam, nekih stavova koje on... Političkih stavova i uvjerenja koje je on provlači kroz te pjesme i naravno… To mi pada na pamet... I naravno, pada mi na pamet da je publika brojna, ono izrazito ultranacionalistička publika koja ga podržava.

I: mmh

IP6: Naravno, ta publika isto ima ... radikalne političke stavove, tako da u... oko njega se svakako vrti politika i sve one riječi koje imaju pridjev politički tako je da.

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možemo reći da su sporni radikalnim nacionalizmom, mislim, po meni jedino što toj pjesmi možda, što može, što može, što je sporno, ono što može onako zapet za uho ili na nekoj raspravi to je ono što on u toj pjesmi poziva, znači, poziva na Herceg-Bosnu. On poziva na sve ono, sve hrvatske regije, ali poziva na Herceg-Bosnu koja nije u Hrvatskoj koja je u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ali tamo živi većinom Hrvati. To je jedan, al to je, mislim taj stih gdje on to poziva to je dio… Isto odražava njegov nacionalističko usmjerenje… to ono, svi Hrvati skupa u jednoj državi.

I: Da

IP6: Tu jedino… Tu može bit jedino sporno, ali on ono u toj pjesmi nema nekih drugih spornih stihova kao što zna imat u drugim pjesmama, koji baš ono direktno vezane recimo za, Ustaše ili Komuniste ili slično tako, tako da, eto, osim te Herceg-Bosne nema ništa drugo tolo sporno, pa onda ta pjesma nije da se recimo… Među, kad se kritizira među kritičarima Thompsona… ta pjesma nije prva na tapeti, prema onima koji ga kritiziraju da. Jer on ima puno drugih u spor… gorih pjesama… mislim spornijih pjesama

I: mmh

IP6: Po tome. Tako da... A što se tiče pjesama Lijepa li si opet se sjetim... kada idemo... ako idemo, ono, asocijacije prema vezama, asocijacijama, onda ćemo onda ćemo tu pjesmu pjeva Thompson, Thompson, znam kakav je i sve to… I onda, recimo sve to, pa onda to može kod jednog dijela publike prouzrokovat jedno nezadovoljstvo tom pjesmom, a zapravo je uzrok tome nezadovoljstvo pjevačem i onda ono se pre... tako da vrlo... odbijost prema samom pjevaču koja se samo onda, sigurno kod jednog dijela publike zna preliti i na odbijost prema svim pjesmama, pa tako i ovoj pjesmi i… drugim pjesmama u kojim nema spornih, jel, stihova.

I: Super.

IP6: Eto.

I: To je to.

IP6: To je to. Zadnje pitanje.

I: To je to.


I: Hvala puno.

IP6: Dvaest minuta. A dobro je.