FOR THE HOMELAND:

TRANSNATIONAL DIASPORIC NATIONALISM AND

THE EUROVISION SONG CONTEST

SLAVIŠA MIJATOVIĆ

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Abstract

This project examines the extent to which the Eurovision Song Contest can effectively perpetuate discourses of national identity and belonging for diasporic communities. This is done through a detailed performance analysis of former Yugoslav countries' participations in the contest, along with in-depth interviews with diasporic people from the former Yugoslavia in Malmö, Sweden. The analysis of national symbolism in the performances shows how national representations can be useful for the promotion of the state in a reputational sense, while engaging a short-term sense of national pride and nationalism for the audiences. More importantly, the interviews with the former Yugoslav diaspora affirm Eurovision's capacity for the long-term promotion of the 'idea of Europe' and European diversities as an asset, in spite of the history of conflict within the Yugoslav communities. This makes the contest especially relevant in a time of rising right-wing ideologies based on nationalism, xenophobia and racism.

Key words: diaspora, former Yugoslavia, Eurovision Song Contest, music, nationalism, Sweden, transnationalism

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Introduction

Research Rationale and Objectives

Every year, over 100 million people across Europe watch the biggest non-sporting televised event in the world, the Eurovision Song Contest (O'Connor 2007). The contest (commonly referred to as *Eurovision* or *the ESC*), organised by the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) since 1956, is often not taken seriously by its impressively large audience due to a perceived lack of music quality and over the top visual performances (Baker 2008a). However, what it seems to manage rather frequently is stir up national pride across Europe as well as point out political, historical and cultural ties (and breaks) within Europe. For example, countries such as Azerbaijan and Armenia are notorious for their antagonistic stance towards each other since their conflicts in the 1990s, which has extended to their Eurovision participations.[1] They have not exchanged a single point amongst themselves given the way that Eurovision voting is arranged. Each country's juries and audiences vote for their favourite ten songs, and then reward them with points (12 points for the best song, 10 for the second best, 8 for third, 7 fourth, down to the tenth-best song getting 1 point), making the country whose song gets the most points the winner of the contest. Unlike Armenia and Azerbaijan, Cyprus and Greece have an near-impeccable track-record of exchanging the highest '12 points' between the two states due to their cultural, historical and political ties.

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[1] The Azeri police questioned 43 people in 2009, after they had voted for the Armenian representatives at Eurovision. They were accused of being unpatriotic and a potential security threat for the state of Azerbaijan (BBC 2009). Subsequently, when Azerbaijan hosted the 2012 Contest, Armenia withdrew from the contest due to safety concerns for their representatives and their fans (BBC 2012a).

However, a curious scenario has recently ensued in the contest: from year to year certain countries receive high points from countries they do not share any relevant historical or cultural ties with. This is evident especially with Turkey and the countries of the former Yugoslavia receiving high points from Scandinavian and German-speaking countries from year to year. What is the explanation for these seemingly anomalous occurrences? Do they tell us more about nationalism and diasporic transnational connections than one would assume from an event such as a song contest?

Fundamentally, this is a question of the ways in which transnational and national identities are performed through the medium of international media events. The Eurovision Song Contest, in turn, represents one of the best possible case studies, considering its scope and popularity across Europe. The explosion in diasporic and transnational studies in the 1990s has produced an impressive amount of academic literature, but much of the work focuses on the effects of globalisation on the nation-state, as well as its effects on diasporic communities around the world (Young, Zuelow and Sturm 2007). The role of cultural media, and especially technology, in transnationalism and diaspora studies has been noted and researched by scholars (Alonso and Oiarzabal 2010). However, surprisingly little attention has been given to such a large-scale cultural event as Eurovision.

In geography, there has been no research or publications on the contest despite the intrinsically geographical nature of the event. Other competitive international events, such as the FIFA World Cup or the Olympic Games, have had a much more prominent role in academic research. This is potentially due to their global reach and popularity of sports, while the ESC is culturally specific to Europe and a non-sporting event. Nonetheless, both Eurovision and other international competitive events can be placed in the same larger public arena of nation-based

competitive events that, for a time, focus the attention of significant numbers of people. Unsurprisingly, the limited research done on Eurovision has focused largely on the nation-states themselves, rarely considering the diasporic communities as subjects of study. Research has looked at both spectrums of the continuum – from how countries perform their national identity via ESC performances (Baker 2008a and 2008b) to the potential of the contest to act as a pan-European cultural event (Fricker and Gluhovic 2013a). Predominantly, Eurovision research has taken the geographies of the nation-state as their frame of reference and has rarely deviated from it, in effect excluding diasporic communities from the studies of the contest and larger studies of international media events. By looking at the way that diasporas experience, perform, and respond to nationalism and national identity depictions via Eurovision, I will help bridge this evident gap in scholarship, and bring Eurovision within the scope of cultural and political geography for the first time.

Research Statement and Context

Through a critical look at the Eurovision Song Contest, this project examines the ways in which Eurovision influences diasporic identities through both complicating and simplifying conceptualisations of national identity. By using Martin Sökefeld's approach to diasporic social mobilisation, I examine to what extent the contest can effectively perpetuate discourses of national identity and belonging for diasporic communities and migrants through its range of representational practices. Essentially, Sökefeld (2006) argues that diasporic communities, or put simply, ethnic communities of people living away from home, do not exist by proxy but that those communities need to be mobilised into existence. Just because there are people from one country living abroad does not mean that they automatically constitute a community and have a sense of identity related to their displacement from home.

In order to study the ways in which the ESC can facilitate a sense of national identity and belonging for diasporic communities in lieu of supporting the processes of diasporic social mobilisation, I have decided to study one of the largest European diasporic communities. My research focus is on the diasporic peoples from the Serbo-Croatian speaking areas of the former Yugoslavia: Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia. It is crucial to immediately address the complexity and diversity of this large group of people, especially in terms of ethnicity and religion. I have opted to focus on a linguistic-cultural conceptualisation of what the communities I work with are. While we have four major ethnic groups: Bosniaks, Croats, Montenegrins and Serbs, there are three major religious groups: Muslims (mainly Bosniaks), Catholic Christians (mainly Croats) and Orthodox Christians (mainly Serbs and Montenegrins). Instead of making these dividing factors of ethnicity and religion my focal points in research framing, I have decided to focus on the unifying aspect of a shared linguistic and cultural sphere[2], especially in light of over 70 years of the existence of the former Yugoslavia, which brought these peoples together under the same state. In that regard, I refer to them as the Serbo-Croatian speakers, or for simplicity's sake, more often as 'former Yugoslavs' or 'former Yugoslav people'.

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[2] Arguably, there are differences between the ethnic groups that are evident in the dialectics of language. For example, Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian are all official languages of their respective countries, not Serbo-Croatian. However, Serbo-Croatian was the official name of the language identified during the existence of socialist Yugoslavia, and it facilitated the creation and perpetuation of a linguistically-based common culture in the former state. The origins of the unified language came from the 1850 Vienna Literary Agreement between Croatian, Serbian and Slovene writers trying to create a unified literary language for the south Slavic peoples. The political rift in the former Yugoslavia and its successor states has led to the distancing (at least in the academic sense) of the languages, whilst the general public often uses the term *naš* ('ours') to describe all four languages, and to emphasise the linguistic similarities. This is especially the case in multi-ethnic areas, or in instances of inter-ethnic communication. The four languages are almost completely mutually intelligible, creating a unified cultural linguistic geography in the former Yugoslavia, encompassing Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia. In the other two former Yugoslav republics, Macedonia and Slovenia, the populations speak Macedonian and Slovene, respectively, which despite being relatively similar to Serbo-Croatian are not as easily understandable and are to a large extent outside of the Serbo-Croatian cultural sphere.

As the result of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, over a million people fled the area and moved as far as Canada and Australia, but also closer to home, to places such as Austria and Sweden. I have strategically chosen to study the diasporic communities of former Yugoslavs in southern Sweden, specifically in the Malmö metropolitan area.

The first reason for the choice of the Malmö metropolitan area or MMA (*Stor-Malmö*, in Swedish) was the sizeable presence of former Yugoslav people not only in the area, but also Sweden at large. While the Yugoslav conflicts in the 1990s dramatically increased the numbers of Yugoslav people in Sweden, the first sizeable communities originated from agreements made in the 1970s between Yugoslavia and Sweden on the temporary migration of (un)skilled labour from Yugoslavia (Dingu-Kyrklund 2007, 1). By 2013, the MMA had over 140,000 foreign-born residents, representing 21.9% of the population, on top of another 100,000 second generation people (14.9%) (Statistics Sweden 2014). Malmö itself has over 15,000 residents from the former Yugoslavia alone, which is approximately 15% of the foreign-born population in the city (Malmö stad 2011).

The second reason for the choice of the MMA and Sweden is the popularity of Eurovision in Sweden and the cultural clout the contest carries. Eurovision is unprecedentedly popular in Sweden both as an entertainment and cultural phenomenon, commanding 84% of the viewing market in 2012 (ESC Daily 2012). The contest has been hugely popular ever since the first Swedish victory in 1974. The winners of the contest, a relatively new band called ABBA, were propelled to international stardom and chart dominance thanks to their participation. Eurovision songs even make a strong impact on the Swedish iTunes charts, with 22 songs from the 2012 contest charting (EuroVisionary 2012). Additionally, because they won the 2012 contest, Sweden hosted the 2013 edition in Malmö, which provided a perfect context for my

research. I assumed that local participation and interest in Eurovision would be heightened, furthering my chances of getting informants, as well as having the opportunity of experiencing the contest myself and getting a more embodied experience of the contest itself.

Methodological Framing and Positionality

I have utilised a number of research methods in order to fulfil my research aims and understand the connections between diasporic communities and (trans)national identities via cultural events. Aside from the extensive review of literature on diasporic and transnational communities, nationalism, and Eurovision, the centrepiece of my research is a series of one-on-one semi-structured interviews with individuals from the former Yugoslav republics living in the MMA. I have conducted twelve interviews with a varied group of people, ranging from people living there for less than five years to second generation people who have never lived in the former Yugoslav republics themselves. The interviews focused on three large topics, loosely tied together in order to allow informants to alter the course of the interview if they wished to. The three topics were their migratory experiences and histories, the experiences of being and living as part of the diasporic communities, and lastly, their experiences with and opinions of the ESC. I have also conducted an interview with the Head of Press of the Montenegrin Eurovision delegation at the 2013 contest, Mr. Sabrija Vulić. The thinking behind conducting the interview was to see how the national broadcasters organising the contest and preparing their nations' performances see their participation: the thinking behind the performances themselves, but also the role and impact of the diaspora in the contest.

The project also includes an analysis of the performances of select former Yugoslav countries since 1989.[3] The performance analysis was based on analysing not only the discursive elements of the performances such as lyrical content, but also compositional/musical content and the visual performances themselves. I aimed to highlight national symbolism in the way the songs representing those countries sounded and what the performances looked like, and whether they perpetuate national belonging and nationalism via their representational powers.

It is important to discuss my own positionality early on, especially with regard to conducting primary qualitative research. The realisation of one's subjective position in the creation of new knowledge is critical for a properly reflexive project, especially one that aims to distance itself from empiricist thinking. Through their research methods, analyses and interpretations, scholars create and shape the knowledge that we disseminate, and we need to recognise that power and influence. In that regard, I need to realise that my own subjectivity can be a constraining as well as a beneficial factor for my research.

As a passionate Eurovision fan of over ten years, I am well acquainted with the contest itself, which brings both opportunities and challenges to my project. On the positive side, I am well-connected within both the scholarly Eurovision community and the fan community. This allows me to sympathise with my informants and understand them a bit better than someone who has limited exposure to the ways in which fans experience and feel for the contest. Surely, this emotional link is also a limitation of my research where I could end up putting a positive spin on things due to my own fandom. This was checked through multiple discussions and editing processes in collaboration with my academic supervisor, which enabled me to position Eurovision in the right context.

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[3] The countries are: Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Serbia & Montenegro (2004-5) and the former Yugoslavia itself (1989-92).

As a member of a global former Yugoslav diaspora, this project enables me to understand the daily diasporic and transnational conditions of my informants. My own immersion in the diasporic community allows insights a non-diasporic person might not have. Language is also an important aspect of the research and my choice of communities to work with. As a native Serbo-Croatian speaker, I was able to easily communicate with my informants in their native language, which facilitated strong and constructive rapport between my informants and myself. Interestingly, there were two instances where parts of the interviews were conducted in English due to the inability of informants to discuss highly conceptual ideas of identity in Serbo-Croatian. In both instances, the informants were highly educated within a Swedish educational system, but did not possess the necessary vocabulary in Serbo-Croatian for these concepts. Facing my positionality in research and writing processes, from initial project conceptualisation to final write-up, provides for a more rounded and critical understanding of the diasporic condition as it is complicated by the Eurovision Song Contest.

Relevance of the Project

This research project illuminates the place of diasporic communities in the strengthening or weakening of ethnic nationalisms, as facilitated through a major transnational cultural event. It also demonstrates how diasporic communities respond to visual, musical and lyrical portrayals of the homeland and whether those portrayals facilitate diasporic engagement and a stronger sense of belonging to the diasporic community. These insights are particularly vital in the context of a rising tide of nationalism within the European Union. Right-wing politics and policies, supplemented by a rhetoric of xenophobia, racism and nationalism, provide the perfect stage for inquiries into the ways that ethno-national minorities and migrants react to, contest, or adapt to this rhetoric and policies.

In current scholarship, the focus of diasporic studies has largely been on transnational connectivities via economic factors, such as remittances, travel, or property ownership. Conversely, diasporic communities have been largely marginalised in discussions of national identities in relation to their contentious transnational position. My research examines how diasporas react to and work with nationalism from the homeland – especially one that has been severely affected by the social normalising of nationalism. This research also adds to an ever-growing literature challenging the view of diasporas as emotionally separate from their host states by recognising the *transnational* aspects of the connections that these people have with both their homelands and states of residency. The results of this research contribute not only to cultural, political and population geography, but also transnational studies, ethnic studies and studies of nationalism in history, geography and sociology.

Structure of the Paper

The paper is divided into seven chapters. The present and first chapter has introduced the research issues and contextualised both the Eurovision Song Contest and the former Yugoslav diasporic communities in the MMA. It has briefly touched upon the methods used for the research project, as well as the positionality of the researcher in the larger process of research and write-up. It highlighted the relevance of the research in both the larger sphere of academic knowledge and the everyday experiences of transnational identities.

The second chapter provides an overview of the migratory history of former Yugoslavs to Sweden, as well as a general overview of the changes in Swedish immigration attitudes and policies since the Second World War. It also provides a discussion of the academic literature on

diasporic and transnational migrations and identities, and introduces the former Yugoslav communities in the Malmö region.

The third chapter briefly discusses the idea of the nation and the phenomenon of nationalism, providing for a theoretical framing for the discussion of music and nationalism. This, in turn, introduces the Eurovision Song Contest and offers a detailed review of the scholarly literature published on the contest thus far. It concludes with a discussion that brings the various theories together, presenting the theoretical framing for the analysis in the following chapters.

The fourth chapter discusses in detail the methods used for the research project. It explains the sampling method, introduces the twelve informants, and provides a detailed breakdown of the way the performance analysis has been conceptualised and conducted.

Having elaborated upon the methodological aspects of the project in the previous chapter, the fifth chapter is the first analytical chapter. It analyses the space for the mobilisation of the former Yugoslav diasporas via external and internal factors. Discursive master frames facilitating national diasporic identities are discussed and nationalism in the diasporic communities is analysed via the interviews with my informants.

Linking to the scholarly literature on the contest, the sixth and final chapter begins with the analysis of Eurovision performances, providing a context for the following discussion. The rest of the chapter focuses on the ways informants understand the ESC not only in terms of its successes and failures, but also the ways it influences their identities and the ways it may be a relevant or irrelevant cultural event.

Chapter Two:
The Theory and Practice of Transnationalism and Diaspora

1. Sweden – from Multiculturalism to Integration

All human experiences are set in specific historical moments without which they cannot divorce themselves and cannot be properly understood. Geography as a discipline is intimately connected with history and the need for historical inquiry to enlighten geographical research has long been recognised by geographers. In this chapter I will therefore introduce the history of Swedish immigration since World War II and the experiences of the communities that I am studying since they started coming to Sweden. I will explore and map the ways in which people from the former Yugoslavia developed multiple experiences and communities in southern Sweden, in the process creating an 'anatomy' of these communities. This will be preceded by a discussion of academic debates on the understanding of diasporic and transnational communities, and how the former Yugoslav communities in Skåne fit or do not fit these concepts, providing a theoretical backbone to my project.

While some scholars have recognised Western and Northern Europe to have had two major migration waves since World War II, they tend to be too broad to be of practical use. The first wave identified is the one of labour migrants from 1945 to 1973, and the second is the permanent settlement/secondary immigration wave from 1973 onward (Messina 2007). Along with the issues with the broadness of categorisation, there is a need to redefine these categories specifically for the context of former Yugoslav communities for the purposes of my project. Following the differentiations noted by Slavnić (2011) and Povrzanović Frykman (2001a) in their studies of Bosnian and Croatian communities in Sweden, slightly different historical

categories are more relevant. The collapse of the socialist systems across Eastern Europe in 1989 and the subsequent opening up of borders represents a completely different stage to the migratory processes in Europe in comparison to the Cold War era. On top of that, the wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s have also altered the ways we have to approach the resulting former Yugoslav immigrant communities across Europe.

Therefore, I identify three migratory waves of former Yugoslav peoples in Europe: a) post-war refugee (World War II) and labour migrations (1945-1973); b) Family reunification and permanent settlement (1973-1989); and finally c) refugee migrations and European integration (1989-present). This historical framing is relevant not only to former Yugoslav migrants, but can also be applied to other immigrant communities coming to Sweden in the 1990s, as will be shown below.

<u>World War II and Labour Migrations</u>

Until World War II and its aftermath, Sweden was considered a country of emigration, especially in the 19th century. Swedish immigration policies in the early 20th century were rather restrictive, and only loosened up in 1941 to admit refugees from occupied Denmark and Norway. In only four years, Sweden admitted over 150,000 refugees from its neighbouring states, characteristic of the large-scale migratory movements across Europe throughout the war period (Borevi 2012, 33). Having remained nominally neutral within the conflict in Europe, the Swedish economy remained untouched and was to be mobilised for the reconstruction of the continent post-war. The need for Swedish products across Europe also meant a need for an increase in labour to fuel Swedish economic growth and production. Since many of the vital jobs to these

efforts were undesirable to Swedes, migrant workers were seen as a willing and cheap alternative.

Unemployed migrants from southern Europe could escape "structural unemployment or underemployment" and at the same time get a "chance to earn a lot in a short period of time, thus improving their economic subsistence base at home" (Bade 2003, 228-9). By 1947, the Swedish government had signed worker exchange treaties with Austria, Hungary and Italy, and by 1967 with Yugoslavia (Bade 2003, 228; Goeke 2011, 745). This, however, was not solely a Swedish phenomenon. It was especially prevalent in West Germany, Austria and Switzerland (see Table 1 on page 14), which took in immigrant labour from not only Yugoslavia but also Turkey and other southern European countries. It is not surprising, then, that the word for these 'guest migrants' or 'guest labourers' was actually coined in German – *Gastarbeiter*.

As the *gastarbeiter* numbers increased in Sweden, its Social Democratic government sought a way to control the influx. Originally, a work permit would have automatically meant a permanent residency permit, and these could be very easily obtained. As a matter of fact, it was so easy that throughout the 1950s tourists could get a work permit if they happened to stumble across a good employment opportunity while on vacation in Sweden (Borevi 2012, 35-6). With an increase in permanent residents, however, not all of them had achieved the necessary standard of living that the average Swede was seen as entitled to in those prosperous times[4]. In order to equalise the standard of living, the government passed an Immigration Bill in 1968 which afforded equal rights and welfare for both immigrants and native Swedes. From regulating only

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[4] According to Labour Force Surveys (LFS) conducted by Statistics Sweden, the unemployment rate in Sweden has been consistently under 5% until 1992. In 1992, it reached 5.2%. In 1993, however, the methodology of the Survey was changed, and the unemployment rate has been in the range of 4 to 8% in the period 1993-2008. (Data found in Table 3A: Unemployment, general level, of the International Labour Organisation's LABORSTA database for Sweden (International Labour Organisation 2014)).

work-related aspects of immigrants' lives, the state realised the need to also assist the

gastarbeiter in lieu of housing, education and social care provisions (Borevi 2012, 38). It is no

surprise then that by 1973 there were just over 40,000 Yugoslav citizens residing in Sweden,

according to the Swedish census (Statistics Sweden 2014; Sundhaussen 2011, 174. See Table 1).

Table 1: Yugoslav labour migrants in major European destination countries circa 1971-73[5].

Destination Country	Yugoslav Census 1971		Estimate A) 1973		Estimate B) 1973	
West Germany	411,503	68.9%	700,000	65.1%	469,000	58.4%
Austria	82,957	13.9%	197,000	18.3%	197,000	24.5%
France	36,982	6.2%	75,000	7.0%	54,000	6.7%
Switzerland	21,201	3.6%	28,000	2.6%	28,000	3.5%
Sweden	*16,359*	*2.7%*	*40,000*	*3.7%*	*25,000*	*3.1%*
Other European countries	27,867	4.7%	35,000	3.3%	30,000	3.8%
Total in Europe	596,869	100%	1,075,000	100%	803,000	100%

Sources: Goeke 2011; Statistics Sweden 2014; Sundhaussen 2011.

Transitioning Towards Family Reunification

Throughout this period, the vast majority of immigrants to Sweden were labourers,

mainly channelled to Sweden thanks to labour exchange treaties with south European countries.

However, with the 1973 Oil Price Shock shaking up West European economies, the generous

arrangements between industrialised and industrialising European states ended quite abruptly

(Bade 2003, 228). Even before the Oil Price Shock, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and

the National Labour Market Board were becoming increasingly conservative throughout the late

1960s and early 1970s, which helped further the anti-labour immigration stance. In 1972, the two

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[5] Estimates for 1973 were both by Yugoslav scholar Ivo Baučić, but were a compilation of different Yugoslav and foreign sources. They show the extreme differences in data that was available in the 1970s, and the wide gap between the official Yugoslav numbers and the actual (estimated) numbers of people abroad. The numbers for Sweden in Estimate A are actually from the Swedish census, available from Statistics Sweden (2014) and correspond to Yugoslav citizens within Sweden. The number kept steady until 1979 when it dropped to just under 40,000, and stayed the same until the outbreak of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

bodies successfully lobbied the Swedish government to re-focus its interest on economically underused segments of the Swedish ethnic population, instead of just taking in more *gastarbeiter*. Those were the youth, women and disabled people, who were still not fully integrated into the Swedish economy but now got preferential treatment over labour migrants (Borevi 2012, 38-9).

With the abrupt end of intensive labour immigration the Swedish government recognised that large numbers of *gastarbeiter* would remain in Sweden, due to the immediate acquisition of permanent residency via work permits. In 1975 a new law was passed, with its main premise being a multicultural Sweden. The law featured the idea of a *partnership* between immigrants and minority groups, and the majority host population (Borevi 2012, 41). Not only were the immigrants entitled to equal treatment in every aspect of life through the state's provision of equal access to Swedish culture and services, but they were also encouraged to maintain ties to their homeland and develop their own cultural activities within Sweden (Borevi 2012, 40-1).

Scholars have noted that despite this positive attitude toward immigrants in Sweden, the government did not foresee the continued growth of immigrant communities in Sweden much beyond existing guest workers. However, as a signatory of the European Social Charter Sweden obligated itself (by Article 19, Section 6)[6] to "facilitate as far as possible the reunion of the family of a foreign worker permitted to establish himself in the territory" (Council of Europe 2013). What this meant was that the families of all the *gastarbeiter* who came to Sweden were now entitled to resettle in Sweden as well. In that regard, there was a clear shift from labour immigration to permanent settlement immigration via family reunification, which represented the

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[6] All 47 Member States of the Council of Europe have, at one point or another, become signatories of the European Social Charter. The majority have adopted the updated 1996 version of the Charter, while Switzerland and Lichtenstein have refused to do so, keeping the 1961 original. Sweden was one of the original signatories in 1961, and has signed the revised Charter in 1996, which was ratified by the government in 1998. (Council of Europe 2013)

majority of immigration throughout Europe even after the accession of the new EU members from Eastern Europe[7] (Bade 2003, 231-2; Pascouau 2013, 11).

Post-1989 Migrations and Hardened Attitudes

The collapse of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent collapse of socialist authoritarian regimes across Eastern Europe not only affected politics but also population movement across the continent. The idea of a borderless Europe, especially during the period building up to the Maastricht Treaty in 1992[8], was quickly replaced with a reinforced need to better monitor and restrict borders. This was especially the case in Sweden, which suddenly had a surge of refugees seeking asylum, mainly due to the country's exceptional international reputation on refugee acceptance and humanitarian foreign policy. As a result of its reputation, by the fall of 1989, as many as 6,000 asylum seekers entered Sweden each month – the annual quota for its neighbours Norway and Denmark (Nordin 2005, 43).

Sweden's liberal reputation was first established at the end of World War II, when it granted residency to all death camp survivors across Europe (Nordin 2005, 23). The reputation was further advanced in 1956 with the acceptance of over 15,000 Hungarian asylum seekers after the uprising against the Soviet Union. Sweden continued to accept tens of thousands of asylum seekers over the decades – 25,000 Chileans, 11,000 Eritreans, 30,000 Kurds and Assyrians, 35,000 Persians, 12,000 Poles, amongst others (Nordin 2005, 26). It is no surprise, then, that

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[7] According to the European Policy Centre's paper on Intra-EU mobility (Pascouau 2013), the exercise of the freedom of movement within the EU has not been fully utilised by nationals from member states within the EU. As Pascouau notes (ibid., 11), "it has been described as a "weak" phenomenon. According to the European Commission, 'around 3.4% of EU-born workers work in a member state other than that of their birth. In comparison, the proportion of non-EU workers in the EU-27 workforce in 2008 was twice as high (over 6.6%) as that of foreign EU nationals'."

[8] Signed in 1992, but entered into force in 1993.

Sweden became a major destination for Eastern European asylum seekers after the opening up of European borders.

The Swedish government did toughen up its generous refugee policy for a brief two years (1989-91) to curb the large amounts of refugees entering the country, but with the lack of international attention to Swedish internal issues, this went largely unnoticed by both international media and potential asylum seekers/refugees (Nordin 2005, 43, 58). Large numbers of refugees kept on coming to Sweden, peaking in 1992-93 as the war continued to rage in the former Yugoslavia. By June 1992, as many as 2,500 people from the former Yugoslavia arrived to Sweden weekly (Nordin 2005, 58). The government curbed this in 1993 by installing obligatory visa acquisition for refugees while they were still abroad (instead of allowing them to come to Sweden without pre-approval and apply for asylum and refugee status, as was the case up until then with citizens of Yugoslavia). At the same time as they imposed restrictions, in a sweeping move in June 1993, the government granted permanent residency to around 42,000 Bosnian refugees who had already found refuge in Sweden (Povrzanović Frykman 2012, 54-5). By the end of the conflict in Bosnia & Herzegovina in late 1995, there were some 58,700 Bosnian citizens who were granted residency in Sweden, 95% of which remained in Sweden (Valenta and Ramet 2011, 4).

At the same time as the influx of tens of thousands of refugees from the former Yugoslavia and other crises epicentres, such as Iran and Iraq, the newly created European Union was courting Sweden and its population to join the political union through the heavy promotion of a sense of European identity and a shared history and culture among all European peoples

("sharing from 'Plato to NATO'" was a common tagline[9]) (Pred 2000, 39). It was an identity struggle for many Swedes – how to reconcile a sense of Swedishness with a sense of Europeanness, while accepting tens of thousands of foreigners from all over the world into their country. On top of that, this coincided with the first severe economic crisis in Sweden in twenty years as it restructured from an industrial to a post-industrial society.

All these events contributed to the sudden rise in xenophobia and racism across Sweden, leading two-thirds of Swedes to believe that the number of accepted refugees should be limited (Eastmond 2011, 278). These changes were especially exacerbated in Malmö, since the city received one of the heaviest inflows of migrants as well as being severely hit by economic restructuring. Where Malmö was a large industrial port centre up until the 1980s, the city lost its strong economic footing in Sweden due to the restructuring to a service-based industry, and experienced socio-economic difficulties and ethnic tensions for the first time in a long period (Slavnić 2011, 265-6). Similar processes across the country led to a shift from the usual left-wing liberal political climate to a more right-wing conservative one, within a few years.

The Political Shift to the Right

As Swedish scholar Mette Andersson (2010, 4) has noted, the study of racism as a topic for research and political debate in has been rather marginal in Europe, with a few exceptions. One of those notable exceptions is geographer Allan Pred's work *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination* (2000). The fascinating (and fascinatingly poetically written) book works on debunking the disconnect between the realities of

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[9] The Government stated its aim to join the European Community (as it was being formed into the European Union) in 1990, and the official negotiations started in 1993. A referendum to join the Union was held in November 1994, and with the support of 52.3% of the electorate, Sweden was to join the Union. The Swedish Parliament, the Riksdag, ratified the decision in December, and on January 1, 1995 Sweden joined the European Union (Government Offices of Sweden 2014).

Swedish immigrants' experiences and what the world perceives Sweden to be like – an immigrant utopia of sorts. Others have done work on studies of these disconnects in other places, with a special focus on the rise of xenophobia and racisms across Western Europe. Nordin (2005) and Pred (2000) both remind us that these events are not Sweden-specific, with Pred providing a set of examples for his claims: French immigrants facing political and everyday resistance against their opposition to become more Francophone; police racism failing to provide safety for people of colour in the UK; the rise of neo-Nazism in Germany since reunification; and the experiences of the Roma across Europe (Pred 2000, 5-8). And while Swedish racism has longer roots than most (even Swedes) know about[10], Sweden has been touted as the hotbed of multiculturalism, as was engrained in the 1975 Immigration Law. Along with Canada and the Netherlands, Sweden represented a multicultural triad (if not its apex), where anyone and everyone could find a home and a good life, based on a generous welfare state.

The 1990s turned out to dispel this refugee-accepting welfare-utopia image of Sweden, at least when it came to how the government dealt with the issues of immigration. The rise of right-wing political parties to prominence in Sweden, such as *Ny Demokrati* (New Democracy), indicated an increasing conservativism within the Swedish population. Precisely because of the shifting political mood, the elected Social Democratic government unsurprisingly took a more conservative approach than they had in the 1970s when they initiated the multiculturalism policy. In 1996, a new policy on immigration was installed, which focused on refugee repatriation and assistance to immigrants who wanted to return to their countries of origin, as soon as it was safe for them to go back. Family reunification rights were also re-defined as being solely amongst the nuclear family, curbing large-family movements to Sweden (Borevi 2012, 63). In cooperation

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[10] In 1931, the Swedish Parliament (Riksdag) passed a ban on people of colour visiting and settling in Sweden (Nordin 2005, 17). Anti-Semitism was also prevalent, as demonstrated by the rejection of the vast majority of Jewish asylum applicants from Germany in November 1938, after the Kristallnacht events in Munich (ibid., 17).

with the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA, formed in 1995), refugees would get funding assistance to rebuild their homes or start businesses in their countries of origin. However, this was not quite as successful, at least with the Bosnians: around 95% decided to stay in Sweden (Valenta and Ramet 2011, 4) with over 85% naturalising and becoming Swedish citizens (Bevelander and Pendakur 2009, 13). SIDA's focus and the majority of funding shifted to reducing poverty across the globe instead of assisting the government in its policy (SIDA 2013).

A clear official shift from a multiculturalist to an integrationist approach happened in 1997, with the new *Integration Policy* of the Swedish government. A discursive shift from immigrant rights to immigrant obligations was enshrined in this new policy, where more responsibility was put on the individual immigrant instead of a perceived immigrant community. The new policy was cloaked under the guise of trying not to create all immigrants as a special interest group, since they had a large variety of experiences and backgrounds. In a way, it was seen as ending the essentialising of refugees, asylum seekers, economic immigrants, and other kinds of immigrants within a singular grouping by focusing on the individual immigrant instead (Likić-Brborić and Bennich-Björkman 2013, 47). However, practically it was an integrationist approach trying to make immigrants conform to Swedish cultural norms, in stark contrast to the 1975 Immigration Policy.

The multicultural Sweden of the 1975 Social Democrats was deemed passé, and cultural integration was the word of the day. In the decade following the policy, it has been strengthened by the 2010 *Introduction Policy*, which provided for introductory programmes of immigrants and refugees (Borevi 2012, 85). Individuals were made personally responsible for participating in the programme's activities, such as language courses and employment training, and the ones that did

not participate were deemed ineligible for various benefits that came with participation. This way, the government directly dictated the level of involvement of new migrants with Swedish cultural norms and the state itself, unlike before, where immigrants had the freedom to choose their own pace at which they would interact and integrate, if at all.

Disconnects of Swedish Reputation and Realities

The international reputation of Sweden as an immigrant haven has been maintained quite successfully, despite the developments in the last two decades. However, academics have started debunking the 'Swedish myth of exceptionalism,' noting Swedish inconsistencies when it comes to "what Sweden was projecting about herself to the world and what the nation was practicing at home" (Nordin 2005, x). These inconsistencies are glaringly varied both geographically and racially, and were furthered by larger "neoliberal disciplinary strategies, neoconservative moral reaffirmation and the erosion of a comprehensive citizenship pact" between Swedes and immigrants (Schierup and Ålund 2011, 56). Allan Pred (2000, 186-223) ingeniously shows the way that Swedes have embraced this exceptionalism myth themselves and have selectively chosen what to remember and what to forget, in process creating popular geographical imaginations within Sweden. In other words, Swedes have internalised their liberal humanitarian reputation to such an extent that when faced with the realities of racism and xenophobia within Sweden, they selectively vilify places where racist events take places, labelling those places and people as 'racist'. Ultimately, this creates a scapegoating effect against other places (towns, cities, regions) in order to let themselves off the hook "when it came to racism and anti-immigrant sentiments, and the 'non-racist' places they lived in" (Pred 2000, 215). It is in a sense an internal *othering* that provides for other geographies as the problematic ones, but our own geographies as humanitarian, refugee-friendly, international, and accepting.

The realities, as Pred (2000), Nordin (2005) and Schierup and Ålund (2011) note, are inconsistent with Swedish perceptions of themselves and their country. It is not only the structural issues such as "the extended processes of urban segregation, social exclusion and labour market discrimination" (Schierup and Ålund 2011, 47) that are problematic. In his dramatically titled chapter, "Brute Facts: Nightmares in the Banal Daylights of the Everyday," Pred (2000, 224-51) delves into the daily experiences of immigrants of colour presenting a face of Sweden that many have never heard of. From strange looks on the all-blonde buses to outright racist slurs on the streets and more severe verbal confrontations, the everyday for immigrants does not correspond to the mythologised immigrant-friendly Sweden. Certainly, these are individual experiences and are not necessarily representative of the overall experiences of immigrants, but that does not distract from Pred's poignant message: the myth of Swedish exceptionalism IS a myth.

Other scholars have noted a cultural hierarchy within Sweden that also dictates the social and economic experiences of immigrants. The concept of *culture* has increasingly become elusive in Sweden, since the ethnically Swedish population is seen as *normal* or *normative*, and as such, their culture is invisible for it is all-encompassing. Borevi (2012, 27) claims that this has roots in the 1930s when Swedes had embraced this 'culturally-liberated' idea of themselves where they prided themselves "not [by] culture but [by] development." Eastmond (1998, 175) furthers this idea by noting how *culture* is increasingly identified with foreignness and immigrants, further normalising Swedishness as the *status quo*, the normal state of being. Hence, cultural hierarchisation is based on geographical and cultural proximity to Swedish popular imaginations of themselves – anything remote from Europe is further down the hierarchy. That way, Bosnians are hierarchically in a better position than Palestinians, Iranians or Nigerians in

Sweden. Culture, in this case, is also racialised – the lighter the skin, the better off you are. While Bosnians may be high on the hierarchy, they are still below Finns, Danes and other Nordic peoples who are on the top of the cultural hierarchy.

The process of *othering* transcends identity issues and social conduct, and affects socio-economic issues and mobility for migrants as well. In her research of Bosnian Muslim refugees in Sweden, Eastmond (1998) notes the difficulties of some of her informants to break into the Swedish labour market. She notes that entering the labour market "increasingly depends on being Swedish, not only in the cultural but also in the ethnic sense" (ibid., 174). This connects with the idea of cultural differentiation between Swedes and non-Swedes, and how cultural distinctiveness can be a "disadvantage in an increasingly restrictive host society and [can] feed into discourses of difference and discriminatory practices" (ibid.). Even when trying to circumvent the difficulties of entering the labour market by creating one's own business and being self-employed, research has found that there is still a large native-to-immigrant income gap in Sweden (Andersson Joona 2011, 136), indicating that these problematic structures penetrate the everyday lives of immigrants even when they try to circumvent them.

Housing segregation has also become an issue and has been studied especially in the infamous Rinkeby (in Stockholm) and Rosengård (in Malmö) neighbourhoods. Some of my informants noted this segregation when discussing Malmö, specifically pointing out Rosengård. Therefore, as Pred argues, immigrants' lives are impacted by everyday structural and individual *othering* and discrimination, both socially and economically. Sweden, after all, is no longer the state that promotes a partnership between its ever-growing immigrant population and native Swedes, but rather one that tries to conform the immigrants to Swedish cultural norms via integration.

2. The Anatomy of former Yugoslav Communities in Malmö: Transnationalism, Diasporas and the Everyday

Having discussed the socio-historical context of Sweden, I will now present an 'anatomy' or a social map of the former Yugoslav communities at my research site. The discussion in this part of the chapter is predominantly derived from existing academic literature and some of my observations during field work in the Malmö metropolitan area, as well as informed by the previously presented socio-historical context within Sweden. However, in order to theoretically ground my observations and create a viable direction for my research, I will first present my theoretical understandings regarding transnational and diasporic communities, which are directly related to the former Yugoslav communities I worked with.

It is important to do so because transnational and diasporic communities are not the same as 'regular' communities of people who have been born and lived in the same place forever – as rare as these communities may be. As a matter of fact, the very knowledge of the rarity of such communities in this day and age is quite telling of the importance of transnationalism and diaspora studies. The study of these communities goes to the very core of social and cultural geography's fundamental question – what is society? We cannot maintain the same ideas about society when societies may be transnationally conceived and have multiple connections across the globe. As Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller (2004, 1003) point out, "the lives of increasing numbers of individuals can no longer be understood by looking only at what goes on within national boundaries." They go further in proposing the broadening of the analytical lens since "migrants are often embedded in multi-layered, multi-sited transnational social fields, encompassing those who move and those who stay behind" (ibid.).

An extensive body of literature has been dedicated to the conceptual and practical differentiation of *diasporic* and *transnational* communities, mainly due to many obvious similarities between the two. Transnationalism is a relatively new perspective, coming to prominence in the early 1990s and gaining much momentum within academia. Unlike the older concept of diaspora, which was originally used to denote the ancient Greek and Jewish migrant communities, transnationalism created a confusion within both the academic and lay understandings of communities that lived far from their original homelands. Arguably, since the rise to prominence of transnationalism, there has been an "inflationary use" of the term, in fact denoting any and every migrant experience, whether warranted or not (Castles and Miller 2003, 30). Due to this heightened use of the term, there has been a lot of overlap between the understandings of diasporas and transnational migrants/communities, leading to difficulties with distinguishing the two concepts in clear terms (Samers 2010, 288). My goal in the following sections is to address these debates and present my framework for the understanding of former Yugoslavs as both diasporic and transnational communities.

Transnational Perspectives

The newer of the two perspectives on migrant communities warrants close consideration first. Exactly because it is the newer one, it has led to reconsiderations of the understanding of what diasporas are and whether there truly is a difference between the two conceptualisations between diasporas and transnational communities. According to one of the most notable figureheads in transnationalism studies, Steven Vertovec (1999), there have been six prominent approaches to transnationalism: transnationalism as a social morphology, a type of consciousness, a mode of cultural reproduction, an avenue for capital, a site for political engagement, and a (re)construction of place or locality. The plethora of varied approaches has

not made it easy to come up with a self-sustaining concept, especially in relation to diaspora. And even that is a contested view – while some enjoy the flexibilities and varieties of post-modern theorisations, others call for firmer theoretical categories and limits to the usage of the concepts.

Many scholars have noted that transnationalism is not a novel phenomenon, but solely a novel perspective that scholars have adopted (Portes 2003, 875). Whilst there is more or less consensus on that, the issue of the actual extent of transnationalism and membership in transnational activities, events, processes and identities, has been a heavily contested field. Some, like Portes (2003) and Castles and Miller (2003) argue that not all immigrants are automatically transnational. Probably due to their staunch criticism of the inflationary use of transnational terminology and perspective toward all migrants, Castles and Miller (2003, 3) provide a rather limiting perspective of who can be considered a transnational migrant, or transmigrant:

> Temporary labour migrants who sojourn abroad for a few years, send back remittances, communicate with their family at home and visit them occasionally are not transmigrants. Nor are permanent migrants who leave forever, and simply retain loose contact with their homeland. The key defining feature is that transnational activities are a central part of a person's life. Where this applies to a group of people, one can speak of a transnational community.

Instead of being inclusionary, their categorisation is exclusion-based. They have taken the two most opposite types of migrants and convoluted them into one (outsider) category, without providing a credible explanation for doing so. Having transnational activities as a "central part of a person's life" is basically what *gastarbaiter* are all about. They have intensive ties with their homeland via remittances and families living there, but also maintain a strong relationship with

their host state through the provision of work and daily engagement with their local communities. Permanent migrants can also have the same connections.

Alejandro Portes (1999), who shares the idea that not all migrants are transnational, provides a useful definition of transnational activities. According to him, they are activities "that take place on a recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants." Furthermore, they are not solely limited to economic initiatives, "but include political, cultural and religious initiatives as well" (Portes 1999, 464). If we look at Castles and Miller's passage above through Portes' lens of transnationalism, their reasoning suddenly seems unsurprisingly faulty. This comparison allows us to see Castles and Miller's misguided criticism of open-ended conceptualisations of transnationalism, while at the same time accepting more limited types without justification, giving rather contradictory interpretations as an end-result.

On the other spectrum are the less bound concepts of transnationalism, such as the *transnational social fields approach* proposed by sociologists Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller (2004). According to them, contemporary reality is interconnected in such complex ways that we need to adopt an approach that "distinguishes between the existence of transnational social networks and the consciousness of being embedded in them" (ibid., 1006). This approach takes into consideration the transnational peoples' social fields in both host and origin countries and differentiates between conscious and unconscious embeddedness in these fields. They see social fields as sets of "multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed" (ibid., 1009). Levitt points out in her earlier work (2001, 197) that these networks incorporate social and cultural values and expectations, as well as patterns of human interaction

that are shaped by these fields. While these social fields can be contiguous with national borders, most often they are not. Recognising the transnational nature of these social fields allows us to see actors within the fields as themselves transnational, both socially and institutionally via the multiplicities of (inter)national laws and institutions they engage with in their everyday lives (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004, 1010).

This perspective differentiates between *ways of being* and *ways of belonging* within social fields. What *ways of being* refers to are the actual social relations, activities and practices in which individuals engage in. However, they are limited to just activities and processes and do not reflect onto the identity of people. One can be a part of a social field, embedded in it, but not identify with any of the identity politics associated with that social field. For example, one can listen to music from the former Yugoslavia or eat ethnic food but reject the identity signifiers that come with it. *Ways of belonging*, on the other hand, have that identity-based component, through practices "that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group" (ibid., 1010). Ultimately, ways of belonging "combine action and an awareness of identity that action signifies" (ibid., 1010). Pushing their argument further, Levitt and Glick Schiller claim that individuals can choose to enter the social field, even if they do not have extensive social relations with individuals or groups transnationally. Via "memory, nostalgia or imagination," individuals can effectively self-identify with and assert their participation in a transnational way of belonging within a social field (ibid., 1011). Similarly, Maja Povrzanović Frykman (2011, 243) notes that these social fields, or "transnational social spaces," are "established and sustained by *sets of practices* (i.e. transnationalism) related to cultural politics and representation, political attitudes and engagements, economic, social and emotional links and exchanges."

The social fields perspective is clearly a less bounded one than the previous theorisations. It extends the variety of people who can be understood as experiencing such ways of being and belonging within social fields. While we had Castles and Miller (2003) rejecting specific kinds of experiences as not transnational, the social fields approach allows us to widen the scope of what we can study and embrace a variety of experiences. For example, in her initial writings on social fields, Levitt (2001, 198) notes how migration should not even be a prerequisite for engagement in transnational activities. In one of her more recent works, she notes that (Levitt 2009, 1227):

> While the numbers who regularly engage in transnational practices may be fairly small, those who engage in occasional informal transnational activities – in response to elections, economic downturns, life-cycle events, and climatic disasters – are much greater.

By allowing a more fluid and open conceptualisation of transnational identities and membership in transnational groups, which recognises and even accepts non-migrants, the social fields approach opens up the field to multiple experiences and understandings. Not only does this allow us to look at fluctuations in transnational engagement due to elections or cultural events like Eurovision, but it also allows for the inclusion of second generation migrants into our theorisations and empirical work. Through this perspective, the experiences of second generation migrants are included into our fold of understanding of living 'away from home,' even though those people technically already are 'at home.'

Andersson (2010, 3) has criticised the usual ways in which social science has studied second generation migrants because of its heavy reliance on "quantitative studies of integration in national labour markets and education systems" and not qualitatively studying their

experiences. Precluding Andersson's criticism, Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004, 1017) had

addressed this when acknowledging the need for rethinking the concept of 'second generation':

> Conceptualizing generation as a lineal process, involving clear boundaries between one experience and the other, does not accurately capture the experience of living in a transnational field because it implies a separation in migrants' and nonmigrants' socialization and social networks that may not exist.

Clearly, instead of taking an exclusionary approach, these scholars propose a more inclusive and

experiential approach. An approach that would require taking up a diversity of people and

experiences that are interconnected, but not the same. The point is not to create a gradation or

hierarchy of 'how transnational' one is, nor clear-cut categorisations and definitions but to study,

understand and share people's experiences.

Another relevant aspect of transnationalism is the individualism connected to it. As per

Levitt (2001), a person can be a transnational migrant, or a person within a transnational social

field, without even moving. If one moves alone, for example, one can still experience being in a

transnational social field – connections back in their homeland, people they interact with daily in

their host destination, etc. It is clearly an individual experience. A larger "*imagined* transnational

community" out there that a person can identify with and feel like a part of (i.e. way of

belonging) is arguably another thing altogether (Sökefeld 2006, 267). Then, according to some

scholars, we have a *diaspora.*

Diasporic Perspectives

Similar to transnationalism approaches, diasporas have generally been either understood

on either bound or unbound terms. Geographer Elizabeth Mavroudi (2007) has written about this

binarisation of the understanding of diasporas. She discusses the more traditional definitions as

depending on "easily classified and defined" criteria, such as the constructions of "place, time, identity, community and the nation-state as bounded" (ibid., 470). These bounded approaches have been intrinsically tied to a homeland-centred perspective that is heavy on categorisations and boundaries/criteria for diasporic memberships (e.g. Cohen 1999; Dwyer 1999). On the flipside of bounded perspectives, she notes the unbounded perspectives that are inspired by postmodernist thought. They look at how identity "may be a political project that is subversive, resistant and elusive" due to the ways boundaries are "disrupted, transgressed, and potentially ambivalent" (Mavroudi 2007, 473). They generally revolve around ideas of fluidity and nomadism of identities and experiences, and understandings of space as malleable and open-ended (e.g. Clifford 1997; Gilroy 1993).

There has been a number of diaspora theorists that have taken up understandings from the transnational perspectives and re-evaluated the ways diasporas have been conceptualised. The biggest challenge was to think beyond the dichotomies that Mavroudi noted. This is important for multiple reasons. In her research on the construction of spatial identity by Turkish minorities in Germany, geographer Patricia Ehrkamp (2005) directly addresses this need to go beyond the dichotomy. She notes how this binarisation creates "mutually exclusive notions of local and translocal ties" and that going beyond it would allow scholars to "recognise immigrants as agents who are able to forge their belonging and multiple attachments" on their own (ibid., 348). Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004, 1012) also call for the development of "tools to capture migrants' simultaneous engagement in and orientation toward their home and host countries," giving theoretical and methodological footing to Ehrkamp's stance.

Whether based on bound or unbound perspectives, studies of diaspora have generally taken the fixity and 'natural' existence of diasporas for granted. So much so, the whole

conceptualisation of identity, community, and the nation-state have become rather "static, essentialised and fixed for political, socio-economic and cultural reasons" (Mavroudi 2007, 474). Many scholars have criticised this essentialising, and an alternative understanding of diasporas has been proposed – *diaspora as process*, as Mavroudi calls it. Maja Povrzanović Frykman (2001b, 20) terms it the *diasporic condition,* because it "hints at the processes of their [migrants'] identity formation and keeps the research interest open towards a wide range of experiences of 'living away from home.'" Rogers Brubaker (2005) emphasises the need to look at the existence of diasporas not as natural, but as a *process of practice* and *performance*. For him, diaspora should be seen "as a category of practice" primarily, and that this practice of one's membership in a diasporic community via identity performance, is what creates and sustains the diasporic community itself.

These process-based understandings of diasporas pit themselves against essentialising and recognise diasporas as imagined communities instead of a 'natural' result of migration. According to German scholar Martin Sökefeld (2006, 280), the "development of diaspora identity is not simply a natural and inevitable result of migration but a historical contingency that frequently develops out of mobilization in response to specific critical events. Diaspora is thus firmly historicized." In his view, a group of migrants *may become* a diaspora, only if they manage to develop a "new imagination of community" (ibid., 267) – meaning that the existence of diasporas is not a given, just as Brubaker argued. In his own research, Sökefeld claims that it is the social mobilisation of migrants abroad which creates this newly imagined community, or diaspora. He looks at how diasporas are socially mobilised via political opportunities, mobilising structures, and practices and framing, using the Alevi diasporic communities in Germany as his case study. His conceptualisation aligns nicely with the social fields approach, allowing us to

recognise the presence of diasporic transnational social fields that help facilitate these forms of social mobilisation, which in turn create a sense of diasporic belonging and identity. Without an active, political mobilisation of co-nationals abroad, a diasporic community would not just *be*. There needs to be a reason for their congregation, and such mobilisation provides an opportunity for community creation and identity formation.

Towards A Theoretical Middle-Ground

Arguably, a theoretical middle-ground can be found in the compilation of a number of perspectives. In my understanding of both transnationalism and diasporas, *process* is a crucial concept and a fundamental starting point. As Ehrkamp (2005), Mavroudi (2007), Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004), Povrzanović Frykman (2001b), and Sökefeld (2006) have all argued, there needs to be an understanding of the development of transnational and diasporic communities, and the revisiting, questioning and negotiation of diasporic identities. This is done through looking at diasporic and transnational identities as constantly evolving, constantly political and constantly spanning multiple complex geographies. Clearly, it represents a shift from a focus on definitions and categories, to a more fluid, performance- and process-based understanding of diasporic and transnational identities.

In line with that strand of thinking, I decidedly focus on individuals' experiences, self-perceptions and self-identifications, rather than on categorisations. This way, as Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) argue, I can include a variety of experiences, even ones that are not usually labelled as 'migrant' ones but are transnational in the nature of their experiences. The transnational social fields perspective can not only be applied to diasporic and transnational

communities and how they are (re)created constantly, but also be used for a re-conceptualisation of the Eurovision Song Contest as a transnational social field in itself.

Through the use of the transnational social fields approach, diasporic communities can be understood as constantly renegotiated via sets of social, cultural and economic networks and actors, both individual and systematic. Furthermore, diasporic communities are also a *discursive* social field, where hegemonic notions of belonging influence the politics and identities of diasporic and transnational peoples. By looking at discourse through a Foucauldian lens, we recognise the power that discourse has in shaping identities and larger conceptualisations of the world. The very understanding of what constitutes a diasporic community can be seen as a product of discourse. As Lees (2004, 102-3) points out, discourses create their own "regimes of truth." Discourse becomes part of the very creation and recreation of identities, and it is embedded within identity politics itself, making identities fluid and susceptible to constant negotiation. The same can be applied to transnational diasporic communities: whether one is simply 'being' within the social field, or feels a sense of 'belonging' to a diasporic community (or communities), the hegemonic power of discourse inevitably pulls them towards one another and enforces an overarching, over-simplified concept of diasporic belonging.

Keeping the hegemonic power of discourse in mind, I tried to be very flexible and accepting of different understandings of identity by my informants. Some have thought about this discursive power of 'the diaspora' and have actively rejected identity-labels connected to diasporas. This hegemonic power of diasporas was also noted by Sökefeld (2006, 267-8), when he writes that it is the "insistence on imaginations and discourses of shared identity [that] distinguishes diaspora communities from other kinds of transnational social formations." However, since my research is not preoccupied by categorisations and differentiations between

diasporic and transnational communities, I took a degree of flexibility allowing my research not to specifically focus on the questioning of the definitions of diaspora. Instead, I focused on the exploration of the experiences associated with the very concepts of transnationalism and diaspora.

For me, what truly matters is the recognition that one *can* claim membership in the larger diasporic community (or transnational social field) *if* they wanted to. This is facilitated by possessing the necessary socio-cultural and historical knowledge just as self-identified members of the diaspora do, along with actually 'being' in the transnational social field of diaspora(s). Sometimes, however, individuals take an issue with the hegemonic framing of identity that the diasporic community projects, which has been the case with some of my informants. This can lead to their rejection of the identification with the diasporic identity and community at large. Such instances facilitate the questioning of our conceptualisations of diasporas and the overarching identity politics that such hegemonic identities radiate and perpetuate.

Addressing the politics of diasporic identity, Sökefeld's (2006) three-pronged concept of social mobilisation via political opportunities, mobilising structures and practices, and framing provides numerous insights for diasporic group identity formation. This is especially poignant within the context of Sweden, where political opportunities were extremely favourable for the creation of diasporic communities thanks to the liberal immigration laws of 1975. These political opportunities do not just include institutional/legal/state frameworks and opportunities, but also others such as media and means of communication, transportation, and larger issues of accessibility for minorities (ibid., 269). The mobilising structures that facilitate the organising of diasporic identities (as social movements), are often realised in the form of diasporic organisations, which end up being significant actors in these movements/identities. This aspect

of social mobilisation, however, does not require 'official' organising, and can be as loose as just

"networks of people that are bound to the same issue" (ibid.). Finally, the framing of the social

movement is a crucial component for mobilisation, as Sökefeld (ibid., 269-70) argues:

> Frames are specific ideas that fashion a shared understanding for a social movement by rendering events and conditions meaningful and enable a common framework of interpretation and representation. They are ideas that transform certain conditions into an issue, that help to define grievances and claims...

Specifically focusing on the experience of the diasporic condition, he goes further to claim that:

> In the first place, frames include all the ideas from which an imagination of community is composed, the ideas that define migrants as members of a transnational community or relationships as relations of belonging. Thus, by being framed as 'home', a distant place that a migrant (or his or her parents) has left and perhaps visits occasionally, becomes home. (ibid., 270)

Clearly, framing is a crucial self-identification condition in Sökefeld's approach, but it does

require the participatory and contextual aspects of political opportunities and mobilising

structures/practices to be fully effective in mobilising a sense of diasporic identity. However, we

have to keep in mind the diversity of experiences, identities and levels of participation in

diasporic communities. While on paper this may seem a strong basis for the development of a

community, it will ultimately depend on the individual transnational person's experience of their

situation and identity, whether they will ultimately choose to identify with their 'allotted'

diasporic community.

These political and socio-economic opportunities and circumstances that Sökefeld points

out have manifested themselves in many migrant communities in Sweden, but have been

extremely relevant for communities from the former Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav conflicts have

created a specific context for these communities due to changing political allegiances, identities

and beliefs. War traumas also provide for a specific context for many of the refugees who have

fled or were forcibly expelled from their homes, further complicating the overall situation. Those

people often need not be reminded of their belonging and ethnic identity via any official or

unofficial channels, since they live with the oft violent and visceral experiences of expulsion and

uprooting from their homes. In the final sub-section of this chapter, I look in more detail at the

conditions that have led to the creation of diasporic identity among former Yugoslav

communities in Malmö and Sweden at large, and present a brief 'anatomy' of these communities.

Former Yugoslav communities in the Malmö metropolitan area (MMA)
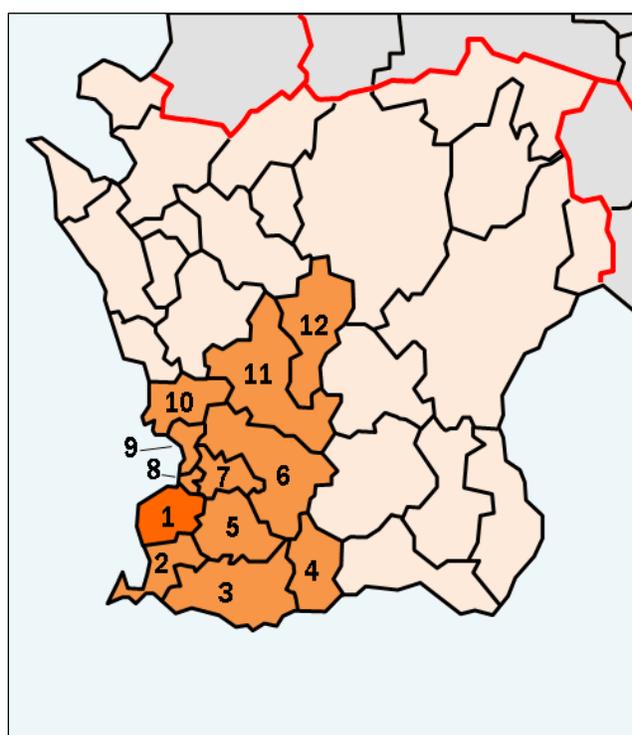
Map 1: The Malmö Metropolitan Area. Municipalities are numbered as follows: #1 Malmö, #2 Vellinge, #3 Trelleborg, #4 Skurup, #5 Svedala, #6 Lund, #7 Staffanstorp, #8 Burlöv, #9 Lomma, #10 Kävlinge, #11Eslöv, #12 Höör. (Wikimedia Commons 2014. *Metropolitan Malmö*. Last accessed September 15, 2014. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Metropolitan_Malm%C3%B6_ver.1.PNG)

Malmö has had an extensive post-World War II immigration history, becoming one of the three major immigration hubs in the country, along with Stockholm and

Gothenburg. By the mid 1980s, upwards of 80% of all new refugees in Sweden flocked to these

three urban centres (Andersson and Solid 2003, 73-4). This was in part due to the strong

industrial basis the city has had because of its strategic importance for Sweden as the country's

southernmost large port. Despite the struggle to transform into a service sector-based city in the

past two decades (Slavnić 2011, 265-6), migration to the city has not slowed. As a matter of fact,

the city has increased its proportion of foreign-born population from 24.8% in 2003 to 31.1% in 2013 (Statistics Sweden 2014). This corresponds to 97,320 people out of a total population of just over 312,000. As noted in Chapter One, the MMA itself has around 21.9% of foreign-born residents or around 140,000 individuals, which is much lower than the city's share.

A significant segment of Malmö's foreign-born population has come from the former Yugoslavia, either during the *gastarbeiter* period or as refugees during the wars in the 1990s. It is estimated that over 15,000 people from the former Yugoslavia live in the city (Malmö stad 2011), representing over 16% of the total foreign-born population in the city and approximately a tenth of all former Yugoslav people in Sweden (Statistics Sweden 2014). Some came as refugees during the Bosnian War directly, while a large portion came to the city from other areas of Sweden after the Bosnian conflict ended and they could freely move and settle across Sweden. The Swedish government had an immigration policy in place from 1985 to 1994, which allocated refugees directly to municipalities where they could settle. With the 'placement policy,' refugees first arrived to refugee camps, and were later placed in one of the 277 participating municipalities across the country[11]. During the waiting-for-placement period, refugees had no contact with any municipal officials and did not know where they would be sent to live (Edin, Frediksson and Ålsun 2004, 136). After a few years, once they had established themselves and were not dependent on social welfare, they were able to move wherever in Sweden they wanted, and many chose Malmö as their new home.

The longevity of Yugoslav migrations to Sweden presents yet another difficulty when talking about these communities because there is a temporal differentiation in arrival that needs to be accounted for. Not only are they ethnically, religiously and geographically heterogeneous,

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[11] The number of participating municipalities was 60 at the very beginning in 1985, but quickly went up to 277, out of a total of 284 municipalities in Sweden.

but they have also come through different immigration waves and represent cultural norms from different periods. Both scholars who have studied former Yugoslav communities in Malmö (Slavnić 2011 and Frykman Povrzanović 2001a), have acknowledged this internal struggle over having such varied groups lumped together on an ethnic basis after the collapse of Yugoslavia. However, ethnic as well as state-based associations (i.e. associations with the state of origin) have become a dominant (if rare) glue for the diverse communities. What may once have been considered a 'Yugoslav' diaspora (or at least to a relatively large extent), now represents a multiplicity of ethnically-based diasporic communities. Yet, these communities are still connected in many ways due to the linguistic, cultural and historical ties between them.

Aside from their numerical presence, former Yugoslavs have made their presence visible physically in Malmö, although not as vocally as some other immigrant groups. Unlike the Turkish or many Arabic diasporas for example (Ehrkamp 2005), there are no Yugoslav (or ethnically separate Bosnian/Croatian/Montenegrin/Serbian) neighbourhoods or communities that are physically visible in the landscape anymore. The two Orthodox Christian churches in the city (Macedonian and Serbian) are as far as this physical aspect extends. The Bosniak Islamic Community Centre in Malmö does not have its own mosque building, and Bosnian Muslims use the multi-ethnic Malmö Mosque, uniting Muslims from across the world. An interesting aspect that Ehrkamp (2005, 347) noted about the Turkish diaspora in Germany, and which can be seen with the former Yugoslav communities in Malmö, is the presence of satellite dishes on buildings where immigrants live. Povrzanović Frykman (2011, 252) notes how one of her informants "keeps up the habit of living her daily life in the post-Yugoslav media space" by almost exclusively watching TV channels from the former Yugoslavia, which she asserts as a common occurrence. Appropriately enough, my accommodation during fieldwork in Sweden was with a

Bosnian family, which was the only family that had a satellite dish on their balcony in the apartment building. They also spent their time exclusively watching programmes from former Yugoslav countries, confirming Povrzanović Frykman's observation about diasporic media spaces.

The recent reconnection and mixing of the media space in the former Yugoslav republics has not been limited to television but has actually been much more prominent within the music industry (Baker 2006). While the proliferation of cable television in the former republics has enabled easier transnational viewing patterns (and for diasporic communities across Europe, in lieu of satellite television (Ehrkamp 2005)), the collaboration on the music scene has been unprecedented. Famous artists from the former republics, such as Aleksandra Radović (Serbia), Hari Mata Hari (Bosnia & Herzegovina), Nina Badrić (Croatia), Sergej Ćetković (Montenegro), and Toše Proeski (Macedonia), amongst many others, have signed deals with multiple labels from both Croatia and Serbia[12], opening up those markets for their albums and garnering fans across national borders.

Another important marker of former Yugoslav presence in the everyday landscape of Malmö is food. Much more so than the two churches and the diasporic organisations whose offices blend in with the rest of the landscape, the inclusion of food from the former Yugoslavia has been a marker of visibility and presence of those communities in the city. A traditional Balkan dish called *ćevapi* or *ćevapčići* is ever-present in many restaurants, fast-food stalls and pubs. Places such as 'Burek House', 'Ćevapi No1' or 'Bosniska köket' feature a variety of foods from the former Yugoslavia. These places have diversified the geography of foods available not

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[12] Some of the biggest record labels, Croatia Records (Croatia), HIT Records (Croatia), and CITY Records (Serbia), have deals with numerous artists that are not from their country of origin. For a detailed list of artists, see the links in the bibliography: CITY Records (2014), Croatia Records (2014) and HIT Records (2014).

only to the diasporas, but also to Swedes. During my fieldwork in Malmö, I often noticed that small food stalls (kiosks) featuring Turkish or Arabic *kebab* or Greek *gyro*, would almost always have *ćevapi* as well. Large and small ethnically-based grocery stores are present for immigrant consumption, but now many Swedish grocery store chains also offer a variety of imported products from the former Yugoslav republics, along with other immigrant destinations, for both immigrant and 'domestic' Swedish consumption.

Other markers that are not as physically prominent as food can facilitate a strong (if not stronger) sense of diasporic mobilising via political opportunities, and mobilising structures and frames, as Sökefeld names them. While they are not necessarily physically visible in the landscape, they are relevant in a number of ways, primarily when it comes to identity formation and the politics of diasporic belonging. As noted at the beginning of the chapters, political opportunities for diasporic mobilisation have been plentiful, especially since the liberal laws of 1975. Even today, there is significant support for diasporic organisations from the Swedish government, and political opportunities continue to be relatively favourable (Kostić 2013). Despite the deterioration of Sweden's immigration record in the past two decades, there seems to be a well-established tradition of diasporic mobilising structures which maintain a sense of diasporic identity in Sweden.

According to the literature, the major diasporic mobilising structures for former Yugoslavs in Malmö, and Sweden at large, have been diasporic organisations and associations. As Sökefeld (2006, 269) explains, mobilising structures can be networks of people "bound to the same issue" who "establish associations that create and sustain discourses of community." In that regard, diasporic organisations are prime examples of a strong mobilising structure. Looking at organisations for former Yugoslavs of Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin or Serbian descent in

2013, there were 172 registered diasporic organisations in Sweden, out of which 12 are located in Malmö – a number surprisingly low considering the number of former Yugoslavs in the city. The organisations are part of a larger system of associations, based on ethnic belonging. The three associations overseeing the work of the organisations are the Association of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Organisations in Sweden (*Savez bosanskohercegovačkih udruženja u Švedskoj*), Association of Croatian Organisations in Sweden (*Savez hrvatskih društava u Švedskoj*), and the Association of Serbs in Sweden (*Savez Srba u Švedskoj*).

While the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Association is formally open to all citizens of Bosnia & Herzegovina, in practice it is almost exclusively frequented by Bosniaks (Eastmond 1998, 164; Valenta and Ramet 2011, 14). The other two organisations are also strictly frequented by Serbs and Croats, respectively, following divisions that were emphasised as a result of the Yugoslav conflicts (Kostić 2013, 37). In her research, Povrzanović Frykman (2001a, 181) noted the indifference of Croats toward other former Yugoslav diasporic communities in Malmö, especially the Serbian communities: "When it comes to Serbian and Croatian diasporas in Sweden, a picture could be presented of parallel existence with no formal, and certainly no public communication." This also applied to collaboration with other ethnic diasporic organisations, which were categorised as being "out of the question" by Croatian organisations (ibid.). It is not surprising then, that the vast majority of diasporic organisations have become fiercely mono-ethnic since the early 1990s.

Overwhelmingly, the associations' mission statements revolve around the preservation of languages, cultures, traditional values and customs, and the maintenance of a 'diasporic' identity for new generations. As Kostić (2013, 37) puts it, "the national association has a role of preserving homeland identity in a broader Swedish context of a host country." Together the

associations have over 30,000 members across Sweden. However, the level of engagement and activity varies greatly, from sporadic to weekly participants. Regardless of the level of engagement, the organisations remain an important 'official' channel for social mobilisation and identification for diaspora members (Kostić 2013, 37; Note 9). In practical terms, the associations have their own newspapers (often political in nature), as well as numerous activities for their members: traditional folklore dances and singing, sports gatherings and competitions, but also religious events celebrations and language instruction for children. The associations also organise cultural awareness weeks, which feature dancing, singing, theatrical performances, but also other kinds of promotional events.

However, these organisations and associations would not be able to function and have the impact they have without deep-seeded 'master frames'. As previously noted, these frames are ideas that "fashion a shared understanding for a social movement by rendering events and conditions meaningful and enable a common framework of interpretation and representation" (Sökefeld 2006, 270). The imagined community that is discursively invoked via these master frames is what enables mobilising structures such as diasporic organisations and associations to exist in the first place. In order to have a meaningful diasporic organisation, you first have to have a formed belief in the existence of the diasporic community. An active *imagination* of the community is necessary. These frames endorse a sense of belonging to a larger diasporic community and are the crux of diasporic identity.

Master frames for diasporas are created and conditioned by both internal and external factors. Internal factors would be a sense of belonging to and identification with this imagined community. This is especially prominent with the recent refugee migrants who have fled their countries because of the horrors of war, not solely because they were searching for better

economic or political conditions. Diasporic organisations emphasise this group identity and attempt to create a cohesive sense of what it means to be a member of that diasporic community – a practice that also alienates many who see their identities as more fluid and reject the overt politicisation of their identity.

External factors reinforce the internal ones, and are related to both the host country and the country of origin. For example, according to Al-Ali's research (2002), people who have stayed in the former Yugoslav countries tend to *other* their co-nationals living abroad, reinforcing a sense of differentiation between the two groups. *Othering* is also prevalent from the Swedish side in a variety of ways, which Pred (2000) has discussed in much detail. One of the major ways in which former Yugoslavs have been *othered* and their sense of differentiation strengthened, is through the lack of educational recognition of Yugoslav degrees in Sweden (Povrzanović Frykman 2012). Just like with any type of (real or perceived) oppression, people group together and help each other, reinforcing a sense of shared experience and, often, identity (Povrzanović Frykman 2012; Slavnić 2011).

We cannot ignore the relevance of the maintenance of a sense of diasporic identity via the relationship and orientation toward the perceived homeland. This can be seen as a *way of being* within the social field, as it looks at activities and processes individuals and groups engage in. However, they are also a *way of belonging*, since organisations reproduce a discursively hegemonic idea of national and/or diasporic belonging via their goals, foci, and membership. More often than not, these organisations are oriented toward the homeland and the maintenance of the diaspora-homeland relationship, which is furthered by the *othering* from the host nation, amongst other factors. Aside from diasporic organisations, there are other activities and processes that can be seen as 'diasporic.'

The widely researched and analysed remittances are a relevant and interesting indicator of homeland orientation also. According to World Bank data (2013), some of the former Yugoslav republics tend to have a significant share of remittances represented in their GDP. For example, 7.4% of Serbia's GDP comes from remittances, while 7.9% of Montenegro's and 10.8% of Bosnia & Herzegovina's GDP comes from remittances. The data is partial, since it only takes into account 'official' transactions in lieu of bank transfers, but it is still indicative of the transnational reach and relevance of diasporas both socially and economically. According to Kostić's (2013, 39) quantitative survey-based study of the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of Bosnian transnationalism in Sweden, around 78% of respondents sent remittances at least once a year. These may not always be financial and can also take the form of gifts during visits to the former Yugoslavia (Eastmond 2006, 154).

A seemingly 'lighter' form of diasporic connections with the homeland can also be seen through more cultural and social channels such as music, instead of financial ones. Diasporic organisations often have folklore dancing and singing troops as their central activities. Aside from the organisations, and due to the large numbers of refugees across Europe, music stars from the former Yugoslavia have started going on extensive 'diaspora tours' across the globe. The biggest stars from the region, such as Lepa Brena, Svetlana Ceca Ražnatović, Jelena Karleuša and Željko Joksimović, amongst a sea of less famous performers, have visited Malmö in 2012 and 2013, attracting thousands of fans.

These cultural aspects of diasporic engagement seem to be largely popular, though some scholars have argued that relations with homelands have been deteriorating in spite of them. According to survey data from 1985 on Yugoslav migrants in Sweden, around 43% of immigrants' children under 16 years were actually living in Yugoslavia with their relatives,

instead of with their parents in Sweden. These ties seem to have been severely cut due to the wars, since by 2001 only 3% of the same demographic now lived in the former Yugoslavia[13] (Goeke 2011, 746). Also, due to the war and its aftermath, many refugees and *gastarbeiter* were unable to return for an extended period, which would have an impact on younger generations' connections with their homeland and their (un)willingness to go live there. Rebeka Mesarić Žabčić (2006) noted this with the Croatian communities in Sweden where younger Croats were seen as not active participants in the lives of diasporic communities.

However, cultural aspects of diasporic engagements such as concerts deserve more attention from scholars, since they represent a relevant aspect of people's everyday experiences. Moreover, I believe people may give importance to music from their homeland especially when they are not living there, and as banal a thing as music becomes a much more meaningful element to one's life. It transgresses the limitations of 'just an activity' (i.e. *way of being*), and it carries a symbolic significance that indicates a *sense of belonging* within a group of people sharing the same musical, and consequently, cultural traditions and identities. In this way, it creates a transnational social field where music is one of the cultural identifiers and glues with the rest of the community, and a space where music carries more representational clout than usual. Keeping that in mind, in the next chapter I introduce the Eurovision Song Contest as a prime example of music's importance to national identities and perceptions across Europe.

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[13] However, the levels of Greek and Turkish children of the same demographic have also severely declined in the past twenty years, so this may be a larger diasporic trend. The war, however, has certainly contributed to a decline in people sending their children to the former Yugoslav republics.

Chapter Three:
The Nation and the Eurovision Song Contest

1. The Nation and Nationalism in the Everyday

Before introducing the Eurovision Song Contest as a (pop-)cultural channel for diasporic connections and a means of preserving national identities, it is important to address my conceptualisation of the nation and nationalism. The field of nationalism studies is a multi-disciplinary one, with anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists and geographers all providing diverse ontological and epistemological approaches and interpretations. One of the most basic and common ways of understanding and classifying nationalism is through the 'Kohn dichotomy,' which divides nationalism into two kinds: ethnic or civic (Coakley 2012, 206). Ethnic nationalism is connected to allegiances to an ethnic group based on kin, genealogical relations and common ancestry, and is perceived as emotional and non-rational. Civic nationalism, on the other hand, is connected to allegiances to the state and is seen as rational and chosen (Ignatieff 1993). However, this simplistic understanding of nationalism provides limited recognition of the diversities of nationalism in the real world. Scholars have criticised this dichotomous idea of nationalisms (Coakley 2012; Smith 2010), and have acknowledged the range of meanings, understandings and shapes of nationalism.

Aside the Kohn dichotomy, there are three major paradigms of the nation and nationalism: primordialism, modernism, and ethno-symbolism. Primordialism is the oldest conceptualisation of the nation and it relies on the belief that the nation is something organic, innate and ancient. While scholars have distanced themselves from the approach, it is still very popular in the public sphere, as Anthony Smith observed while claiming that the majority of

people *"feel and believe in* the primordiality of our *ethnies* and nations – their naturalness, longevity and power" (Smith 2010, 57. Emphasis in original). Modernism came as a response to primordialism and represented a fundamental shift in how we understand the nation. Modernism sees nationalism as a calculated creation and propagation by ethnic elites, with the aim of consolidating power and fulfilling their own goals, which are masked as goals of the nation. It is quintessentially a top-down system. The ethno-symbolist approach was created as a middle ground between the previous two, taking the strongest aspects of both approaches. Fundamentally, while recognising the modern qualities of nationalism and national identity, ethno-symbolists also recognise nations' rootedness in pre-modern times. According to them, modern nations did have predecessors in ethnic communities, which form a primordial kind of basis for the modern conceptualisation of the nation (Smith 2005).

Performing the Nation in the Everyday

While the vast majority of scholarship on nationalism has focused on the collective sense of nationhood and belonging, literature on individual-scale everyday nationalisms has gained prominence recently. In their insightful theorisations on everyday nationalism, Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008) look at four major ways in which the nation is produced and reproduced by both collective and individual actors, while rejecting modernist top-down approaches. They argue that nationhood is reproduced on an individual scale every day through 'talking the nation' (discourse), 'choosing the nation' (national universe as pervasive), 'consuming the nation' (consumerism), and most importantly, 'performing the nation'.

The performative aspect of belonging and representing ones' participation in a larger collectivity has been a prominent aspect of many recent theorisations on nationalism. In the case

of Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008, 545), they begin by introducing the performance of ritualised "visual and audible realization[s]" of symbols and symbolic attachments, mainly via national holiday commemorations. While they are critical of the effects of holidays and national commemorations, they acknowledge the places where the true impact often lays – sports events. They note the ability of sports manifestations, such as the FIFA World Cup, the Olympic Games and other international competitions, to spark national passions for large swaths of the population in many countries. They go as far as claiming that the fans "momentarily become the physical embodiment of the nation" (ibid., 547). The simultaneity of the sports-watching, chanting, flag-waving, and other activities in support of the nation, connects to the drama, suspense and unpredictability of the live event. This, they claim, brings fans closer to one another, both physically (if they are present at the event) and symbolically through their ritual performance of nationhood (ibid., 547-8).

This basic idea of performativity has been developed and popularised through the work of feminist scholar Judith Butler (1999[14]). For Butler, gender is not an essence but it is "a set of acts that produce the *effect* of a coherent substance and conceal gender's lack of stable foundation" (Feldman 2005, 221. Emphasis in original). The 'set of acts' is crucial here, since she sees gender as representing a "repetition and a ritual which achieves its effect through its naturalization in the context of a body" (Butler 1999, xv). Therefore, gender does not possess any essence to itself but is 'created' through learnt and repeated acts that produce the image of something stable, durable, and fundamentally unchanging.[15]

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[14] Original published in 1990. The updated and revised 1999 edition was used for this project.

[15] This concept of performativity has been appropriated by geographers from varying foci and for varying aims. In a similar vein to Butler, Bell et al. (1994) have used it in geographical studies of sexuality, while Marston (2002) used it to study the contestations of diasporic identities through non-normative actors. Some geographers and social scientists have applied the theory in investigations of geographical and historical questions beyond gender and

If applied to the concept of nation, Butler's critique of gender goes directly against the core of primordialist theorisations, which perceive the nation, just as Butler claims gender is perceived, as stable, durable, and unchanging. Butler expands on Robert Stoller's idea of the 'gendered core', which she claims is (re)produced by constant repetition of the performance of gender. Ultimately, this repetition of performance, while effective, only produces a "hallucinatory effect of naturalized gestures," making the existence of a natural, gendered 'core' seem inevitable (ibid., xv).

Just as Butler manages to dismantle the idea of the naturalness of gender, we can also dismantle the idea of the naturalness of the nation, all while looking at the everydayness of nationalism and its performance. The nation is not something intrinsically natural somewhere deep inside us, but it is a set of routine, everyday performances of the nation, on both individual and larger scales, such as the local/national/global. Michael Billig (1995) questions this taken-for-grantedness of the nation and the national world order at large and claims that a "whole way of thinking about the world is implicated" in nationalism (ibid., 61). Our understanding of the world is based on the nation-state system, where our world is 'naturally' constituted through a collection of separate states. As he notes, it has become a "common sense" of sorts (ibid., 4), which is part of the strength of nationalism. It is all around us, and it has successfully managed to "make people forget that their world has been historically constructed" (ibid., 34). Practically, this fortifies the 'choosing the nation' aspect of Fox and Miller-Idriss' take on the nation.

Billig (1995, 44) notes another common thread in scholarship, media, and popular understandings of nationalism, which portray nationalism as being apparent only in times of "social disruption and which are reflected in extreme social movements." It is also assumed to be

sexuality, such as theorisations on the performativity of space (Gregson and Rose 2000) and questions of state sovereignty (Feldman 2005).

a 'foreign' phenomenon that the developed countries of the West[16], with their strong traditions of state, do not entertain. 'Our' (Western) countries are seen as featuring patriotism, a "healthy necessity," while nationalism, being foreign, is a "dangerous surplus" of emotion and love for the nation (ibid., 56). The ordinary life in the normative (again, Western) state is assumed to be "unexciting politically and non-nationalist" while nationalism is understood as "extraordinary, politically charged and emotionally driven" (ibid., 44). Billig rejects this accepted use of the term, and disaggregates nationalism into two major types: *hot* and *banal*, allowing for an analysis of Western countries' often disregarded nationalisms. This *banal* kind of nationalism is reflected in daily indications or "flaggings" of the nation in the lives of its citizens.

The emphasis on routine is in line with performative conceptualisations of the nation, which form the basis for my own understanding of nationalism. Just like Billig, I see nationalism as permeating all spheres of everyday life in a multiplicity of ways, which is furthered by everyday routine performances of the nation. Some choose to call it patriotism, while others call it nationalism. Either way, it aligns with Fox and Idriss-Miller's (2008) four categories of the everyday reproduction of the nation – talking, choosing, consuming and performing the nation. Before elaborating on the connections between nationalism's performance and diasporic (and transnational) identities, I will briefly discuss the role of music in nationalism and introduce my case study: the Eurovision Song Contest.

2. Geography, Music and the Nation: the Eurovision Song Contest

The relationship between music and the nation, and by extension music's relationship with nationalism, has been recognised as substantial by many scholars. Scholarship on these

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[16] His case studies are the United Kingdom and the United States, and the 'West' refers to them, as well as to 'western democracies,' such as the EU, Australia and New Zealand.

topics has been extensive, and has been researched through a variety of foci in the past few years. Some scholars have focused on nationalism in music, while having different foci and research agendas. For example, some have looked at nationalism as exemplified through musical education (Herbert and Kertz-Welzel 2012), some have written on specific 'national(ist)' composers (Curtis 2008), while others have looked at geographically and nationally diverse case studies: Russian music (Frolova-Walker 2007), Jewish music across the world (Moricz 2008), and Ecuadorian music (Wong 2012), to name just a few.

Another section of the literature has looked at music and diasporic experiences, with the vast majority focusing on the numerous African diasporas across the Caribbean and the Americas. Recently, a diversification of the field has happened, with music of the Roma (Silverman 2012), Chinese in the U.S. (Zheng 2010) and Irish in North America (Cooper 2009) being written about, amongst others. As I have noted in the previous chapter, it seems as if national music can play a relevant role in the lives of the diasporic communities – or at least for some individuals within those communities. The ability to listen to music from 'back home', or even see your favourite pop star come to Sweden, normalises the everydayness of the diasporic condition. The dislocation becomes less severe. Music, both physically and emotively, allows people to transcend geographic boundaries and rekindle connections with different places.

Therefore, the Eurovision Song Contest as a contest of nations is the perfect stage for such emotive and geographical representations and connections to take place. But before presenting Eurovision, it is important to address this connection of nationalism and music. The work of American ethnomusicologist Philip V. Bohlman (2011) on the development of national and nationalist music in Europe provides a good starting point.

<u>Choruses, Anthems, and National(ist) Music in Europe</u>

The development of nationalist music in Europe was at its peak at the same time as the rise of nationalist ideologies across the continent in the 19th century. According to Bohlman (2011), nationalist music stems from this era but it developed out of 'national' music. He differentiates between the two kinds, claiming that national music "reflects the image of the nation so that those living in the nation recognize themselves in basic but crucial ways" (ibid., 59; 60-1). National music provides for a collective sense of identity based on a 'bottom-up' logic – focusing on the people and its land. It is based more on inclusion than exclusion. What differentiates nationalist and national music is the very existence of the nation-state world order and national competition enshrined in it, which is reflected in nationalist music.

Nationalist music, by contrast to national music, features a 'top-down' approach, centring on the (nation-)state as the true epitome of the nation. It enforces cultural boundaries, which have political goals and purposes to themselves, usually in the service of the nation-state (ibid., 86-7). In the simplest of terms, it is *competition* that differentiates national and nationalist music. National music is self-sustainable without the necessity to compare itself in relation to other nations – something that nationalist music features prominently. In his work Bohlman (ibid., 71) analyses choral music as a perfect stage for nationalist music, mainly because of its performative and staging qualities:

> The chorus connects to the audience, symbolizing for the audience its own selfness, as if to put the audience also on the stage. [...] The potential to transform the choral performance into a moment of high nationalism is very great indeed. It is a moment that composers of national opera or the organizers of choral revival movements rarely fail to miss.

Choral music provides an excellent stage for a collective performance of the nation musically. The case of the Estonians and their diaspora is interesting to note. They have utilised the 'mass

chorus' form, which "provided one of the most important symbolic forms of national unisonance," in order to maintain their sense of nationhood throughout most of the 19th and 20th century (ibid., 42). Interestingly, this collective musical performance became once again crucial in the national independence movements of the three Baltic states in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

In the former Yugoslavia, accordingly, different national groups had varied histories and expressions of national and nationalist music, but it is late twentieth century music that has spurred the most attention in scholarship. This was due to the penetration of nationalism into music and the creation of new musical forms, simultaneously with the development of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. So much so, according to Catherine Baker (2013), that music came to be used as a weapon for ethnopolitical conflict and violence. This was achieved in three ways: music being an accompaniment to violence in concentration camps or during military campaigns; as morale-raising for troops and the wider public; and as a source of conceptual (cultural/historical/political/ethnic) separation (ibid., 425). It is not surprising, therefore, that the vast majority of scholarship has focused on the studying of the highly popular, newly created nationalist musical form in the former Yugoslavia: *turbo-folk.*

Turbo-folk has been defined in a number of ways, none very flattering. Some call it a "fusion of western rock, oriental Turkish rhythms and *sevdah*[17], love sickness and yearning, unrequited love" (Hudson 2003, 173), while others are less kind to the music form:

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[17] *Sevdah* or *sevdalinka* is a musical form stemming from Bosnia & Herzegovina, which prominently features Turkish influences and is in most cases a ballad. It is predominantly associated with Bosnian Muslim music, but is widely popular in the Serbo-Croatian speaking countries.

> This music combined a militaristic Serbian nationalism with a kitsch pop aesthetic that is characterized by provocatively dressed female performers pumped full of silicon who sing about death, love, passion, emotions, blood, and patriotic sacrifice… (Volčič and Erjavec 2010, 103)

The new genre came into being in the 1980s, with the proliferation of the mixing of Western electronic pop sounds with Serbian national motives and forms of singing. The 'vocal ululation' always present in *turbo-folk* songs comes from Turkish and Middle Eastern traditions, but is combined with sounds that are often synthetic or electronic in nature, and reminiscent of Western pop music (Baker 2006, 286; Hudson 2003, 166).

Unlike truly explicit nationalist songs[18], the association between nationalism and *turbo-folk* developed to a large degree due to its performative aspects. *Turbo-folk* gained notoriety because of its lower-class (often rural migrant) audiences, its often vulgar performances and the striking stylistic choices of the performers (as noted in the quote by Volčič and Erjavec above) (Hudson 2003, 173). Arguably, the Serbian government actively used *turbo-folk* music for its propagandist purposes, further linking it with the nationalist cause in Serbia (ibid.). Some performers had openly nationalistic songs they were performing within the genre too, furthering this nationalist perception. The genre of music, while proving itself popular and managing to morph into a more pop-friendly sound in the aftermath of the conflicts, is still highly divisive and does not go unchallenged in the music industry when it comes to popularity.

In regards to the collective spirit of national music, 'unofficial' national anthems are also important to pay attention to. Bohlman (2011, 111) argues that they function in the same way as national music does, in contrast to nationalist music: their relevance is derived in a bottom-up fashion. Unlike official state anthems, which are installed from the state's government and are

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[18] See Hudson (2003) for an excellent overview and analysis of major Serbian nationalist songs.

officially sanctioned (but can often entice emotion within the population nonetheless), these unoffical anthems' status is derived from the people itself. For example, in the U.S. we have *America, the Beautiful*, in Serbia *Tamo daleko* (Far Away), and in Slovakia we have *Hej, Slováci* (Hey Slovaks). These songs are not official anthems but often contain the same emotional strength – and sometimes even a larger one – that can entice feelings of national belonging. These songs, along with official anthems and other national songs[19], allow for an embodied experience of nationalism, both on emotional and physical terms. As Hudson (2003, 174-76) notes, even songs that have no overt nationalist undertones, depending on the context in which they are performed and to what cause, can become nationalistic regardless of the intentions of the songwriter or singer. In the same vein, I argue that certain songs performed at the Eurovision Song Contest produce similar effects for some groups of people, which has been studied in much detail by a small yet dedicated community of scholars.

Cold War Geopolitics and Eurovision

The Eurovision Song Contest has been entertaining, frustrating, inspiring, and puzzling European audiences for almost six decades. The annual contest is the flagship programme of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), which describes itself as the world's "foremost alliance of public service media" (EBU 2014). The union of national broadcasters was established in 1950, with 23 broadcasters at the time, while it now touts an impressive 72 active members in 56 countries, and over 30 associated members (ibid.).

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[19] See Bohlman and Petković-Djordjević (2012), for national epics in the Balkans, or Hudson (2003) as noted above.

The idea to have a pan-European song contest came from the Sanremo Music Festival[20] in Italy (established in 1951), which aimed at preserving the spirit of Italian music from the popularisation of musical genres and styles from the Americas (Fabbri 2013, x). However, unlike Sanremo, the intent behind ESC was to create a vehicle to connect European broadcasters via technological cooperation and joint TV programming (Fricker and Gluhovic 2013b, 2; Vuletić 2013). With time, however, the contest gathered political and cultural clout, becoming increasingly relevant for the promotion of both the "European idea" and national causes (Fricker and Gluhovic 2013b, 9).

As the world's foremost televised non-sporting event, the ESC has become a topic of interest for academic inquiry, just like the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup or other large-scale televised events. While the competition has been around for almost sixty years (first competition was held in 1956), the scholarship on it has been relatively recent. Due to often being seen as a festival of kitsch, silly tunes, and unknown artists, the contest has been dismissed for decades. To this day, it has continuously faced fierce criticism across Europe, while its very existence and its over-the-top visual qualities confuse the rest of the world. However, some scholars have recognised the political and cultural power that the contest can wield, despite of being able to wield it only for a week every year.

The contest has become increasingly relevant in post-1989 Europe due to the socio-political changes that have followed from the collapse of the Iron Curtain, and the 'reunification' of Europe. Musically, it was seen as a competition for the 'best song' of Europe back in the 1950s and 1960s, and it was a very serious affair: audiences dressed in gowns and suits, sitting and silently listening to the performances, while the artists were lone singers performing to a live

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[20] Official name is *Festival della canzone italiana di Sanremo* (trans. San Remo Festival of Italian Song).

orchestra. Political scandals and intricacies were no stranger to Eurovision, such as the accommodation of the Spanish and Portuguese authoritarian states in the contest, as well as the connection of the 1974 Portuguese Eurovision entry with the start of the anti-authoritarian Carnation Revolution (Pinto Teixeria and Stokes 2013). However, these political intricacies were only a minor distraction in the Contest. In the post-1989 geopolitical situation in Europe, however, Eurovision has become a political player of sorts, with more political and cultural clout than ever before where the politics are not just a distraction anymore.

The changes in Eurovision post-1989 were both logistical and political. On the logistical side, there was a major expansion of Eurovision. The contest expanded drastically after the opening up of the Iron Curtain, and the 1993 merger of the EBU and its Cold War equivalent from the Eastern Bloc[21], the International Radio and Television Organisation (OIRT). That year, ten new countries were eligible to participate in the contest, but only three passed the preliminary round, with the other seven debuting in 1994 (see Appendix A). The logistics also drew politics into the fold: in pre-1989 Europe, the geopolitical situation limited Eurovision to being a 'West-only' competition. The EBU-OIRT merger allowed Eastern European countries to join the fold of the 'Eurovision family,' and their participations have proven most interesting when looked from a political lens. It is important, however, to note a glaring exception to the west-only participants in the pre-1989 Eurovision: the former Yugoslavia. The socialist country left the OIRT in 1950, joined the EBU, and started participating in Eurovision in 1961.

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[21] I use the term 'Eastern Bloc' as synonymous with the Warsaw Pact and its member states: the USSR, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. I also include Albania in my understanding of the 'Eastern Bloc', despite them withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact in 1968. However, in terms of my use of 'West' and 'East', I appropriate a more cultural delimitation – in East, I include all the countries of the former Warsaw Pact, but also the countries of the former Yugoslavia and Turkey. Arguably, Greece and Cyprus find themselves on a crossroads of sorts between the two, but due to the historical association of West with the Hellenic civilisation, I have chosen to put Greece and Cyprus under the categorisation of 'West.' My aim here is not to propose any new dichotomies or insights into the topic, which is beyond the scope of my research, but to clarify my usage of the terms.

As Vuletić (2007) observes, the former Yugoslavia was a symbolic lone 'star' on the Eurovision stage. While the political relevance of its pro-West stance due to its participation was hard to miss, Yugoslavia kept on failing to impress European juries and ending up with poor results in the ESC. Its fortunes changed with the embracing of a more pop-friendly sound in the 1980s, especially one musically and thematically tied to the Adriatic Sea and the summer party life associated with it. Its best results – fourth places in 1983 and 1987, and victory in 1989 – were all emblematic of that modern pop-sound. All these songs came from Croatia, where this pop genre was dominant, while in Serbia and Bosnia & Herzegovina folk and *turbo-folk* music was gaining in popularity.

When it hosted the 1990 contest in Zagreb (as per EBU rules, the winner of the contest has the honour and obligation of hosting the contest next year), Yugoslavia proved itself to be a competent organiser of a large-scale international event, after it had done the same with the 1984 Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo (Vuletić 2007; O'Connor 2010). The symbolism of Yugoslavia, a socialist country, hosting the first contest after the collapse of the Berlin Wall could not be missed. With hindsight, however, neither could the irony. Just thirteen months after the Italian Toto Cutugno won the Eurovision trophy with his song celebrating European unity[22], Yugoslavia's internal political and economic problems reached a tipping point, starting the first international conflict on European soil since World War II (Ramet 2006, chapters 10-14).

Performance and Identity Politics in Eurovision

Scholars have argued that the contest, despite having 'song' in its title, is not truly about music, nor is the music itself the focus of scholarly interest. As noted above, the EBU started the

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[22] *Insieme: 1992* (Together: 1992) was the title of the song, referring to the then anticipated Maastricht Treaty and the creation of the European Union and the collapse of the East-West division of Europe in the Cold War.

contest to showcase technological development and to facilitate cooperation amongst TV broadcasters in Europe. The quality of the songs and their chart impact have always been only secondary. This is reflected in the often-lamented poor song quality, and even poorer chart results of most entries, with a few exceptions like the winners from 1974, "Waterloo" and 2012, "Euphoria" (Tragaki 2013, 4-7; Wolther 2012, 167; Warner Music Group 2012). Even in the rules for the 2013 contest, the ESC is still described as a "state-of-the-art, world-class television production and consists chiefly of successive live televised performance of songs by artists..." (Eurovision 2014a). When consulting the literature on Eurovision, it is not the music that it focuses on nor the aspects of technical cooperation but the multiplicities of cultural and identity politics that the contests enables and radiates.

The politics of Eurovision are all-encompassing to such an extent that it is almost impossible to distance the contest from them. In an attempt to classify distinct dimensions (or categories, ways of understanding) of Eurovision, Wolther (2012) effectively presents ways of looking at Eurovision as a political phenomenon. Even his attempts at somewhat distancing ESC from politics exude the inner politics of the contest. For example, he notes that the competitive dimension (which is theoretically apolitical) has itself largely contributed to the politicisation of the contest, since it diminished the importance of music in favour of the relevance of presenting the nation and national culture on an international stage (ibid., 170).

This also relates to the (again, theoretically apolitical) media and musical-economic dimensions. Even if a Eurovision entry fails to achieve high sales, a high placement in the contest itself is seen as satisfactory enough. The high placement means that the nation has been honoured accordingly, effectively relieving the artist and song of the consequences of commercial failure. The nation, therefore, trumps economics and profit. Brian Singleton (2013)

notes this most explicitly when discussing the chart failures of the Irish three-time winner,

Johnny Logan[23]. His consistent success at Eurovision (garnering him the nickname 'Mr.

Eurovision') has made his lack of chart success outside of the contest irrelevant due to his

contribution in promoting Ireland internationally (ibid., 148).

In the post-1989 context of expansion of both Europe and Eurovision, and the

geopolitical changes in Europe, it is easy to conclude that Eurovision has mirrored political and

cultural trends as present in the continent. However, some scholars see the relevance of

Eurovision as bigger than just a mirror of post-1989 Europe, and certainly more than "just a

political event". Fricker and Gluhovic (2013b, 3) understand the contest as "not just a mirror but

perhaps a driver in changing conceptions and realities of Europe and Europeanness since the fall

of the Berlin Wall." It is not only politically relevant but also in an embodied sense, providing a

way to create a "new European awareness offering insights into the diverse simultaneous

realities that are lived in Europe," ultimately leading to the shaping of a notion of European

citizenship (ibid., 10). It is relevant that in their volume on Eurovision (Fricker and Gluhovic

2013a), affect-based research has taken up a more prominent role, studying the very experiential

nature of Eurovision (Zarouila 2013; Pajala 2013). However, politics, and especially identity

politics, have been a crucial aspect of Eurovision – both in mirroring and driving change in

Europe, especially in the former Eastern Bloc countries.

The changes and consistencies in European geopolitical relations – both positive and

negative – have often been mirrored in Eurovision's voting, but have also been affected directly

by the voting. Analyses of voting patterns have been one of the earliest academic ventures in

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[23] Irishman Johnny Logan is the only Eurovision performer to win the contest more than once. He won in 1980 and 1987 with songs he wrote and performed, and the 1992 victory came with the song "Why me?" which he penned, but was performed by Linda Martin.

regards to the contest. Yair's (1995) pioneering work on the voting from 1975 to 1992[24], pointed at three geopolitical cliques or voting blocs: Western-European, Nordic, and Mediterranean. The so-called "buddy," "neighbour" or "political" voting, has been more a media preoccupation than one of scholarship (Kirkegaard 2013; Fenn *et al.* 2005; Spierdijk and Vellekoop 2009). While some scholars have discussed it in passing, mainly in relation to other topics, it has been the prerogative of statistical studies to analyse the voting patterns. The conclusions have been somewhat diverse, but they do tend to reject the hypothesis that Eurovision voting is overtly political.

However, there are a number of connections and biases exemplified in the voting, according to the scholarship. For example, Spierdijk and Vellekoop (2009) emphasise that there is a minor bias when it comes to religion and ethnicity in the way the public votes, but that bias is not shared by professional juries. Aside from those bias factors, their analysis focuses on geographical proximity as a major factor for vote exchange. Fenn *et al.* (2006, 576), on the other hand, argue that while there are "unofficial cliques of countries", their existence cannot be explained "solely on the grounds of geographical proximity" but that other facts need to be considered. In line with their observations, Ginsburg and Noury (2008, 49) have concluded that it is actually "quality" of the songs that is the main determinant in the voting, but that cultural and linguistic factors play a strong secondary role, as well.

Academic research and its results aside, the media space given to the voting results and its interpretations has been immense. Whether people believe the academic's statistics or not becomes quite irrelevant. What matters are the voting trends and patterns that the general public perceives on the scoreboard year after year, as well as the occasional 'official' reaction to the

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[24] 1975 is the year that the current voting system was put in place and it has not been drastically altered since.

results by political figures and governments. Some issues tend to be rather minor, while others seem rather disproportionately serious, considering that we are dealing with a song contest. For example, after the 2011 contest, a media storm was raised in Bosnia & Herzegovina over Croatia placing the Bosnian entry only as its 4th favourite song[25]. The high expectations were based mainly on extensive historical, political, and cultural ties between the two countries, as well as previous exchanges of high rankings between the two nations[26] (Balkanmedia 2011).

Furthermore, we have the more serious geopolitical issues caused by voting, which at time have escalated into diplomatic rows between countries. In 2013, Azerbaijan failed to give the Russian representative any points, effectively ranking it outside of their top 10, which caused the Russian Foreign Minister to request an explanation of the Azeri voting. The Russian complaint was addressed directly by the President of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, who ordered an inquiry into the Azeri voting in a move towards the 'normalisation' of friendly Russo-Azeri diplomatic relations (BBC 2013a; Russia Today 2013).

Aside of the analyses of voting patterns, the connection between identity politics of the state and Eastern European countries' participation in Eurovision has been a popular subject of research. Scholars have studied the relevance of Eurovision to identity politics in countries such as Lithuania (Ingvoldstadt 2007), Russia (Heller 2007; Meerzon and Priven 2013), Serbia (Baker 2008a; Mitrović 2010) and Turkey (Gumpert 2007; Solomon 2007). Often, Eurovision is seen as a way to rethink the nation and what is truly 'national', and how a nation can fit into a larger

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[25] Croatia ranked its other neighbour, Slovenia, first, Azerbaijan second, and Serbia third, followed by the Bosnian entry.

[26] Croatia has consistently ranked Bosnian songs as either first (4 times) or second (3 times) in the previous decade (2002-11), making the 2011 ranking the lowest since the last time Bosnia & Herzegovina was ranked forth by Croatia back in 2002. Reciprocally, Bosnia & Herzegovina has ranked Croatia first (3 times) and second (2 times), but Croatia has failed to qualify to the final of the competition a number of years, hence could not get awarded any points in those years. The Bosnian's lowest ranking of Croatian songs goes back to 2003, when they ranked the Croatian entry fifth (Eurovision 2014b).

European community, making the contest much more politically salient than many in Western Europe would give it credit for. As Sieg (2013, 220) writes in her study of meanings and norms of Europeanness in Eastern Europe via ESC:

> For many post-socialist countries, whose relation to Europeanness was ideologically, culturally, or geographically tenuous, the ESC became a stage where they could perform their imagined relationship to Europe as a 'return home' or demonstration of friendship.

This can also relate to not only post-socialist countries, but to countries perceived as European outsiders yet ESC participants, such as Israel and Turkey. The cases of Serbia and Turkey, however, have been especially fascinating in this regard, as they have both found themselves as the European 'other' to a significant extent in the eyes of the West: Serbia as the aggressor in the wars in Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo, and Turkey as the perpetual (historical) Islamic-Asian 'other.'

The attempts at negotiation of national identities with identities of European modernity are the focus of Solomon's (2007; 2013) and Gumpert's (2007) works on Turkey's victory in 2003. They directly address this fluctuating Turkish identity and Turkishness as portrayed on the Eurovision stage in 2003. Solomon (2007) notes the "historical moment" that has allowed Turkey to actually reach the level of popular support (aside from having a catchy song) necessary for victory; most notably the improvements in the Turkish geopolitical image across the continent. Gumpert (2007) takes the argument further, through an analysis of the lyrical, musical as well as visual aspect of the music video and live performance of the Turkish winner, Sertab Erener. He argues that Erener actively 'self-orientalised' both herself and Turkey, being the representative of the state, in order to satisfy the Western gaze. A gaze which, as expected, favourably responded to an exotification of Turkey in line with historical European imaginations:

women in harems, belly dancing, and musically 'ethnic' sounds, along with possibly deviant (lesbian) sexualities, all re-affirming Turkey's foreignness yet making it desirable at the same time (Gumpert 2007; Solomon 2013). Building on Gumpert's observations, Solomon (2013) concludes in his later work that the Turkish broadcaster, in cahoots with Erener, created a well calculated and designed marketing ploy, instead of an actual representation of the Turkish state on stage. A ploy that seems to have paid off, since Erener went on to win the contest.

Marijana Mitrović's work (2010) on (re)constructions of Serbian national identities in Eurovision performances 2004-08, provides another glimpse into the workings of the nation via the contest. Through an ethnicisation of both sound and visual identity, which are "almost entirely recycled from the 'memories' of medieval Serbia" (ibid., 173), the Serbian representatives in 2004 have managed to reinforce an idyllic idea of Serbian cultural history not just for the Western gaze, like Turkey did, but for the Serbian population too. While hosting the contest in Belgrade in 2008, the idyllic Serbian culture was yet again represented through Serbia's stage performance. This time, however, it was not a medieval rural culture but an urban 19th century culture, representing a more 'Western', modern, 'European' Serbia. The closer linking with a European look and values came as part of Serbia's attempt to appease the EU and show itself as a worthy candidate for accession into the Union (ibid.).

However, the Serbian performance also challenged the perceived all-encompassing power of Europe in acts visible and audible to everyone, but only understandable to Serbian audiences. The performance featured, both in staging and lyrics, strong symbolic historical references to Serbian state and national unity, especially in regards to Kosovo and its unilateral declaration of independence earlier in the year. With this act, Serbia set some limits to its "demonstration of friendship" towards the EU, as Sieg put it.

Starting with their 2004 entry, "Lane moje"[27], Serbia seems to have gotten to the forefront of a larger "ethnic turn" in Eurovision, as Alf Björnberg (2007) has labelled it. Björnberg identifies this ethnicisation as an attempt by some countries at a "creative (re) construction of national or ethnic identity in music" (ibid., 21). This being said, other countries have featured ethnic motives in their songs in the 1990s, but to little success usually[28]. Many Eastern European countries have tried to showcase this more ethnic sound and/or look to their representatives and performances, in an attempt at a "somehow more authentic or explicit ethnicity than the more modernized and "disethnified" West European societies" (ibid.). Few songs have been purely 'ethnic' – the majority has been a mixture of ethnic and pop sounds, creating a balance between a perceived ethnic flavour and authenticity, and commercial appeal for pan-European audiences.

This approach has allowed some Eastern European countries to achieve quite good results, but also some Western European countries too. While there are plenty of ethnically-sounding songs in the contest, usually the Eastern European ones do better than the Western European ones (see Appendix B). This Eastern European dominance when it comes to ethnic sounds and visuals can be understood as an affirmation of the perception that the ethnic authenticity of Eastern European music is indeed perceived as somehow "more authentic" than the one from the West. In both the East and West, however, this ethnicisation seems to have a dual function: to reaffirm the nation on the domestic front for popular consumption, but also

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[27] Technically, *Lane moje* was representing Serbia & Montenegro, but the song came from the Serbian broadcaster RTS, not the Montenegrin RTCG. The representative of Serbia & Montenegro that year was selected in two rounds. In the first round, four songs were selected from Montenegro, and four more from Serbia. In the final round those eight songs were accompanied by sixteen songs chosen internally by the joint national broadcaster of Serbia & Montenegro, and the winner was chosen through a mixture of televote and jury votes, with *Lane moje* gathering most points from both juries and televoters.

[28] The exceptions are the 1995 and 1996 winners from Norway and Ireland, respectively. Since then, the first country to win with an overwhelmingly 'ethnic' sounding song was Ukraine in 2004, with a successful blending of ethnic folk sounds and pop tunes (Baker 2008a).

show a national uniqueness in a larger European rootedness, aimed at an international consumption.

The negotiation of national and European identities has also been examined in a Western European context, and they have often shown themselves as impactful even for countries where the nation and state seem to be firmly established and secured, as Billig noted for Western democracies. In line with Billig's idea of banal nationalism, Karen Fricker (2013) looks at British imperial nostalgia and a larger struggle for self-definition through a discourse analysis of BBC's Eurovision broadcasts. Pajala's (2007a) research on Finnish national shame in relation to a history Eurovision failures, enforces Fricker and Gluhovic's idea of Eurovision actually affecting attitudes, not just mirroring them. Finland, for decades torn between West and East due to its geographical location[29], coupled with its poor results in Eurovision, has been presented in the Finnish media as a perpetual loser. This has, according to Pajala (2007a), furthered Finnish national insecurities about Finland's place in Europe. Similarly, Langlois (2013) and Singleton (2013) discuss the change of Irish Eurovision fortunes as related to the decline of the Irish economy in the 2000s, as well as a growing Euro-scepticism in Ireland and dismissiveness of Eurovision.

Possibly because of the lack of pressure for commercial success, the contest has become a stage where various alternative politics can be presented, often ones that would be subjugated to larger hegemonic politics of the state and nation. Where else could one find Roma artists representing the Czech Republic on an international stage, especially considering recent right-wing politics and anti-Roma sentiments in Central and Eastern Europe (BBC 2013b)? While

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[29] Finland even participated in the Intervision Song Contest, OIRT's alternative to Eurovision for the Eastern Bloc. Finland managed to win the contest in 1980, in its very last edition (out of four), while it took them until 2006 to win Eurovision – after over 40 years of participating in the contest.

Roma are often exoticised and commodified on the Eurovision stage for the purposes of "enhancing local flavour" (Szeman 2013, 131), their mere presence is indicative of a (not unproblematic) complicating of the idea of the nation and the national body to a much larger degree than is common.

A significant strand of Eurovision literature has focused on challenging of normative politics, mainly through *queering* of the contest.[30] Queerness has been used as an analytical category to various effects in the analysis of different Eurovision topics. From feminist readings of female representations in the ESC (Aston 2013) to the clash of heteronormativity and queerness on multiple Eurovision fronts: staging of the live performance, broadcast commentaries, and the altered landscape of the host cities (Pajala 2007b; Rehberg 2013). Pajala (2007b, 27) notes that the nation and nationalism have been heteronormative and heterosexist due to the need of the nation to reproduce itself and secure its future presence via childrearing. However, queer fans as well as some other minorities have managed to create a *queer notion of citizenship* through the contest. This reading of the contest allows for challenging and subverting "conventional standards of cultural belonging" and "relates more to a sense of belonging to a community and feeling represented by that community" (Tobin 2007, 28-9). This alternative reading of citizenship and belonging, as facilitated through the contest, allows sexual and ethnic minorities an alternative avenue to see themselves as part of the nation, at least for the duration of the contest.

The flipside of this queering is presented in Rehberg's (2013) analysis of the *dequeering* of ESC in Germany in 2009-10. The *dequeering* of Germany in the context of Eurovision was

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[30] I use the term 'queer' liberally throughout the paper. In most cases, it refers to the identification of queer with the LGBTQ communities and non-heteronormative gender and sexual identifications. When indicated otherwise, it can also refer to the queering or challenging of normativities across identity politics and beyond.

done through a process of othering in relation to Eastern Europe. Eastern Europe was labelled as queer, different and foreign, providing for an understanding of Germany as the opposite: non-queer (heteronormative) and familiar. Rehberg (ibid., 184) goes to claim that this *dequeering* was done not only in the interest of the nation, but "moreover, done in the name of Western Europe," which was seen as losing its hegemonic grip in the contest due to a streak of Eastern European victories and high rankings, and poorer showings by Western countries, 2001-08. Arguably, this is connected to Western European fears over the expansion of the EU as reflected on the contest: what if Eastern Europeans became as successful politically and economically as they had become in Eurovision?[31] The whole basis of the West vs. East socio-political and cultural dichotomy, and self-perceived Western dominance in Europe, would crumble.

Bringing it Together: Eurovision, Diasporas, and (Trans)national Belonging

Before combining Eurovision, diasporas, and belonging into one theoretical fold, it is imperative to address the setup of Eurovision and its voting processes, as relevant to the reproduction of the banal hegemony of the nation in the contest. The contest itself, as well as the discourse surrounding it, is political and moreover, national, in a very banal fashion. For example, it is the national broadcasters that select the songs however they see fitting[32]. The

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[31] With the possible exception of Greece (which is arguably both in the Eastern and Western) and Finland, most of the winners in the first decade of the 2000s were from Eastern Europe. Estonia won in 2001, Latvia in 2002, Turkey 2003, Ukraine 2004, Greece 2005, Finland 2006, Serbia 2007 and Russia in 2008. Finland was the first 'fully' Western European nation to win Eurovision in 2006 since the Danish victory in 2000. More importantly, Western European countries started faring weaker compared to Eastern countries, with only handfuls qualifying to the finals in the late 2000s. This culminated in 2007, when no Western European countries qualified from the Semi Final, allowing ten Eastern European countries to qualify instead.

[32] The selection process can include a 'National Final' of sorts where the broadcaster organises a mini-contest in its own country to choose its representative amongst a number of songs. Another alternative is an 'internal selection,' which means the broadcaster just announces the artist who will represent the country, without any input from the public. There are further alterations to this formula, where sometimes an artist is internally selected and is asked to prepare a number of songs, out of which the public will choose the one to represented them.

artists representing the broadcasters, and in turn, representing the countries, are often discursively equated with the country whose colours they are sporting. During the actual performance of songs, it is not the name of the artists that is constantly displayed in the bottom of the screen but that of the country the artist is representing. When all the songs have been performed, the winner is selected through a voting process where each country announces its points via satellite link to the venue where the contest is hosted. A presenter from each country awards the coveted '12 points' to the most popular song, as gauged by the juries and public vote in that country[33]. This is where the above discussed geopolitical relations across Europe come to bearing, which is at the same time the most watched part of the broadcast: who will give the 12 points to whom? Are Greece and Cyprus going to exchange yet another 12 points, or will there be a surprise this year? Will the Armenians and Azeris finally burry the war axe, and exchange their first points?

The scoreboard, where all the drama plays out, is not populated with song titles or names of the performers, or even the names of the broadcasters. Instead, the scoreboard features the names of the countries and their respective flags, which visually and vocally (presenters announce the points to countries) reinforce the national setup of the contest (see Image 1). As Rehberg (2007, 63) states, the voting in the contest every year is a "playful version of war," a cultural war of sorts. This is evident by the fans present in the venue who often sport large flags

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[33] The voting is set up as a split between a public vote (televote) and expert jury vote. Each country's jury and televote are combined, and then transferred into the 'Eurovision voting formula': the highest ranked song gets 12 points, second highest gets 10, third 8, fourth 7, and so on until the tenth song gets 1 point. Only the top ten countries get points. After each country has announced its votes, the song that has received the most points wins the contest. See Image 1, for the final screenshot of the scoreboard in 2013, with all the points awarded and Denmark winning the contest.

of their countries, interesting flag- or performance-inspired costumes, and attempt to visually

represent their support for their nation and its representative.[34]

Image 1: Snapshot of the final results on the scoreboard at the 2013 Eurovision Song Contest, just after
the last country (Lithuania, as depicted) has announced its votes
(http://eurovisionbyjaz.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/eurovision-2013-results.png.
Last accessed May 25, 2014).[35]

The representative qualities of Eurovision are what is truly fascinating about the contest.

Eurovision, just like Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008, 547) note about major sporting events, seems

to have the ability to mobilise powerful sentiments of belonging through a lens of competition. If

this is the case for the people in the countries participating, could it be that diasporic

communities across Europe experience a similar phenomenon? But which country would that

experience relate to: their home country that has welcomed them and provided them a new life,

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[34] For a visual representation, see Reuters' video footage of Eurovision fans in front of the venue hosting the 2014
contest in Denmark: http://www.itnsource.com/en/shotlist//RTV/2014/05/10/RTV100514070/.

[35] On the left side is the scoreboard with the Lithuanian points on the left of each of the counties names, and the total
points allocated on the right of the names. On the right side of the screen is the spokesperson from Lithuania via
direct satellite link. (http://eurovisionbyjaz.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/eurovision-2013-results.png)

or the homeland they have left behind but share cultural and familial ties with? This is where Sökefeld's (2006) ideas on diasporic mobilisation can shed light on the way that diasporic communities interact with the contest on both surface but also deeper, emotional levels.

In all this representational and identity-based research that has been done on Eurovision, a fascinating gap has been left un-researched: the interaction of diasporic communities with the contest. The gap is more baffling given the huge media space given to diasporic communities in regards to Eurovision in the past decade. With the introduction of televoting in the late 1990s and early 2000s in most countries, and the shifting of Eurovision success from West to Eastern Europe (as noted above), diasporas have been largely seen as a source of votes for countries with larger communities abroad (Björnberg 2007, 22; Ginsburgh and Noury 2008; 50; Ingvoldstadt 2007, 102; Singleton 2013, 151; Solomon 2007). So much so, many artists and national broadcasters attempt to get the diasporic communities engaged to support their entry in Eurovision. It is a low-stakes way to support ones nation(s) on an international stage. But no research has been done directly with diasporic communities.

Therefore, the complete absence of the study of diasporic involvement in Eurovision is rather strange, and limits both our knowledge of diasporic communities in regards to Eurovision, as well as in regards to larger transnational diasporic engagements with nationalism. Surely, remittances, visits to the homeland and other types of transnational diasporic connectivity and activity with the homeland are strong indicators of national sympathies and loyalty for diasporic communities. However, it is important to also understand other trends in the wider rhythms of diasporic activities, such as sporting and cultural events. After all, social and cultural aspects of identity are crucial for the everyday functioning of individuals and larger communities. From an affect perspective, it would be beneficial to understand how members of diasporic communities

interact with Eurovision and how they reconcile their multiple identities and senses of belonging in a competitive international staging, where both national reference points are present (homeland and host state).

If we understand Eurovision as a cultural and inter-national event that represents a link in a chain of annual and every day diasporic activities, we can try to locate the contest as part of a larger diasporic social mobilisation in regards to the homeland (Sökefeld 2006). Amongst other questions, it is important to see to what extent the affective aspect of Eurovision can influence and trigger national affiliations, specifically for diasporic communities. Does the contest have the affective power to entice a sense of belonging, or at least re-kindle an already existing one? More importantly, does the banal setup (yet, visual spectacle) of Eurovision and the minimal effort needed to engage with the contest (by watching it on TV) allow for an easier and more efficient engagement for diasporic persons with nationalism? If compared to more time-consuming aspects of diasporic engagements, such as diasporic organisations for example, is the 'lighter' nature and low-cost engagement of Eurovision actually a benefit to its mobilising power for diasporic communities and transnational peoples? Through the study of the contest in regards to diasporas and transnational peoples, we can complicate our understanding of always-changing national and diasporic identities and affiliations, and study the effectiveness of national imagery in enticing a sense of belonging outside of the nation-state.

Chapter Four:
Methods and Reflections

In this chapter, I will briefly discuss my methodological framing and present a more detailed review of the methods I have used to conduct my research and subsequent analysis and interpretation of results. I will also address issues I have faced both in and outside of the field, with achieving the goals I had set out for myself in regards to methods. Finally, I will discuss the framings of my discourse and symbol analysis.

As noted in the introductory chapter, I have used a mixed-methods approach to my research believing that this would provide me with a well-rounded understanding of the embodied everyday experiences of the diasporic communities in southern Sweden. The methods I have used for my research are the following:

a. A review of existing literature on transnationalism and diasporas, on nationalism and belonging, and on Eurovision itself;

b. Semi-structured interviews with members of diasporic communities of former Yugoslavs in the Malmö metropolitan area;

c. Semi-structured interview with the Head of Press of the delegation of Montenegro (I had originally planned interviews with the Heads of Press of Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia as well, but those did not come to fruition);

d. An analysis of discourses and symbols contained within Eurovision performances from the former Yugoslavia, and Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia since 1989.

Semi-Structured One-on-One Interviews and Sampling

Aside the extensive literature review of the two previous chapters, the centrepiece of my data collection is a series of semi-structured one-on-one interviews with members of the former

Yugoslav diasporic communities in southern Skåne, or more precisely, the Malmö metropolitan area. In order to answer my questions about the diasporic and transnational experiences of people from the former Yugoslavia now living in the MMA and to understand their reactions to portrayals of their homelands on the Eurovision stage, I saw it as instrumental to directly talk to the people I was theorising about. My choice of conducting interviews was guided by the wish to go more in depth, instead of breadth, with my research. As Linda McDowell (2010, 157-8) notes, "the purpose is to explore and understand actions within specific settings, to examine human relationships and discover as much as possible about why people feel or act in the ways they do."

Rather than attempting to do a large-scale survey of the former Yugoslav diasporas in Sweden, like Slavnić (2011) did, I have opted for a more in-depth approach allowing me to delve further into the worlds of a smaller number of people (Winchester and Rofe 2010, 9). This study does not attempt to be representative of all transnational and diasporic peoples of the former Yugoslavia in the MMA. It does, however, attempt to explore the experiences of the small group that has been interviewed, in order to understand the diasporic condition a bit better. Another important aspect of doing in-depth interviews is the ability to represent often silenced peoples' understandings of the world and the phenomena at hand (Dunn 2010, 102). Ultimately,

> through interviews, difference rather than similarity in experience is explored and so generalisations may be challenged, as well as allowing into both the encounter and the resulting text the emotions and feelings of the subjects, and more recently the researcher. (McDowell 2010, 159)

The structure of the interviews has been also decided by taking into account the usefulness of informant-led input. While I have organised my interviews into three thematic segments with guiding questions (personal experiences of displacement, experiences with(in) the diasporas, and relevance of Eurovision), I have decided to take a semi-structured approach as to allow my informants to contribute to and guide the interviews in their own ways. Therefore,

while most interviews followed the personal experience–diaspora–Eurovision structure, I have actively tried to encourage a more conversation-like atmosphere rather than having a top-down power dynamic with my informants. Furthering my aim of having a more conversational interview structure, most of the interviews were conducted outside of settings typically understood as 'formal.' Only three interviews were conducted in office settings[36], while the rest were conducted in a variety of places: interviewees' homes, public parks, and coffee shops. The goal was to make the interviewees as comfortable as possible, including providing them the ability to choose familiar environments for the interview.

My sampling was based on *snowballing*, which is a technique where a key informant helps identify other possible interviewees they know, in hope that they are able to contribute to the research. The recommendation basis of the sampling method carries potential biases, as it could lead to a sample of participants that have similar propensities to the topic of research as the initial key informant (Jones 2009, 662). However, in the case of my research topic, I approached this as a strength and benefit instead of a problematic issue. Despite the high viewing figures for Eurovision in Sweden, not everyone watches the show, so doing snowballing was seen as the best way to identify Eurovision viewers within the former Yugoslav communities in the MMA.

Another potential issue with the research was compliance with ethics guidelines and regulations. Primarily, it was the maintenance of my informants' privacy which is complicated by the snowballing method. There is a chance that an informant might be recognised by a family member, friend or colleague who reads the paper, if proper steps to protect their identity are not taken. In order to minimise the chances of that happening, I have altered the names of my informants and decided not to disclose any information that could potentially identify any one of

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[36] The first interview was conducted at the interviewees' workplace, while two other interviews were conducted on the premises of Malmö University, in Malmö.

them. That information could be anything along the lines of the number of years spent in Sweden or any personal experiences that might disclose their identity to the informant(s) they recommended, or were recommended by.

My final sample consisted of twelve informants living in the Malmö metropolitan area – eight from Malmö itself, three from Lund, and one from Eslöv. The gender split was rather even, with seven female and five male informants. The sample ended up being a bit older than I anticipated originally, with the average age of 33. In regards to migration reasons, the sample is very diverse. Five informants were refugees from the Bosnian War, four were second generation migrants, two were labour/education migrants in Sweden, and one was a family reunification migrant who moved with parents. Partially due to the snowballing sampling technique, there has been a somewhat disproportionate number of Bosnians represented, with seven informants from Bosnia & Herzegovina. One informant came from Serbia, and the remainder are second generation informants born in Sweden: one's parents came from Bosnia & Herzegovina, one's parents from Serbia, and the last one comes from a mixed Croatian-Serbian family.

The amount of time people spent in Sweden varied greatly as well. While the average was 25 years, it was skewed by two outliers who spent significantly fewer years in Sweden than the average age of the sample. Also, taking into account that second generation people are not migrants in practice, if we exclude them from the calculation (since they have spent most of their lives in Sweden, by proxy), for the migrants we get an average of 17.5 years spent in Sweden, which is still quite a significant amount of time to live and adjust to another country.

Table 2: Select demographic information about project informants. Bracketed countries of origin indicate the places of origin of the parents in the case of second generation migrants.

ID	Name	Sex	Migration Type	Country of origin
1	Ahmed	M	Refugee	Bosnia & Herzegovina
2	Andrea	F	Second Generation	[Serbia / Croatia]
3	Đorđe	M	Second Generation	[Bosnia & Herzegovina]
4	Irma	F	Refugee	Bosnia & Herzegovina
5	Jasmina	F	Labour	Serbia
6	Kenan	M	Refugee	Bosnia & Herzegovina
7	Maja	F	Second Generation	[Serbia]
8	Merima	F	Refugee	Bosnia & Herzegovina
9	Milan	M	Second Generation	[Serbia]
10	Senad	M	Labour	Bosnia & Herzegovina
11	Svjetlana	F	Refugee	Bosnia & Herzegovina
12	Vesna	F	Family Reunion	Bosnia & Herzegovina

Along with the interviews with transnational and diasporic peoples, my second set of interviews was supposed to be with the official delegations that the broadcasters send to participate in Eurovision. The goal was to interview the Heads of Press, who are in charge of the media coverage of their song entry that year. I managed to contact the Montenegrin and Croatian delegations, but due to logistical issues while at Eurovision I was only able to conduct an interview with Sabrija Vulić, the Montenegrin Head of Press. The idea behind interviewing the official delegations was to see what the relevance of Eurovision participation is for national broadcasters, as well as the role of diasporas within the context of Eurovision and supporting ones homeland. While the one interview is a far cry from the four that I was hoping to obtain[37], it

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[37] I did not manage to get in contact with the Bosnian and Serbian delegations. The Bosnians did not participate in Eurovision 2013, and the Serbians left early due to the failure of the Serbian representatives to qualify to the Final.

still provides some insight as to how broadcasters see Eurovision and what their goals with participation are. In a way, this allows me to look at both sides of the transnational continuum: the people who create the national images on the one side (delegation), and the people who consume the images (diasporic communities).

I did experience some setbacks with sampling for my diasporic informants, along with the delegation members that I tried to get in touch with. I had a three-pronged approach to acquiring informants: approaching the official Eurovision fan community, contacting people via diasporic organisations in Malmö, and utilising my existing contacts within the region. While some of the diasporic organisations seemed interested and forwarded my call for participants to their members, I had not heard back from any organisation or individual member, with the exception of one person once I had already left Sweden. I faced the same issue with the official "unofficial" ESC fan organisation, the OGAE (Organisation Generale des Amateurs de l'Eurovision)[38]. I had contacted the Croatian, Serbian and Swedish clubs, hoping that they would help find Serbo-Croatian speakers in Sweden interested in participating in my research. Unfortunately, while the clubs seemed cooperative and had shared my call for participants with their members, it yielded no interviewees, just like the diasporic organisations. Therefore, my final sample ended up being smaller than originally anticipated, with twelve interviews with people within the former Yugoslav diasporic social field, and one interview with the Montenegrin Head of Press.

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[38] While technically not affiliated with the EBU or Eurovision, the OGAE has had a significant role in the development of the fan community since its birth in the 1980s, especially on a national level. Most Eurovision participating countries have their own national OGAE clubs. They organise (in cooperation with the EBU) discounted tickets and opportunities for meet-and-greets with Eurovision performers, and other supplementary events. From the countries of the former Yugoslavia within the Serbo-Croatian socio-linguistic sphere, only Croatia and Serbia have their own clubs that are full members of the association. The newly-formed Montenegrin club has 'candidate' status, while Bosnia & Herzegovina does not have its own club at all. (http://www.ogae.net/)

Performance Analysis

Like many scholars researching the contest have done before, I have decided to conduct an analysis of the performances staged at Eurovision. I have chosen to do this in order to supplement my interviews, by providing contextual background to some of the conversations I have had with my informants. The performance analysis is also useful in answering my research questions, especially ones regarding the entrenchment of national master frames via portrayals of the state in Eurovision performances. While works by Eurovision scholars like Aston (2013), Mitrović (2010), Solomon (2007; 2013), and Sieg (2013), amongst others, have analysed various elements of the performances in Eurovision, they do not provide clear guidelines as to their actual process. How did they categorise their observations, if at all? How did they differentiate between factors and which were deemed more important than others and why?

Before elaborating on my representational categories for the analysis, it is important to address the criticisms of visual methodologies in geography and to justify my usage of the same. As Crang (2010) points out, visual and observational methodologies in geography have been extensively criticised due to the problematic history of geography as a discipline, especially in the early twentieth century. Geography was (ab)used as a tool of colonialism and even today as an objectifying tool via tourism, creating uneven geographies across the globe (Matthews and Herbert 2008). The representative qualities of the visual are what make it both powerful and problematic: photographs and other visuals are often taken for granted as objective reality. In the case of Eurovision, the representational qualities of the visuals are indeed *meant to be* representative. After all, they are meant to represent a whole country and their musical culture, or at least its musical industry to an extent, on an international podium. Therefore, while I recognise the issues with visual methodologies, they are an integral aspect of my research project. The very

nature of the Eurovision Song Contest rests on these representational ideas and visuals, and they are a crucial aspect of any attempt at understanding the contest and its implications.

What I am searching for and analysing in the performances are musical and visual cues that promote discourses of national and cultural belonging for the audiences. These cues can be understood as *symbols* carrying representational power. As Swedish scholar Johan Fornäs (2012, 46-7) points out, symbols are highly rooted in culture and cannot be understood as 'subjective'. If they were subjective, they would not have the consistent representational power that they carry. They can be seen as "identity markers" or "emblems of a community," precisely due to their non-subjective nature (ibid., 52-3). This conceptualisation of symbols is in line with larger discussions within the study of signs – semiology, or semiotics. The basic idea of a sign is taken from the work of linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, which sees signs/symbols as constructed from two elements: a signifier and the signified. The signifier is the actual material, physical element (such as sound or image) and the signified is the concept with which the signifier is associated (Scott and Marshall 2009).

In line with this conceptualisation of symbols, I seek to deconstruct Eurovision performances from select former Yugoslav countries and identify symbols that carry a representational power perceptible only to the people within the social field the symbol is rooted in. In the case of Eurovision performances, I see symbols as belonging to three categories: *audible, textual* or *visual symbols. Audible symbols* would include music and sounds featured in songs – practically, the composition and vocalisation. For example, ethnic compositions and inclusion of 'national' instruments would fit into this category. The use of specific vocal interpretations would also belong into this category: such as the ululation in *turbo-folk* music in Serbia, noted in the previous chapter. *Textual symbols* would include lyrics and the general

thematic, or context, of the songs. The textual symbol analysis can be difficult to conduct, due to a variety of potential meanings. Some can be as overt as the example of the Belarusian Eurovision entry in 2011, with the chorus exclaiming "I love Belarus/ Got it deep inside/ I love Belarus/ Feel it in my mind." Others can be very subtle, like the simple mentioning of one event to represent a whole set of historical and national meanings, as Mitrović (2010) noted in her analysis of the Serbian performance in 2008. Finally, the *visual symbols* are potentially the most fruitful aspect of the analysis. These include a variety of aspects of the very performance, such as the costumes, choreographies and background/scene staging in the contest. This has become more relevant in the past decade with the proliferation of visual technologies previously unseen in European television, and the EBU's insistence on international technical cooperation and development as the primary goals of the contest. Again, there is a spectrum of symbolisms in this category. Some are directly derived from traditional and national cultures, transplanted so to say, while others are hybridised to appeal to a wider audience while simultaneously maintaining a sense of national authenticity, or at least a semblance of it.

Together, the results of the interviews and performance analysis can help us better understand the connections between diasporic identities and the effect that transnational cultural events can have on them. Seeing whether the aims of the performances have been reflected accordingly in people's perceptions and actions in lieu of voting, is instrumental in the understanding the effect Eurovision can have as a symbolic stage for the nation. In the following chapter, I will present the results of my performance analysis, which will encompass all the songs from Serbo-Croatian speaking countries starting with 1993, and the former Yugoslavia

from 1989-92. This encompasses a total of fifty-seven performances from six countries[39], over a period of 24 years. While some performances are more symbolically relevant or fruitful than others, and some will get more space in my analysis and interpretation, I also include some of the performances that do not fulfil the criteria of my symbolic categories, and discuss what that means for my research.

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[39] The beginning year is 1989 and the end year is 2013. Therefore, Bosnia & Herzegovina (1993-2012): 18 entries; Croatia (1992-2013): 21 entries; Montenegro (2007-13): 5 entries; Serbia (2007-13): 7 entries; Serbia & Montenegro (2004-05): 2 entries; and Yugoslavia (1989-92): 4 entries. Serbia & Montenegro was the union of the two republics that lasted from 1992 to 2006, when it was dissolved, and Montenegro and Serbia became independent states.

Chapter Five:
Everyday Spaces for Diasporic Mobilisation

1. Setting the Stage for the Social Mobilisation of Diasporas

In his work, Sökefeld (2006) isolated the three issues that the social mobilisation of diasporas is, for him, based on: political opportunities, mobilising structures and practices, and framing. While my research focuses mainly on the framing and mobilising structures, it is important to see to what extent the political context within Sweden is in fact favourable towards diasporic social mobilisation. The literature featured in Chapter Two paints a changing picture of Swedish attitudes towards migrants since World War II, and charts how Swedish public opinion has dramatically altered over the decades, from the multiculturalist ideals of 1975 to the integrationist policies in place since 1997.

In my interviews, I discussed some of the issues of adaptation to Swedish society and my informants' experiences as immigrants and ethnic non-Swedes. These discussions, while not directly informing my research questions, nonetheless help frame my research within a larger theoretical context of social mobilisation, as well as contextualise my informants' everyday experiences of being immigrants in Sweden. According to Sökefeld's approach, it is hard if not impossible to have a diaspora mobilise without a favourable political environment. The term favourable, however, does not necessarily have to indicate a positive environment. A repressive environment toward immigrants, in lieu of marginalisation and discrimination, can be very favourable to the political organisation and mobilisation of immigrants (Ålund 1999, 111).

It is important to briefly clarify the meaning and usage of 'political opportunities'. According to Sökefeld (2006, 269), they "refer to the structural, including institutional,

conditions that enable the rise of social movements." It is the politicisation of migrants and minorities that is reflected in these opportunities (and conversely, limitations) in multiple ways. It is not only self-perceived grievances of minorities, but also the larger structural conditions that create the need for a social movement, and subsequently, allow for the creation of a sense of shared lived experience, and in extreme cases such as diasporas, identity.

Through a thorough process of coding, I have observed two major ways in which political opportunities have affected the course of diasporic mobilisation; as an *external* or *internal differentiation*. The external kind is based on the Swedish population's self-differentiation from immigrants, which projects and structures a variety of opportunities and limitations for different groups of immigrants. The internal kind, on the other hand, is exemplified through the immigrants differentiating themselves from the Swedish majority population, as well as having an intra-group differentiation in lieu of class.

External Differentiation via a Hierarchy of Immigrants

> I feel as if I have to try to have some sort of advantage [over a Swede]. And I need to really show that I'm something good. That I am not the way they think about refugees, but to really prove myself.
>
> Irma, refugee from Bosnia & Herzegovina

Overwhelmingly, as Irma's quote suggests, my informants have felt that there is a differentiation between Swedes and immigrants that is enforced by Swedes themselves. Seven of my informants, including all but one of the refugee informants, discussed this idea of a hierarchised scheme when it comes to the way Swedes approach different types of immigrants. Two of my second generation informants also mentioned it while reflecting on how Yugoslav migrants used to be seen by Swedes in contrast to how they are seen nowadays. The

hierarchisation seems to fall along socio-cultural and racial lines and is not exclusive to Sweden but is a larger trend in Western Europe and the 'West' (Ålund 1999; Ford 2011).

Over a decade ago, Marita Eastmond (1998, 176) noted that former Yugoslavs are seen as culturally closer to Swedes than African or Asian migrants, for example. At the same time, Aleksandra Ålund (1999) observed the promotion of a cultural dichotomy of "Swedish vs. Ethnic," which implies a "natural order" of cultures and ethnicities. A natural order where the Swedish culture is naturally "superior" to other cultures (ibid., 107-8). Allan Pred (2000) also discussed in long detail the experiences of immigrants of colour and their struggles in the everyday context of Sweden – conditions that Caucasian immigrants do not necessarily face.

The concept of a hierarchised approach to migrants is a prominent way how my informants seem to understand the Swedish social context in regards to immigration. This view aligns with the main findings of Robert Ford's (2011) research on immigrant hierarchies in the United Kingdom. He observed a "consistent hierarchy of preferences between immigrant groups, with white and culturally more proximate immigrant groups [being] less opposed than non-white and culturally more distinct immigrants" (ibid., 107). This can be easily applied to the Swedish context and other Western European countries. The hierarchy can be understood as a ladder-based or pyramid-shaped system (see Figure 1). On the apex are Nordic migrants from neighbouring Denmark, Norway, and Finland. Underneath them are other 'Westerners' from Western Europe and the Anglo-Saxon world: British, Americans, Canadians, Germans, etc. On the very bottom of the pyramid are the 'racially' and 'culturally' most distantly-perceived sub-Saharan Africans.
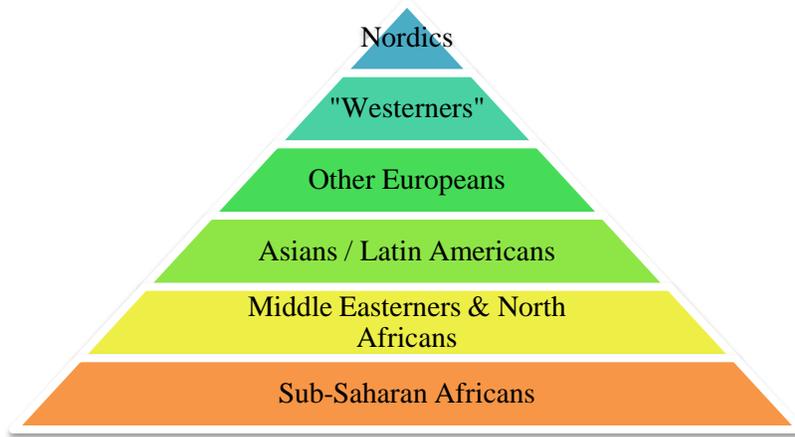
Figure 1: A rendition of the hierarchised immigrant pyramid, as described by some of my informants. It features Nordics on top of the pyramid being the closest to Swedes. Sub -Saharan Africans are located on the bottom of the pyramid, as the least socio-culturally close to Swedes.

The pyramid is both a culturally and racially based scheme. Issues faced by people of colour in Sweden presented by Pred (2000) are reflected in the pyramid itself. As one of my informants said: "One still looks at the colour of your skin, of your complexion, which country you come from." Two of my informants, both blonde-haired and blue-eyed, noted how their looks tend not to 'out' them as not ethnically Swedish, so that they are not necessarily affected in the same way as a person of colour would be, or even just a person of darker complexion. However, people still experience culturally-institutionalised problems due to not being visibly Swedish, especially when it comes to employment opportunities.

Both Eastmond (1998, 176) and Ålund (1999, 108) pointed out that in a Sweden where Swedishness is the normative *status quo*, cultural distinctiveness is often both a social and economic disadvantage. While my informants had a variety of career paths, four directly addressed issues with gaining meaningful employment or experiencing difficulties with the recognition of their educational degrees from abroad. Just as it was the case with many of Povrzanović Frykman's informants in her research on Bosnian refugees' employment opportunities (2012), Jasmina, a labour migrant, experienced many of the same problems with her degree. She now needs to go back to university and fulfil the course requirements to get the Swedish equivalent of her degree from Bosnia, before she can work in her field. As this is not

free for non-citizens at the university level, she is working a job where she is overqualified and underpaid, in order to save up for the Swedish degree.

The hardship many refugees faced when they had to flee Bosnia & Herzegovina and settle in Sweden was vividly described by my informant Andrea. Although she is a second generation migrant and has not experienced the war firsthand, she has worked directly with Bosnian refugees during the conflict. In line with hundreds of other stories of forced migration, she notes the hardship of the people she tried to help:

> When I worked at the welfare department, it looked as if it was harder for those people because they had lost the lives they had, and now they have to rebuild their entire life from scratch. I think they have acclimatised to Sweden rather well. But I still think there is something missing, when you think about what they had before [in the former Yugoslavia].

Due to my sampling technique, I ended up having informants who were either too young to remember much of the war in the first place, or were too young to have had any employment experience in the former Yugoslavia. This allowed most of them not to have had to experience the re-education that the Swedish government offered (Povrzanović Frykman 2012, 77) or have major problems with their previous careers being shattered, as Andrea mentioned. However, some did note difficulties with getting employment in general, because of as simple of a thing as a name – much like what Eastmond (1998) discussed in her work. Kenan faced severe obstacles with finding employment after getting his Master of Arts degree in Sweden. According to him, despite his degree being from a Swedish university and him being a Swedish citizen, it is his name that makes all the difference:

> For me, the problem is to get to a job interview in the first place, because I have a last name that is not Swedish. I am automatically placed in the group whose resumes are thrown into the rubbish bin first, solely based on the last name.

Somewhat to my surprise, some of my informants themselves utilise the pyramid scheme in their everyday lives and re-produce the hegemonic power of inequality embedded in it, despite themselves being part of the people who are oppressed by it. While some have a positive twist to the idea of cultural proximity to Swedes ("We are Europeans after all and Swedes notice that"), others recognise the issues with it, but nonetheless still see some benefit to it as well. It is pragmaticism at its best, or worst for that matter. Ahmed, for example, recognised both sides of the coin, but seemed to appreciate what the hierarchy can do for him personally:

> On the one hand it is sad that they make this big difference, but on the other hand it is good for some foreigners. Because I don't want to be lumped together as someone from Somalia, or someone from Iraq. But, to be honest, also not with an American. Why should I? I know who I am, I know my identity, where I am from, and it is important to me that they know the difference. [...] Now, you cannot claim that an entire nation is one way or another. But then again, I think we all paint our own image of ourselves individually.

Jasmina was rather critical of some groups lower down the pyramid, aligning with general Swedish sentiments of late. While often these things are not talked about out loud, or are vilified when expressed in the context of an 'enlightened western society' (Pred 2000, 186-223), Jasmina was quite candid in her criticism of some national groups in the lower ranks of the pyramid. Both Jasmina's and Ahmed's approach lend themselves to the *othering* and "cultural distancing" of non-Swedish people, in turn allowing ourselves to feel closer to Swedes than the group being *othered*. This aligns with a general shift to the right in both Swedish politics and social attitudes over the past few decades. This is not only evident via election results or scholarship by authors like Nordin (2005) and Pred (2000), but it is also through how ordinary people live their lives in Sweden.

Although these external differentiations can be very powerful, especially because they are often structurally-imposed, the *internal* differentiations they perceive carry their weight, as well.

The process of differentiation from each other and identity re-affirmation is not an unidirectional process. Swedes do it, but so do the immigrants. As I will discuss next, these differentiations coming from the immigrants themselves often facilitate strongly 'naturalised' and fixed notions of both diasporic (i.e. Yugoslavian/Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian) and Swedish identities.

Internal Differentiations: Mentality Clashes and Class Issues

In many ways, the people of the former Yugoslavia have a very clear idea of their own identity, cultural belonging, and ways of socialising in regards to other nations or larger cultural groups, which is often referred to in Serbo-Croatian as *mentalitet* (mentality). The idea of a shared mentality across the former Yugoslavia, despite of the nationalism and processes of state disintegration (also known as 'Balkanisation'), is rather prevalent, especially when contrasted to other cultures and geographies. This specific concept of mentality came up quite often in conversations with my informants, and was most often used to emphasise the difference that the former Yugoslavs experienced when it came to dealing with Swedes. Five informants directly addressed this issue of the "Swedish mentality," and how dramatically different it is from "our mentality."[40]

Some of my informants who came to Sweden as children mentioned difficulties with adapting at first, mainly due to a perceived lack of interest in socialising from Swedish children. This also extends to a general view that socialising is not as important to Swedes as it is for former Yugoslavs. Vesna, 37 now, remembers when she first came to Sweden with her mother in 1986 and had a hard time adapting due to this very problem:

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[40] Again, "our mentality" was unanimously considered as the mentality of the people from "our parts" of Europe. This transcended religious or ethnic lines, and was understood more as a cultural connection and affiliation that the people of the former Yugoslavia shared.

> I felt very alone. Swedish kids, Swedish people are not as social as our people, and it was very hard on me the first few years. But not afterwards. After a few years, once you learn the language and everything, their culture, it becomes easier.

Kenan, who fled the Bosnian conflict at the age of 18, discussed his experiences of coping with adaptation along with other immigrant teenagers. The "shared anguish" amongst the refugee children made them spend more time together, while having very little initial contact with Swedes. While he spent a lot of time with other refugee children from the former Yugoslavia, he also spent more time with other non-Yugoslav refugee children than he did with Swedes. Overwhelmingly, though, these issues changed with the acquisition of Swedish language skills. This was also the case for Jasmina, a labour migrant without any Swedish skills when she moved to Sweden. She noted the benefit of her moving on her own, without any family or friends, toward her success at integrating very fast to Swedish society and learning Swedish:

> I have been lucky from the get go here in Sweden, to have the opportunity to be surrounded by Swedes. To both work and live with Swedes. Maybe that is why I had a better foundation to learn Swedish – I was listening to it all the time.

The fact that she did not have a family, whom she would possibly spend most of her time with, allowed her to extend her social circle and fully immerse herself into Swedish culture and language. Her opinions on the mentality differences between Swedes and former Yugoslavs were in stark contrast to the other informants. She dispelled the myth of Swedes as cold or inapproachable, or socially inept, as they are often characterised by former Yugoslavs. She went to directly compare them to people from the former Yugoslavia and said: "We are warm on words, 'warm, social, welcoming,' but only on words; they are more in practice." Many Bosnian refugees during the war had similar experiences of Swedes helping them once they arrived in refugee camps, as Povrzanović Frykman (2012) noted in her research. Svjetlana, another refugee, remembers having many Swedish friends when her family first arrived to Sweden, and how they

helped them out: "Those were people who translated for us, who helped us out. The Swedes were really understanding and if you lived in the camp first, you got an apartment quite quickly. They helped us out a lot."

While the sense of alienation from and inaccessibility of Swedish society was not the experience of all my informants, the differences in mentality, especially in regards to social life, were a prevalent point of discussion. Senad, who originally moved to study in Sweden, discussed the complexity of getting to know Swedish people and Swedish culture to its fullest. As a university student in Lund, he struggled with making friendships and meaningful relationships, especially in comparison to his social life in a number of places he lived previously. Only after finishing university and getting romantically involved with a Swedish person, allowed him to see Sweden in a different way.

As Ahmed pointed out, one needs to find the "thin golden line, where I can balance both [the Bosnian and Swedish]." Reaching that thin line is further complicated by class issues within the diasporic groups themselves. This was especially prominent as an inter-group differentiation based on class and migration backgrounds. In my interviews, especially with the 'old migration' migrants (i.e. non-refugee, *gastarbeiter*), there seemed to be a clear sense of difference between old and new migrants, and those discussions often featured class-based discourse of difference.

While I expected some sort of recognition of differences between the old Yugoslav *gastarbeiter* migration and the refugees, the division was surprisingly sharp, especially from the *gastarbeiter*-camp. The large influx of refugees in the 1990s seems to have not only altered the way that Swedes looked at immigrants, but it also seems to have influenced the way the already established immigrants saw the newcomers. On top of the 41,000 Yugoslav labour migrants in

Sweden in 1990[41], within a year of the Bosnian War over 42,000 refugees came from Bosnia & Herzegovina alone and were granted permanent residency on humanitarian grounds. Once Swedes started shifting their opinions of immigrants due to the high volumes of refugees, the *gastarbeiter* responded negatively to the backlash unduly directed not just at the refugees, but towards them too. However, they responded negatively towards the refugees themselves, creating a class differentiation of sorts.

Before the war, as Goeke (2011, 746) mentioned, workers from the former Yugoslavia were considered "exemplary pupils of the integration process" and hard workers. This idea of the hard-working Yugoslav worker, commonly known as *Jugović* in *gastarbeiter*-circles[42], was crucial in for the differentiation from the incoming refugees. Maja and Đorđe, both second generation migrants, addressed this idea of a shifting popular perception of former Yugoslavs in Sweden (from positive to negative) as primarily the fault of the newcomer refugees. Maja remembers how her grandmother's friends would always compliment Yugoslavs as industrious, which Maja re-affirms as being because they had a goal: "Let me just earn enough to buy a house and then I'm going back!" Nowadays, all she hears is criticism, and she herself admits that "now it seems as if everyone is on welfare," echoing the popular perception that refugees are predominantly unemployed, have no wish to get meaningful employment, and abuse the welfare system. As another informant said, sarcastically: "However small or large it [the welfare benefit] may be, it is regular and secure. Which means, it is perfectly good. Whatever you may get monthly, without actually doing any work – amazing!"

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[41] According to Statistics Sweden (2014), by the end of 1990 there were 41,053 non-naturalised citizens of the former Yugoslavia residing in Sweden. The number of Yugoslav citizens in Sweden never dropped under 38,000 since 1973, and was relatively consistent between 38,000 and 42,000.

[42] Commonly used phrase across the diasporic communities in Europe. The word *Jugović* (plural *Jugovići*) is a play on their Yugoslav background (Jugo-), and the very common suffix for last names in the former Yugoslavia, -ić.

The class differentiation that Đorđe makes between the *Jugovići* and refugees has also a strong geographical element to it. He reaffirms the idea of the hard-working *gastarbeiter* saying that they were amazing advertising, but that it all changed with the refugees:

> But after the war... You know what, the people who came are, I don't wanna say... garbage. Many... Just go to Malmö, and you will see the difference. The difference between the Lund and Malmö *Jugovići* – they are polar opposites! Oh my! It's like Mars and the world [*sic*]!

He goes further to compare the Lund *Jugovići* to a highly educated, hard-working, but somehow almost bourgeois-imagined group, despite their working-class roots. The newcomers, contrastingly, are presented as lazy, money-focused and tacky (or lacking class). Furthermore, the *Jugovići* are quintessentially 'more Swedish' than the refugees: "We have adapted to this [Swedish] lifestyle more. We get degrees, we work, we socialise with Swedes. When you go to Malmö, people still wear crosses, gold, drive BMWs." While in reality few would complain about owning a BMW, it is the element of 'lacking class' that is connected to the imagery Đorđe perpetuates of the refugees.[43]

The predominantly judgemental images of refugees portrayed in Swedish (and Western European) media and public opinion have clearly contributed to a fragmentation of identities of a group of people stemming from the same place, but coming from two different eras. It is not surprising then that some people who have actively reflected on their identity have struggled with their self-identification. For Vesna, her sense of being Swedish is intrinsically tied to being middle class, and not working class. Being able to perform a middle class identity, and feeling as if it is an authentic self, was crucial to her:

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[43] The mentioning of crosses and gold as tasteless and tacky refers to many uneducated, low class people in the former Yugoslavia who wear golden crosses on chains, and thick golden necklaces and bracelets. This is an aspect of culture and class (or arguably, lack thereof) that is prevalent in the former Yugoslavia and is often looked at critically by the middle and upper classes of society. It often signifies a lack of education and is associated with rural 'mentalities,' or urban mentalities corrupted by an influx of rural populations to cities.

> For me it has a lot to do with belonging to a middle class right now. That makes me feel much more Swedish and much more accepted. I behave and I know Swedish in a Swedish way, in a Swedish middle class way, and then I'm read as a Swedish person because of that. It took me 15 years! [laughing]

While theoretically political opportunities remain favourable for immigrant congregation and the development of a diasporic identities, practically there are numerous caveats that complicate the situation. Interlocking class relations, hierarchised cultural relations, as well as varied majority-minority relations all contribute to a complex landscape of opportunities and limitations for diasporic identity creation. There is a range of spaces in the everyday lives of immigrants that remind them that despite all the benefits that Sweden might provide them with, it is ultimately an *imperfect* fit. This imperfection provides a space for reflecting toward the homeland and the creation and maintenance of transnational connections, both in regards to identity and practice. For some the fit is better than for others and the varying degrees of commitment to the diasporic identity and community are easily noticeable. In the following sub-chapter, I will discuss this variance in diasporic self-identifications, along with the discursive frames used for the conceptualisation and facilitation of those very identities.

2. Facilitating Master Frames for Diasporic Identification and Belonging

The political opportunities and limitations that the Swedish state and population create for immigrants are only one aspect of the social mobilisation of diasporic communities. In this sub-chapter I will discuss my findings in regards to discursive master frames as ways in which the imagination of diasporic communities is activated from within the national group itself (Sökefeld 2006, 267). From the conversations I had with my informants about their sense of personal and national identity, and master frames that perpetuate these ideas, a few poignant

ideas emerged. Identification with a national identity has been a nearly universally accepted concept amongst my informants, while the concept and experience of diaspora was a hotly contested one. The often traumatic experiences of war and nationalism (both in the former Yugoslavia and the new diasporic communities in Sweden) were also identified as potential master frames for the creation and maintenance of an imagination for a national diasporic community in Sweden.

A Sense of Diasporic and Transnational Belonging

As noted in Chapter Three, primordial ideas of national belonging are still common amongst nationalists and the general public. They are often accepted uncritically by the public, while scholarship has largely distanced itself from such thinking. In the conversations with my informants, I have noticed an uncritical approach by some when it came to the idea of diasporic belonging. Mainly, this reflected itself in my informants believing they are diasporic automatically because they were born outside of Sweden. This was as much a reflection of citizenship as it was of ethnic belonging, as Ahmed and Svjetlana both noted that they are not Swedish since they are not *ethnically* Swedes despite being Swedish citizens.

A more critical version of this primordialist-based master frame of national identity can be seen through the idea of culture. Senad, while being critical of usual national identity politics, identifies his connection to the diaspora and his national identity through cultural and traditional belonging. He accepts his ethnicity and nationality as fact, while emphasising culture as an aspect of understanding his identity:

> But I am ethnically and nationally a Bosnian and a Bosniak. In that traditional-cultural idea of Bosniandom, Herzegoviniandom, and Bosniakdom, you can say. Because if I look at my parents... But is it one of my most important identities, no. There are far more important ones...

The cultural aspect while being important, is also heavily tied to the sphere of the family, as a representative of a culture from the homeland. Kenan, who moved as an 18-year-old and was a largely formed personality when he came to Sweden, noted his relationship to the diaspora through his family. While he himself does not necessarily feel as an active or even self-identifying member of the diaspora, he does feel his parents' participation in the diasporic community makes him diasporic by proxy, whatever that may entail:

> I feel as if I am part of the community because my parents are part of that community, my entire family is part of that community, and a lot of my closest friends are part of that community. But do I feel some sort of connectedness with them solely because we come from the same country, whether Bosnia or the former Yugoslavia? Not really.

On the other hand, second generation migrants tended not to identify with the diaspora as much, with the notable exception of one who identified with the Serbian diaspora. The identification, again, was due to both her parents coming from Serbia and having that cultural connection from a young age. In Maja's case, these cultural connections trickled down to her children as well (also born in Sweden), who not only participate in diasporic organisations but regularly travel with their grandparents to Serbia for extended periods.

It is important to note the idea of active participation and performance as being part of a sense of belonging for some informants. Just as Maja understands her identity through the performance of transnational activities, such as travel to the homeland and diasporic organisation participation, others have also discussed these ideas. Merima, who is married to a Bosnian man, understands her belonging to a diasporic community through her actions, more than a self-

identificatory process. Aside from travelling to Bosnia and owning property there (which are also participatory aspects), she notes that her family is part of the diaspora simply "because we are still interested, and we watch our television [*laughs*]! That way I do not feel as if we are that distant."

As a mother of two young children, Merima noted how she would not want to withhold a part of her childrens' identity from them by not actively exposing them to it. In a fundamentally primordial fashion, she projects the Bosnian identity onto her children through the actions she takes to ensure that they eventually recognise themselves as part of the Bosnian national community. While she recognises the importance of integration within Swedish society, she emphasises safeguarding of one's own tradition, especially for the generation of people who experienced the Bosnian War. In a tragicomic example, she boils down her fears about what could happen to her children if they were not properly 'initiated' into their Bosnian identity:

> There are many parents who talk only in Swedish with their children. And when they go to Bosnia, they do not know how to talk to their grandma or grandpa, or play or talk with kids there...

By noticing this common phenomenon amongst second generation migrant children (Mesarić Žabčić 2006), Merima unknowingly points out the fallacies of primordial thinking: if you do not know you are Bosnian and if you do not practice that Bosnianness, you are effectively not Bosnian. In a sense, this ties in with Fox and Miller-Idriss' (2008) ideas on the everyday reproduction of national identities through the paradigms of talking / choosing / consuming / performing the nation. Though their theory is not based on diasporas but on people living within their country of origin, it is easily applicable in a transnational social field of the diaspora. The primordialist master frame of identity becomes more complicated in this way, which most informants noted in our conversations.

After years in Sweden, some of my informants recognised their self-perception as changing and them adopting parts of what is considered 'culturally Swedish' into their own everyday lives. For some people the identity question has gotten to be somewhat confusing, like for Merima who left Bosnia & Herzegovina at the age of 10, who says: "I cannot even tell where I am from anymore. [...] But it is difficult now. Since we have many places to live. Nowadays, I just say that my home is where my family is." Others, like Milan, a second generation migrant, never experienced a confusion of identity in the first place. For him, his identity was based not on nationality but on what his family practiced, which was a hybridised Serbo-Swedish culture: "I mean, I do enjoy knowing my culture, and what I mean when I say 'culture' is what we do at home. How *we* celebrate those holidays. How *we* socialise for those holidays."

An interesting observation came from Senad, who claimed that although he is a "child of Bosnia," he grew to become a "man of Sweden." Spending his entire adult life in Sweden has made him feel a connection to the country too, fortified by some Swedish societal norms and values he identifies with the most. He emphasises the Swedish norm of individualism and social orderliness as especially stimulating aspects of Swedish society and identity; aspects of society he has co-opted for himself. Similarly, the majority of my refugee informants discussed this same aspect of their personality, which they saw as a mixture of Bosnianness and Swedishness. Ahmed and Kenan, both refugees, note how they cannot divorce themselves from their Bosnian upbringing and identity, as they were relatively grownup when they fled to Sweden. At the same time, they (un)willingly took up aspects of Swedish culture into their own behaviour and understanding of selves, further complicating their identities. In line with an ethno-symbolist understanding of nationality, this allows for the maintenance of some sort of 'original,' identity

that is based on previous experience and memory, while being altered by more recent experiences and socialisations.

Vesna, who moved before the war and had a long period of disassociation from the former Yugoslav communities in Malmö, pointed out a fascinating aspect of her identity struggle. She acknowledges, just like Ahmed, Kenan and Merima that she feels like something between a Swede and a person from the former Yugoslavia. However, being a queer female immigrant, she has actively thought about her identity since it is based on an intersectionality of various variables of marginalisation[44]. Yet another variable came into play after the collapse of the former Yugoslavia:

> I don't feel like a Swede, just feel like something in between Swedish, Yugoslavian, and Bosnian. And it is strange becoming a Bosnian, as well. I'm not used to that. I wasn't a part of the war, and I didn't have that experience.

Her complex identity as a queer female immigrant was further complicated as her cultural and national roots were displaced from afar. While being born in the Bosnian republic within the former Yugoslavia, for her family Bosnianness was overshadowed by a sense of a nation-wide Yugoslavianness. When the country fell apart through a series of conflicts, she struggled with her self-identification. Are you still a Yugoslav if there is no Yugoslavia, or are you a Bosnian now because that is a new state in place of the old one? This is also telling through second generation migrants' usage of the term *Jugović*. The term is used to (sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously) differentiate between the 'old migration' of Yugoslavs and the more recent refugee migrants from the former Yugoslavia. It is also a term that none of my refugee informants used and it seemed like an exclusively *gastarbeiter*-phenomenon.

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[44] "I think I've thought much more about my identity and the different parts which my identity contains than a regular Swedish person. I'm a woman, I'm gay, I'm an immigrant. You are forced to... well, not forced to, but I have thought a lot about it. And have had some experiences, good and bad, because of those things."

This fluidity of identity, while acknowledged by many informants, has at times been questioned from within the diasporic communities themselves, especially when they went against larger 'national interests.' From my interviews, it seems as if most of the time those master frames of national identity were not threatened by Swedish influences but that the threats came from within the Yugoslav diasporic groups themselves. People from mixed marriages (three in my sample), all experienced different degrees of difficulties during the conflicts in Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia. Some experiences were relatively benign, such as people asking "whose side I'm on," which is what Andrea dealt with throughout the conflicts. She had a ready answer to the questioners: "When you ask me that, it is as if I would have to choose who I like better, my mom or my dad. And I can never do that. Neither one [Croatia or Serbia] are right, but I cannot choose. Why would I?"

Others, like Irma's parents who are a mixed Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Muslim [Bosniak] couple, had such severe issues with the Bosniak community in the small town they lived in in Sweden that they decided to move to Malmö the first opportunity they got, in order to escape the hostile environment. Nationalist ideologies within the master frames played a big role here, influencing the everyday lives of people who wanted nothing to do with them but were unable to escape their reach. For some, the experiences within the diasporic communities, but also from back in the former Yugoslav republics, assisted in forming a critical (and sometimes hostile) stance toward diasporic communities. For others, it fuelled a straight-out rejection of identifying with the diaspora and an overall negative outlook on former Yugoslavs in Sweden.

The negative image that the diasporic communities have developed back in the former Yugoslavia was expressed most articulately by Jasmina. She, like many others (including myself), has had the image of the diaspora marred by experiences of diasporic people visiting her

hometown every summer for the holidays. While discussing why she fervently rejects being "put in the same bucket" with "the diaspora," Jasmina recalls her disgust with the way diasporic people would behave when they returned to her hometown in Serbia:

> Of all the things I hate, I hate the most our diaspora in the summer. Sinan Sakić [a *turbo-folk* singer] blasting out of the open window in the car; some 'souped up' car, which I *now* know is bought on a loan, leasing, and all that other stuff. You put your elbow out the window, put your sunglasses on, spend money and talk about how *WOW* the West and Europe are. When our people would return from Germany, Sweden, wherever, and would talk about how they lived there, I had the feeling that those were different planets. That it's some heaven on earth, where you drink ambrosia, and where everyone is in big white togas, and where everything is good, everyone travels, no one does any work; you pick money from some trees. You know? [That's how] Our diaspora people present the West to us poor folk down in the Balkans. And once I got here and saw all of this, *now especially* I have no wish to be lumped together with those diasporic people. I am not diasporic.

This view is also shared by Đorđe, as noted previously, but one that is based on class and geographical differentiation: he only sees the Malmö diaspora in that light ("When you go to Malmö, people still wear crosses, gold, drive BMWs"). Ironically, it was the *gastarbeiter* migrants who started the trend, since their main goal was to earn enough money to secure a good life for themselves back in the former Yugoslavia, hence they funnelled funds into building and developing their properties. Some people, like Vesna, had negative experiences with the diaspora that were more directed toward her personally. Her family had issues with gossip within the community, leading to her choice to disassociate herself from former Yugoslavs and push her to actively try to achieve a 'Swedish identity.'

Kenan and Ahmed, both exiled from their homes as teenagers, had an altogether different issue with being labelled 'diasporic,' or more specifically, being called a *dijasporac*[45]. Their

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[45] *Dijasporac* is the male form of the word that means 'member of the diaspora' in Serbo-Croatian.

issue with the term is due the politics and representational power it carries. Kenan notes how he first identified with being a refugee, like the tens of thousands of Bosnians who came during the conflict. Now, after almost twenty years in Sweden, he struggles with how to label himself – it has been too long for him to call himself a refugee, but he refuses to use the term 'diasporic.' What both him and Ahmed pointed out was the negative connotation that the word often carries, as is evidenced by Jasmina's statement above. More importantly, their dissatisfaction with the term is about the trivialisation of their experience of displacement, as Ahmed puts it:

> I must be honest, and say that I get horribly irritated when I go down [to Bosnia] and someone calls me *dijasporac*. Because that is an ugly word to me. It is somehow in a negative context. I did not just take my car and drive away because I felt like it. I was thrown out. And I cannot come to terms with people calling me *dijasporac*, when I was born there and I am Bosnian. The fact that I was forcefully displaced, and that I live in Sweden now, well, that was not my choice.

Experiences like the ones that Jasmina described taint the image of diasporic people in the former Yugoslavia, leading to the creation of a negative connotation to the term *dijasporac*, or *dijaspora*, which are often used interchangeably. In that light, it is understandable that Ahmed and Kenan would have an issue with the terminology, especially considering their histories and experiences within the Bosnian conflict and its aftermath. This discussion brings us to the next major master frame for former Yugoslav communities, which is the war and nationalism.

War and Nationalism as Master Frames of National Identity

Discussing the war experiences of my informants was a difficult task and one which I intended to leave largely unaddressed when I was planning this project. However, the war came up in every one of my interviews. Indeed, now it is clear to me that it is almost impossible to discuss the diasporas of the former Yugoslavia without talking about the war. Experiences such

as Kenan's and Ahmed's were rather common amongst refugees, as was reflected in my informants' experiences of having to leave their homes and move to Sweden. For them, but also for people who stayed in Bosnia during the war and managed to go through all of the war's hardships, the conflicts are a strong master frame for identity.

Unsurprisingly, in an ethnic conflict, ethnic differences are heightened and focused on, especially for people who are victimised because of their ethnic or religious identity. I tried to steer clear of getting into overly emotional and personal discussions of the war, trying to focus on the changes of one's identity as a result of the war instead. However, I would not be giving due credit to the conflict and its consequences if I did not at least acknowledge the life-threatening situations many people found themselves in, including some of my informants. Though (or maybe precisely because) he did not escape Bosnia during the war, Senad carries emotional scars that influence the way he sees his homeland to this day:

> Bosnia, as a homeland, has given me very little. As a matter of fact, it has given me very ugly memories. Many memories of exclusion, humiliation. Very, very ugly memories. I have many reasons to cut it all off, like some of my friends have done. I had periods where it would have been easier to just cut off that link. Maybe it would have been easier in a way. But in another way, maybe it would have been harder.

The conflicts left concrete and complex emotional and material scars for some, while for others they ushered a period of challenges and changes to their identities. As previously mentioned, Vesna suddenly found herself struggling with not being Yugoslavian any more but now being Bosnian, and wondering how to reconcile that with her own idea of herself. It surely did not help the way that the Swedish media depicted the conflicts in Bosnia & Herzegovina and

Croatia, where Yugoslavia was depicted as the aggressor[46]. Naturally, if a place you have such strong familial and personal/identity connections with is suddenly presented as a villain on the international stage, many might struggle with rationalising their own identity and position towards their homeland. Merima, who was 10 at the time, remembers her family's and environment's constant perpetuation of Bosnian Muslim identity, especially in relation to the Bosnian War:

> In order to hold onto the little of your own when you move to another country, you had to repeat it all the time to yourself, somehow. And [for] us, the children of the war, that is all our parents talked about [i.e. nationalism and the war]. 'You are this, you are that, you are a Bosniak,' etc. And it sticks somehow.

While some had their identities fortified, others had theirs uprooted altogether, some were just confused with the whole situation. Milan's being a second generation migrant from a mixed Serbian-Swedish marriage, who grew up in both a multicultural southern Sweden and in a small multicultural town in Serbia over the summers, gave him an idea of multiculturalism and harmony in inter-ethnic relations. He discussed how his parents had friends from all over the former Yugoslavia, including all religions and ethnic backgrounds, and how, ultimately, "everything turned out so stupid when the war broke out. Everyone started thinking in a completely different way, and I just did not understand that." However, the conflict is still a strong driving force for many peoples' identifications and understandings of themselves as individuals as well as members of larger collectivities. According to Merima, the war reverberated in the diaspora as well:

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[46] At first, it was the remnants of the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) fighting in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 and at the beginning of 1992 in Bosnia & Herzegovina. At least officially, by the end of May 1992 the JNA had withdrawn from Bosnia & Herzegovina, but the fighting had continued through its offspring - the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS). The VRS acted as the Bosnian Serb army in Serb-controlled areas of Bosnia & Herzegovina, but was largely supplied and supported by the newly created Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Malcolm 2002, 238-9).

> The war was present also here, but while the war ended down there and people do not care anymore, here there is a war after the war. And some people behave as if it is the '90s still. They are still in that small world of the '90s, unfortunately.

Nationalist aspects of diasporic communal identity are still heavily present, according to many of my informants. While some have argued that nationalism is weaker in the diaspora than back in the former Yugoslavia, others have claimed the opposite. There are also differing views on what is meant by nationalism. On the one end, we have Andrea who fundamentally questions whether the majority of the former Yugoslavs in Malmö are nationalists, while on the other end we have Merima's stance on the continuation of the war mentality post-war. This continuation is visible in problems inter-ethnic couples still face today, for example. Jasmina experienced backlash from some local former Yugoslav Muslims, when she briefly dated a Serbian man in Malmö. He also experienced backlash from his Serbian diasporic acquaintances and friends for dating a non-Serbian (or more specifically, a Bosniak) woman. Through these practices, borders between the ethnic groups were being thickened and emphasised.

However, it seems as if the situation has been changing in the last few years. During the war in Bosnia and some years after, there was absolutely no mixing with other ethnic groups, which often included even Swedes. Many of my informants shared anecdotes of parents getting into confrontations with their children for not dating within their own diasporic national community but having Swedes as romantic partners. From being a norm in the 1990s, now it is changing, and most significantly in relation to Swedes. These changes were also reflected within my informant group, where three informants were in romantic relationships with Swedes, another three with people from their own ethnic group, and one in a relationship with a person from another ethnic group from the former Yugoslavia.

Beyond romantic interactions, the nationalist master frame is ever-present in the lives of many, often as part of the legacy of the wars and traumas related to them. The indoctrination into a clear Bosnian Muslim identity by her family that Merima experienced seems not to have been just an isolated incident. Jasmina noted this early on when she moved to Sweden and she expressed disdain and disappointment with the situation she came to find within the diasporic communities in Malmö, especially in regards to the youth and second generation migrants:

> They've grown up on this [Swedish] belief that we are all somehow the same, that we should not be divided, especially not like we do back there. But they pride themselves on some Serbian or some Muslim [nationalist] ideas. That is horrible. That was one of the things that surprised me the most, and quite frankly, disappointed me the most, as well.

This nationalist permeation did not only affect the refugees and newcomers in the 1990s, but also some of the older *gasterbeiter* migrants, who suddenly readjusted their views to fit the pervasive nationalist framework from back in the former Yugoslavia. Đorđe, who was born in Sweden by Bosnian (Serb) parents and has even lived in Bosnia for a brief period in the 1980s, nonetheless rejects his Bosnian identity completely. In a simple act of identity performance, he reaffirms that he never supports Bosnia & Herzegovina in any sort of competitive setting but supports Serbia instead. When asked why, he elaborated by presenting a nationalist framework behind his thinking:

> I do not belong to Bosnia. OK, let's say it this way. I can say that I am a Serb, that I am a Serbian Orthodox. I know that you are a Serb, Croat, Muslim, whatever. But everyone who has moved here and says 'I'm from Bosnia' is a Bosnian Muslim. That's when I tell Swedes 'I'm from Bosnia,' they immediately think 'Oh, a Muslim refugee.' And that is not what I am. I was born here. That's why I do not have... it's like a foreign country to me. But I cannot say I am from Serbia, when I am not...

This nationalist-based argument is founded on the priority that is given to the differentiation from the 'war enemy,' in this case the Bosniaks. Out of an irrational fear of being labelled a

Bosnian, which allegedly implies being Muslim and a refugee, by someone he does not know, he is willing to refute his belonging to the place he is from and where he has even lived. Furthermore, the nationalist framing allows for an appropriation of an altogether different identity to fit the larger nationalist discourse, one that is easily digestible and presentable. It is also telling how irrational the stance is considering that previous to this statement Đorđe said that he was an atheist and not religious at all. However, when it came to national identity and belonging, religion instantaneously gained in significance, regardless whether it is a practiced religion or one that is symbolically projected through the lens of nation.

Similarly, Svjetlana, a child of a mixed Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat couple, admits to "maybe cheer[ing] a bit harder for Serbia and Croatia. I do not feel tied to Bosnia & Herzegovina the same way [as to Croatia and Serbia]." Again, this lack of national ties to Bosnia, despite being born there, owning property and having friends and family there, is purely based on the overarching nationalist discourses that shape the political landscape of Bosnia & Herzegovina but also its diasporic communities across Europe and the world. A sense of identity is refined not only along the axis of religion, but also through nationalist framings of ethnicity, history, and understandings of the aggressor-victim dynamics in the Bosnian War.

These larger nationalist discourses and master frames of national identity are present in everyday lives both of people in the former Yugoslavia and in diasporic communities. When nationalism and inter-ethnic hostilities are perpetuated and focused on, it is not surprising to see these ideas as integral in the overall conceptualisation of one's national identity. Beyond one's own identity, the collective understanding of diasporic belonging is heavily shaped by the experiences of war and its consequences. The 'nationalisation' of the older *gastarbeiter*

generation, which according to my informants used to be largely non-nationalist[47], is also indicative of the power of the nationalist master frames within the diasporic communities.

The space for diasporic mobilisation in the Malmö metropolitan area, but also Sweden at large, is clearly present and utilised. In part, this is due to the earlier noted imperfection of the migratory fit from the former Yugoslavia to Sweden. The orientation toward the homeland is also evident in the above noted re-nationalisation of older generations of migrants, but also in the maintenance of a strong nationalist framework for collective identity. While it is understandable that conflicts would have an effect on collective memories and identities, the nationalism from 'back home' transferred quite easily to the Swedish diasporic context. Most of my informants, however, tried to steer clear of nationalist ideologies and emphasised their own anti-nationalist sentiments, at least rhetorically.

The nationalist frameworks at work in the diasporic communities (but also the anti-nationalist currents) provide an interesting context for the Eurovision Song Contest to play out. Theoretically, being an international contest of nations, the ESC should be an almost 'too good to be true' vehicle for the perpetuation of nationalist ideologies and agendas. In the next chapter, I will analyse nationalist master frames perpetuated in the ESC, and discuss the ways in which the contest facilitates a sense of national identity maintenance and its potential for diasporic social mobilisation. The fundamental question here is whether the ESC can actually be seen as a mobilising structure for diasporic communities, or at least a way for the maintenance of already existing diasporic identities via a perpetuation of nationalist symbolism.

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[47] There were exceptions, of course, especially when it came to ethnic Croats. Some left the former Yugoslavia due to political reasons (many being anti-communists), not solely to seek better employment opportunities abroad. Many of those were already nationalist, long before the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia were even in their inception.

Chapter Six:
National Symbolism, Diasporic Nationalism and
the Eurovision Song Contest

1. Performing the Nation on the Eurovision Stage

In the simplest of terms, the Eurovision Song Contest is an annual international music competition. However, the event that started off as an attempt at pan-(West)European technical cooperation in the post-war era ended up becoming the most watched non-sporting televised event in the world. The sheer scale of the geographical reach of the contest is staggering and indicates its importance in the global mediascape. Not only have there been over 40 participating countries from across Europe, but it has been broadcast as far as Australia, Canada and China.[48]

Being Europe's biggest cultural media event is largely helped by Eurovision having all the makings of a spectacle – the drama, the excitement and an unparalleled audio-visual impact. It is a public arena where a multiplicity of narratives are exhibited, multi-scalar but inter-linked: from personal narratives of the artists and national narratives of the countries they are representing, to larger international narratives of geopolitical relations in Europe and the world. It is a stage where the national is heightened due to Eurovision's competitive staging, in line with other (mainly sporting) events, such as the FIFA World Cup, UEFA European Championship or the Olympic Games.

In her research on South Korea's hosting of the 2002 FIFA World Cup, Rachael Miyung Joo (2006, 57) concluded that "Koreans located elsewhere in the world were likewise connected

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[48] While Australia has a decades-long relationship with live broadcasting the contest, Canada and China have recently started airing the contest. However, it is not live but months after the actual contest takes place. Chinese broadcaster CCTV, aired the 2013 edition of the contest (Eurovision 2013), while Canadian OutTV broadcast the 2014 edition of the contest (Eurovision Canada 2014).

through the representations of national crowds. All those who participated in the World Cup –

whether as viewers, netizens, shoppers, or spectators – combined to produce a national

commodity spectacle." Similarly, using Billig's theory of banal nationalism, Sabelo Ndlovu-

Gatsheni (2011, 291) argues that for South Africans, the hosting of the World Cup in 2010 led to

"nationalism and patriotism [to become] [...] ubiquitous during the one-month long tournament"

and that ultimately "the emotional gains of the World Cup cannot be quantified" (ibid., 292). If

we look at Eurovision from a similar stance, can we argue that Eurovision helps facilitate a sense

of national belonging for diasporic communities? Is Eurovision a potential mobilising structure

for diasporic communities, or maybe a little shot or injection of national pride that helps stir

those unquantifiable "emotional gains" toward the nation?

Before presenting and analysing the insights from my interviews, I first need to address

Eurovision's long history of national representations in regards to the former Yugoslav countries.

As presented in Chapter Three, the contest has a well-researched history of national

representations. The literature suggests that Eurovision is quite often a stage for the perpetuation

of national symbolism and values, as facilitated through its audio-visual channels. In the

following section, I will present my analysis of the live performances on the Eurovision stage of

select former Yugoslav republics – Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia.

This will provide a better contextual understanding of the ways those countries utilise Eurovision

as a way to present imaginations of the nation for domestic and international consumption.

The Performance Analysis Process

My analysis of Eurovision performances from the Serbo-Croatian speaking former

Yugoslav countries totalled fifty-seven performances over the span of twenty-four years. The

first performance analysed was Yugoslavia's only winning entry from 1989, *Rock me*. The specific year has been chosen due to its importance in the larger socio-political shifts in Europe, as they developed from the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the fall of the Iron Curtain. The contest in 1989 was held a few months prior to the monumental changes in Berlin (the contest was held in April, while the Wall officially fell in November), but it is important to see how the former country represented itself in Eurovision just before and after the political liberalisation of Eastern Europe began.

Prior to delving into the actual analysis, I will briefly explain my process in the performance analysis, and how I delineated national symbols. As noted in the methods chapter, my analysis involved identifying audible (compositional and vocal), textual (lyrical) and visual (performance) symbols that allude to national belonging and identity. After listening to each of the songs and watching the performances multiple times[49], I have created a scale of national symbolism that is present in each of the three aspects. It is important to note that this is not a 'scientific' scale by any means. Its main purpose was to enable an easier overview of trends and patterns over the years and across countries. I have created the scale based on a spectrum from national to international symbolism (from +2 to -2), for each of the three categories (audible, textual, and visual). The allocated numeric values correspond to the following observations[50]:

-2	Completely foreign appeal / performance
-1	An international 'flavour' to the song / performance
0	Non-national, mainstream sound / performance
+1	Some national symbolism
+2	Explicit / strong national symbolism

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[49] Appendix C features a list with links to videos of the 57 live performances used in the analysis.

[50] The complete list of all the numeric values allocated to each of the performances is provided in Appendix D.

I must emphasise the fluidity in the understanding of national symbols and to what purpose those are being used. My own positionality and knowledge of national symbols have been critical in the construction of the scale and the allocation of the appropriate scores. As much of an enabling factor as my positionality as a well-educated Bosnian who has experienced the nationalist conflict in Bosnia & Herzegovina is, it has also its limitations. I am not an expert on national symbolism by any means, and the scale should be understood accordingly. It is not a definite source of national symbolism within the analysed performances, and it should be looked at critically – there are surely more symbolisms that have escaped me, as has been the case with some previous scholarly work on the contest. That being said, the scale is not arbitrary either, and it is based on a variety of noted symbolisms within the three categories observed.

Major Trends and Observations in the Performances

Over the twenty-four years encompassed in my analysis, it is not difficult to notice some trends in the songs chosen to represent the former Yugoslavia and its successor states in the ESC. The first thing to note is the frequency of national symbolism occurrences within these fifty-seven performances. Fifteen songs (26%) had no noticeable national or international symbolic value to them, meaning they got a score of 0. Interestingly enough, the same number of performances has been identified as having national symbolism and international symbolism – twenty songs (35%) each. Only two songs had conflicting symbolisms when it came to their musical/audible aspects and their visual presentation – the Croatian song in 1995, and Serbian song in 2007 (see Figure 2). None of the songs fulfilled all three criteria (audible, textual, and visual) in regard to international appeal, while six songs (11%) fulfilled all three criteria for national symbolism. From those six songs, four were in 2005 and 2006, representing a peak in national symbolism with the performances. However, at the same time as the two performances

in 2005 had heavy national symbolism (Croatia, and Serbia & Montenegro), the Bosnian song went in quite the opposite direction – it was so 'mainstream pop' that it seemed as if it were disassociating itself from the national, actively aiming for an international quality.

Figure 2: Number of songs differentiated by their given national symbolism score, as per the author's analysis.
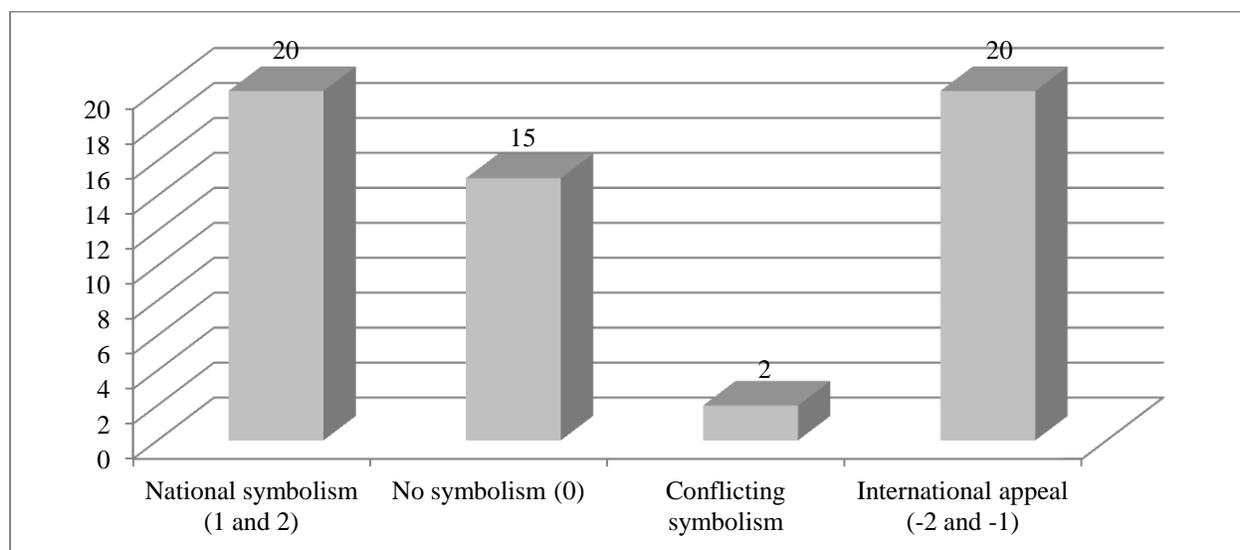
Focusing on state-level trends yields some interesting patterns (see Figure 3). Out of the eighteen Bosnian songs, seven had national symbolism (39%), nine had an international appeal (50%), while two were without any national or international symbolism (1%). Croatia on the other hand, has been much more neutral with their representations. As many as 43% (nine out of twenty-one) of Croatian performances had neither international or national symbolism and associations, while six (29%) featured national symbolism and only five (24%) featured international associations. One of the Croatian songs featured mixed (inter)national messages. Montenegro has only participated five times, and none of its songs have had any national symbolism. Two of the songs (40%) were relatively international in their performances and musical qualities, one being a rap-dubstep song (in 2013) and the other one a German-penned retro pop number (in 2009).

Interestingly, Serbia is the country that has had the strongest patterns here. While the first song representing Serbia as an independent country (in 2007) sent mixed signals to Europe, the majority of its seven representations had quite clear national symbolism. Four (57%) songs had national symbolism, while only one song (14%) had an international appeal. The union of Serbia and Montenegro (2004-05) saw both of its songs feature national symbols quite prominently, while the former Yugoslavia saw the opposite trend 1989-91, where the songs featured international flavours in favour of national ones.

Figure 3: National and international symbolism scores by country, as per the author's analysis.
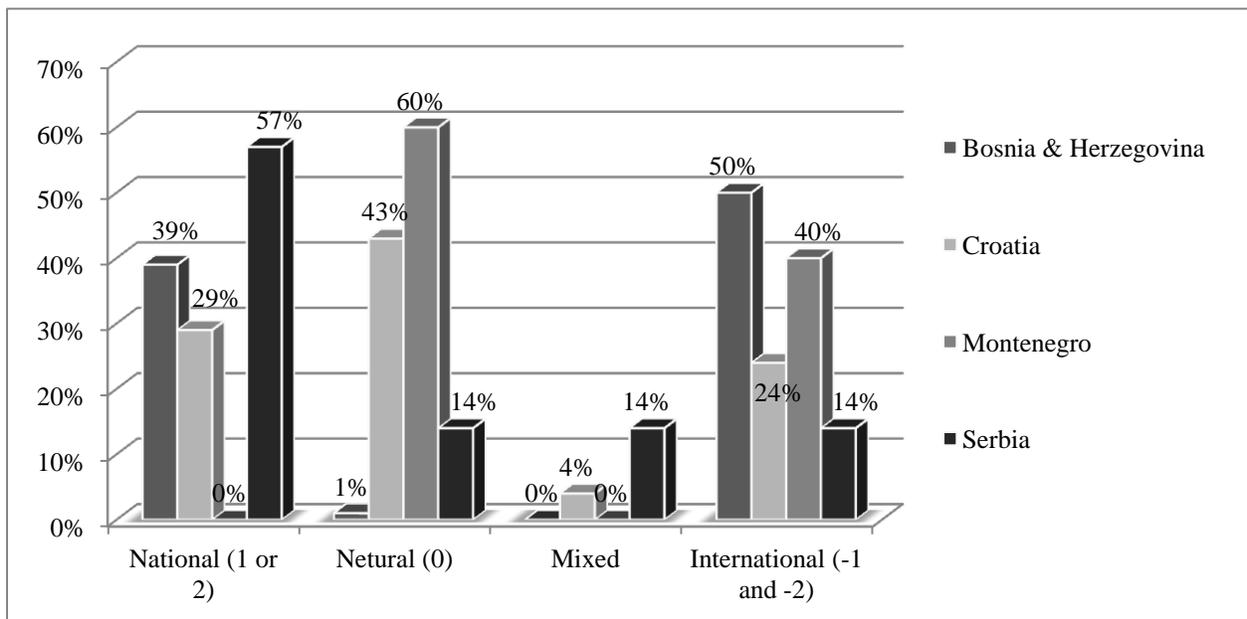
We should note the way the former Yugoslavia represented itself in the last few years before its collapse, in the period between 1989 and 1991. In 1992, the song representing Yugoslavia was actually representing the new union of Montenegro and Serbia, which was established after the other federal republics declared independence from the former Yugoslavia by April 1992. In the period of 1989-91, the songs tended to be non-national, and arguably even had an international flavour to them. The 1989 entry, *Rock me*, which even won the contest,

Image 2: Tajči performing *Hajde da ludujemo* in 1990. (Snapshot from the live performance video; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kA3fnvVAkSE)

represented the pop-rock scene of Yugoslavia, and was completely devoid of national symbolism. Its successor in 1990, *Hajde da ludujemo* (Let's go crazy) was a mainstream pop song, whose mainstream sound was enhanced by the styling of the singer Tajči, who drew inspiration from Marilyn Monroe (Image 2). She ended up a strong 7th in the contest. The 1991

entry by Baby Doll, *Brazil*, was less successful, only managing to place 21st in a field of 22, despite being heavily internationally-themed like the previous two Yugoslav songs. It had a Latin sound to it, featuring maracas and Spanish guitar as its main instruments, along with (gibberish) lyrics listing Latin American countries and Latin dances, such as samba, rumba and cha-cha. In many ways, *Brazil* was emblematic of the chaoticism of national representations in Yugoslavia at the time, with the sharp rise in nationalism and the heightened nationalisation of the social environment from a previous socialist, anti-national one[51].

After the collapse of Yugoslavia, the union of Montenegro and Serbia (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) faced international sanctions, which meant disqualification from the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) and consequently inability to compete in the contest. The flipside of that was that 1993 saw the debut of Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia on the Eurovision stage,

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[51] The chaoticism was also evident in the Yugoslav national selection for their representative at the 1991 contest, "Jugovizija." The nationalist discourse was ever-present in the broadcast, especially during the 40-minute voting segment, as each of the federal broadcasters gave their votes. Ultimately, Baby Doll's victory was also a political victory for Serbia, as she was the representative of the Serbian TV Belgrade. She won by only receiving points from Serb-controlled broadcasters, despite being snubbed by juries from Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia. It seemed as if Serbia was trying to assert its dominance not only in the political scene of the federal state, but also in its cultural and media landscapes, too. For the full video of the voting in Serbo-Croatian see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QI0MnrX2mGw (last accessed September 24, 2014).

with both countries' entries reflecting on the conflict undergoing in their countries. The Bosnian song was titled *Sva bol svijeta* (All the pain of the world), and its lyrics expressed defiance and strength of the Bosnian people and state in light of destruction and misery. The Croatian song, *Don't ever cry*, was a prayer for a fallen 18-year old soldier, ending on a somewhat nationalistic note (sung in English, interestingly): "Don't ever cry, my Croatian sky." Both symbolically and practically, these two entries re-affirmed Bosnian and Croatian claims to sovereignty on an international stage, at a time where it was contested on both the domestic and international fronts.

The state-affirming lyrical content continued in the Bosnian entries for 1994 and 1995. In 1994, the Bosnians sent an inter-ethnic duo from the two warring sides, Alma Čardžić and Dejan Lazarević singing a love ballad about a love defying all odds, including the war. In 1995, the entry *Dvadeset i prvi vijek* (Twenty-First Century) was an indirect criticism of Europe's inability to act and get involved in the Bosnian War. The lyrics express disappointment with Europe:

> The twenty-first century is coming, my dear
> And you're nowhere to be found
> The twenty-first century is coming, my dear
> And happiness is nowhere to be found.

At the same time as it is expressing disappointment, the song expresses a yearning for Europe and its promise of prosperity and peace, in the face of destruction and loss: "Your light is still on, like an everlasting lighthouse / Why was I born, to lose everything I cherish?"

After the wars in Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia, the songs featured fewer, if any, national symbolism until their efforts in 1999. The Bosnian-French song[52] *Putnici* (Travellers)

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[52]The 1999 Contest saw the language restriction lifted for the first time since 1977. This meant that countries did not have to sing in their national languages any longer, but could sing in any language they chose. The Bosnian entry was mixed Bosnian and French, with the Bosnian singer Dino Merlin singing in both languages, while the featured artist, Beatrice Poulot from France, sang only in French.

featured oriental instruments prominently, such as the Turkish/Arabic bağlama[53], djembe drums, and violins. The Croatian entry had also some national elements to it, such as the strong influence of the djembe drums, chimes and ukulele creating a somewhat ethnic feel to the song. The lyrics and title of the song, *Marija Magdalena*, gave the song an obvious religious connotation, making it more 'authentic' than clear-cut mainstream pop. Neither one of the songs had necessarily direct national symbolism, but it was the ethnicisation of the songs via the composition that gave the illusion of national authenticity in a field of largely mainstream Euro-pop songs. This, in effect, made the songs seem more authentic and valuable to both national and international audiences.

The songs representing Croatia (2000-04) and Bosnia & Herzegovina (2002-05) were for the most part mainstream pop songs devoid of any ethnic sounds or visuals. The shift towards mainstream pop also included songs being performed in English, in whole or part, which was seen as a strategy to strengthen chances of victory[54]. This was a strategy used by most countries, and was not specific to the former Yugoslav countries by any means. However, it led to mediocre results for the two countries, with the exception of the 2004 Bosnian entry *In the Disco*, which featured one of the strongest international sounds and looks. The song was staged in a faux disco (including a huge disco ball), with provocative and hyper-sexualised dancing and a very simple, repetitive chorus. The performance was also easily read as queer, due to the way the (male) singer danced and sang, but also the media hype over such a song and performance

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[53] Bağlama is a large string instrument, somewhat similar to the ukulele, but has a different sound to it. It is more often used in Arabic and Turkish music.

[54] The national language requirement was dropped briefly between 1973 and 1976, with considerable success for English-language songs. The most famous Eurovision winner, ABBA, performed *Waterloo* in English in 1974, bringing Sweden its first victory. The Netherlands followed the trend the next year, acquiring another victory for an English song (*Ding-a-Dong* by Teach-In). At the same time, five out of the Top 10 songs in 1975 an d 1976 were in English (including the winner of the 1976 contest, UK's *Save Your Kisses For Me*), showcasing the dominance of English in the world of pop music.

representing Bosnia & Herzegovina – a country with an international reputation still marred by the war, and ideas of 'Balkan tribalism' and backwardness. Just as the peak of the mainstream sounds came, it was the inclusion of Serbia & Montenegro[55] to the contest in 2004, which ushered what Björnberg (2007) labelled the "ethnic turn" in Eurovision[56].

Serbia & Montenegro spearheaded the "ethnic turn" with both of its entries in 2004 and 2005. The surprising success of their first entry, *Lane moje* (My fawn), placing second in a field of 36, led a shift in Croatian and Bosnian songs attempting to play the 'ethnic card.' The performance, aptly analysed by Mitrović (2010), featured a strong ethnic composition via its instrumentalisation: *kaval* (end-blown flute), djembe drums, violins and *šargija* (a Bosnian string instrument). The

visuals featured an image of an idyllic medieval Serbian culture, including ethnicised garments, and the band's simulation of a medieval

Image 3: Željko Joksimović and the Ad Hoc Orchestra performing *Lane moje* at Eurovision 2004 in Istanbul. (Snapshot from the live performance video; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z7OvpjplJ_8)

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[55] The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia changed its constitution and its name in 2003, becoming Serbia & Montenegro.

[56] It is important to note that the winning song that year, Ukraine's "Wild Dances," had also a heavily hybridised ethnic-pop sound and reached pan-European success. However, the larger (and more common) movement was toward ethnic balladry, which was ushered by Serbia & Montenegro's 2004 effort.

troubadour ensemble's look (Image 3).

The 2005 entry came from the Montenegrin part of the country, and strongly played on Montenegrin ethnic sounds and visuals. Performed by a boy band of six, the song featured a red-lit stage, reminiscent of the newly-adopted flag of Montenegro, as the singers performed an array of adapted traditional Montenegrin dances while singing. Audible aspects of the song are also quintessentially Montenegrin with the prominence of violins and drums, but also the chant "Oj ha!," specific to the region. The lyrics also referred to the sea, rivers, and mountains – all symbols of Montenegro. Topographic depictions of the homeland have been rather limited over the years, and in those rare occasions almost exclusively exemplified by the mentioning of mountains, the sea, or rivers (Bosnia & Herzegovina 2007; Croatia 1995, 1996, 2005; Montenegro 2007).

Croatia tried to follow the "ethnic" model set by Serbia & Montenegro, in 2005 and 2006 but to much less success (placing 11th and 12th respectively). The 2005 entry *Vukovi umiru sami* (Wolves die alone) is arguably one of the most nationally symbolic songs from the former Yugoslav countries. It features strong national symbols in all three categories – lyrics, composition and visuals. The song has the most prominent vocal symbolism, with strong ululation singing by the backing vocals, who are composed of three female members of a traditional Croatian music ensemble, Lado. Unlike Serbia & Montenegro's 2004 effort, the song did not showcase a rural idyll but a Central European-influenced, traditional urban Croatian aesthetic.

The 2006 song, *Moja štikla* (My stiletto), sung by Croatia's most famous singer Severina, was also heavily influenced by ethnic symbolism in lyrics, composition and visuals (she was

supported by male Lado members), but failed to achieve much success in the contest[57]. While Severina's styling was meant to predominantly sexualise her and win over the male demographic, the backing Lado singers were dressed in national outfits from the Croatian coastal region of Dalmatia. Along with the visuals, they also yelled gibberish-sounding lyrics throughout the song, which were actually inspired by Croatian traditional folklore nursery rhymes (*brojalica*). They were further read as traditional due to the dialectical specificities of the chants: Zumba, zumba, zumba, zumba / Hay, straw, cheese, salami / Risi bisi, a bigger pot / Red beet, red beet / Africa, paprika![58]

Bosnia & Herzegovina joined the trend in 2006, with the ballad *Lejla*. The song featured ethnic instruments, showcasing qualities of the traditional Bosnian *sevdalinka*[59] songs. The national sound was complemented by ethnicised modern outfits, striking the perfect balance between modern and traditional. The song was a collaboration with the Serbian composer and 2004 representative of Serbia & Montenegro, Željko Joksimović. The ethnicisation of Bosnian songs is a particularly delicate and potentially problematic process, due to the mixed ethnic and religious population and the relative historical recency of the Bosnian conflict. The ethnic songs need to have a 'Bosnian,' yet non ethnically-specific sound. The 2007 Bosnian entry, *Rijeka bez imena* (Nameless River) had an oriental sound to it, mainly due to the prominence of string instruments, including the Turkish bağlama. The overt orientalisation of the song, which would

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[57] For a more detailed analysis of the song and the controversy surrounding it, see Baker (2008b).

[58] *Risi e bisi* (or *risi bisi*) is a traditional Italian dish that is also popular in Dalmatia.

[59] Traditional Bosnian folk song genre, generally love songs with slow or moderate tempo. See footnote 17 on page 54.

usually be associated with the Bosnian Muslim majority, was somewhat balanced by the choice

of a Bosnian Serb (and nominally, Christian Orthodox) performer.[60]

Image 4: Regina waving a red flag during the performance of *Bistra voda* at Eurovision 2009.
(Snapshot from the live performance video;
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwtnCw_hEP8)

While Croatia abandoned the ethnic model after their mediocre results in 2005 and 2006,

and opted to return to a more pop-friendly sound, Bosnia & Herzegovina has had an eclectic

array of song choices. They ranged from rock songs (2010) and typical ballads (2012), to their

2009 entry, *Bistra voda* (Clear water), which was visually, musically and lyrically nostalgic for

the communist past. The outfits of the band were military uniform-inspired, the communist

inspiration further emphasised by a scene during the instrumental part of the song where the

entire band poses together (again, inspired by communist art) and waves a red flag (see Image 4).

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[60] This was further strengthened by the financial assistance the representatives got from the Bosnian Parliament, including the support of both the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Serbs (Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2007).

The composition was also militaristic as it was based on a march-drum, while the lyrics alluded

to the communist past of the country and discursively used militaristic imagery:

> Give birth to me on a dawn in May
> Bathe me in clear water
> I guard a world when all others are gone
> I am guarding you as long as I live

While *Bistra voda* was the only Bosnian song featuring strong national elements in the

2008-12 period, all Bosnian songs have managed to qualify for the final of the competition,

including three Top 10 placements. Croatia, on the other hand, tended to send songs without

national symbolism and generally to poor results. In the period 2007-2012, only two Croatian

songs qualified for the final, placing 21st (2008) and 18th (2009). Their last song, *Mižerja* (2013),

was a *klapa* song – a type of traditional Dalmatian ethnic *a cappella* singing. Despite its national

symbolism, the song failed to impress European audiences and did not qualify for the final.

One of the most striking trends has been in the performances of independent Serbia. Out

of the seven Serbian songs, five have featured national symbolism in their audible aspects, such

as vocalisation and musical composition. *Molitva* (Prayer), Serbia's first and so far only winning

entry, featured the *frula* instrument in the bridge of the song giving a strong ethnic quality. The

2008 song, *Oro* (Traditional Dance), was written by the same composer as *Lane moje* and *Lejla*,

Željko Joksimović, and again featured national Serbian and Balkan instruments. The gimmick-

entry in 2009, *Cipela* (Shoe), prominently featured the accordion, widely considered a traditional

instrument in Serbia and used in most folk and *turbo-folk* music. The song from 2010, *Ovo je*

Balkan (This is the Balkans) was clearly lyrically connected to the Balkan peninsula and Serbia

specifically, as exemplified by the line "Belgrade! Belgrade!", but also musically through the

prominence of the use of the trumpet as used in traditional Roma music in the Balkans[61]. The 2012 entry, again by Željko Joksimović, had musically ethnic flavours due to the use of violins and the *kaval,* but was more restrained in its ethnic sound and visuals than his previous efforts.

Taking into account the results of the analysis, it is clear that the countries analysed have been represented both by songs with limited and extensive national symbolism, as well as some songs with a clear international flavour to them. Whether one is more relevant than the other is not the principal issue here. According to the literature on Eurovision, its representational power is what makes Eurovision so relevant as an international event. It gives the national broadcaster a chance to create a symbolic, yet physically concrete, space for the representation of the nation that is in existence for only three minutes, but thanks to audio-visual technology can be accessed and reproduced indefinitely by its audiences. Having established that a considerable number of songs have actively perpetuated national symbolism (and some directly perpetuating the discourses noted above), the next step is to see whether these discursive master frames and symbolism actually trickle down to the audiences watching the performances. In the next sub-chapter, I will address this issue of Eurovision as a potential facilitator of a sense of national belonging for diasporic communities and analyse the ways that my informants see the contest: both its relevance for them personally and for diasporic communities and their homelands.

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[61] The traditional Balkan qualities of *Ovo je Balkan* were also advanced by the international reputation of its composer, Goran Bregović. The composer has reached international fame for his music, which heavily relies on traditional Roma (Gypsy) music, which is also exemplified in his Eurovision entry to a large extent.

2. Engaging Eurovision, Its Failures and Successes

<u>Aspects of Eurovision's (Ir)Relevance</u>

The common idea of the song contest has become one of a "big European party," as one of my informants joyfully proclaimed when asked about what the contest is like. While the majority of my informants did not consider Eurovision a 'relevant' aspect of their lives, some did consider it an important entertainment event. For many, it represents one of the highlights of May, as one of my informants pondered: "It would be really empty. What are we to do in May? Watch some soccer [*mockingly*]?" Another one dubbed it the "European music championship," although noting that the musical relevance of the contest has diminished and that it is all about sending "the best show" nowadays. Arguably, it has become all style and little substance.

While all of my informants watch and enjoy the show, some do view Eurovision as a waste of money and media attention when compared to "real" issues facing European societies and the world at large. Jasmina was very direct in her criticism of Eurovision and the funds that go into it: "I think it's better if I give that money to a beggar on the street than for a song." Furthermore, the costs associated with the hosting of the contest are even more frustrating for her: "It is easy for Sweden to host Eurovision, but how is it for Serbia – I do not even want to think about that. I think too much money is spent on it, especially for smaller countries like Azerbaijan last year, or Serbia." The exorbitant costs of Eurovision participations and hostings, along with the difficulties with finding sponsorship were also lamented by the Head of Press of the Montenegrin delegation, Sabrija Vulić:

It does cost us a lot [to participate in Eurovision], and we get no return effect. Actually, I'm lying to you, we do have a return effect, just one that is not seen materially [financially] but in a promotional sense. But that promotion would be much cheaper if you just paid advertising on TV...[62]

However, as Vesna pointed out, despite the high cost "people do need entertainment as well." And gauging by the longevity and popularity of the contest, Eurovision plays the entertainment factor quite well. While Đorđe does not follow the contest every year, nor identifies himself as a fan, he attributes the contests' popularity to its inclusivity – something most events lack, even ones he watches regularly, like soccer:

Eurovision attracts everyone. From five-year olds to ninety-year olds. It is a family event. And that is great. If you watch sports, soccer for example, that is 95% men, just sitting around and drinking beer. It is more male. But Eurovision is open to everyone. And that is really super. No matter where you are from, or whatever. It is more like a love parade, we are all together, let us all sing! Yes, a little bit. But I find that great!

This inclusivity is something that hardcore Eurovision fans have recognised for a long time. Many informants reminisced on times in the 1980s (and some 1990s) when they used to videotape the contest, before it was readily available online, and re-watch it. Especially for people who have attended Eurovision itself, the experience is often one of pure joy and, as Senad said, "something very spiritual." He went on to compare his experience at his first Eurovision he attended to an adrenaline kick that some get from bungee jumping or extreme sports. Aside from his enjoyment of multicultural environments, such as Eurovision, he does recognise that it was probably such an experience for him because of the sexual openness he experienced as a

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[62] Participation fees vary from broadcaster to broadcaster, but they are just a fraction of the total cost of participation. One needs to take into account the cost of accommodation, paying all the delegation members (including the performers, director, costume designers, choreographers, etc.), marketing and promotion, and the time investment for the preparation of choreographies and set design. Every broadcaster also has to provide a music video accompanying the song, which comes at a cost as well. Therefore, it is easy for a broadcaster's costs to skyrocket from the initial participation fees to over 100,000 EUR and more, which can be hard to manage for smaller broadcasters, such as the former Yugoslav ones.

teenager at the contest. However, even for non-hardcore and non-gay fans, such as casual viewers like Đorđe, Eurovision provides an alternative entertainment event that prides itself on its inclusivity and diversity. Furthermore, for many this inclusivity seems to have translated into a way to identify with and support ones' nation, and to symbolically perform their national identity through the contest.

The primordial ideas of nationhood and belonging to the national body are well and alive in the general public, and Eurovision provides a space for primordialism to reign supreme as part of a nation-based competitive setting. The popular perception of national allegiances of diasporic communities at display in Eurovision voting was partially re-affirmed through my interviews. As Merima and Kenan noted, they would always vote for Bosnia & Herzegovina, no matter how bad the song may be. Merima said she always voted for Bosnia, "even when I disliked the song, if it was a disaster or anything. At least so it gets 7 or 8 points from Sweden..." Kenan also admits that, despite saying that him liking a song is the most important for his choice of favourite song, ultimately when it comes to the voting at the end of the night, "Bosnia will get my vote, no matter what the song. That is something unavoidable."

As noted in the previous chapter, some informants have had issues with aligning their allegiances with a newly-formed Bosnia & Herzegovina, favouring Croatia and/or Serbia instead. This was not only the case when it came to competitive settings, but also in their everyday lives where they just self-identify more with the other two countries, although often they have tenuous ties with them at best. While this in part has to do with the experiences of conflict in the 1990s, it is largely an aspect of a populist primordial nationalism, rampant in the former Yugoslav republics but also present in their diasporas across the globe.

This penetration of everyday 'real-world' politics onto the Eurovision (battle-)stage, often in lieu of nationalist voting and song selection, has been lamented by some of my informants. Merima, for example, takes issue with Bosnia & Herzegovina's song selection process, despite her unwavering support to whoever ultimately represents the country. She expressed dissatisfaction with the often talked about but never proven hypothesis of the "national key" used for the Bosnian representatives' selection: the obligatory rotation of Bosniak-Serb-Croat performers from year to year[63]. Nationalist behaviour during Eurovision has also been criticised by Ahmed when referring to the Serbian winner of 2007's Eurovision, Marija Šerifović. Due to her showing the controversial "three fingers" gesture[64] as she received the highest 12 points from Bosnia & Herzegovina, she raised a media frenzy in Bosnia as well as alienated many of the people she won over with her song earlier in the evening (see Appendix E).

The complex post-war political situation in Bosnia & Herzegovina is often reflected not just in the choice of Bosnian representatives, but also in Bosnian participation in the first place. After Bosnia & Herzegovina surprisingly dropped out of the 2013 contest[65] citing financial difficulties, Kenan had nothing but words of disappointment for the national broadcaster, but also the political climate in Bosnia at large. While he was disappointed with the obvious lack of

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[63] The period 2001-10 was the most notorious for the key-hypothesis. In 2001, an ethnic Bosniak represented the country, followed by a Serb in 2002, 2003 by a Croat, 2004 a Bosniak, 2005 a Croatian band, 2006 a multiethnic band, 2007 a Serb, 2008 a Bosniak, 2009 a multiethnic band, and 2010 a Serb. While it is obviously not a cookie-cutter type of key (with the exception of the 2001-04 period), it does provide for an interesting conspiracy theory.

[64] The three fingers gesture is a commonly used Serbian greeting symbol during the 1990s, which indicates Serbhood. It was popularised in the 1990s during the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. Due to its frequent use by Serbian soldiers in the conflicts, it is seen as a provocation by ethnic Bosniaks and Croats, and many liberal-leaning Serbs disassociate themselves from the sign. See Appendix E for the image of Marija Šerofivić making the gesture.

[65] And again in 2014.

dedication to European cultural events and larger pan-European commitments, he was not surprised by it:

> Truth be told, I am not surprised in a country that does not have enough money to maintain its national museum open in the capital. If *that* is of no importance for the country, why would Eurovision be of any importance?[66]

The last time the Bosnian government helped fund a Eurovision act was in 2006, when Marija Šestić got financial support as part of the broadcaster's and government's collaborative project "The Sound of Rivers" – alluding to the name of the song, *Rijeka bez imena* (Nameless River). While this was the last time the government supported Eurovision, there is a recognition that Eurovision can be used for the international promotion of a state. This is, according to the majority of my informants, one of the more successful and beneficial aspects of Eurovision participation.

The Promotional Power of Eurovision

In a sense, Eurovision's main aim has always been national promotion, along with the proliferation of technological excellence in television. The setup of the contest itself with the annual change of host country and the ability to promote both the host and participating nations, makes Eurovision a powerful promotional tool. When I discussed the contest with the Montenegrin delegation's Head of Press, he reiterated the promotional aspect of the contest as the main draw for the broadcasters' participation at the event:

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[66] The Bosnian National Museum closed due to lack of funds allocated for its operating by the Bosnian government in 2012 (BBC 2012b). It has still not been re-opened after two years.

> Eurovision is a big event in which our country can represent itself. Therefore, that is the first reason why we participate in Eurovision, and of course, to continue to be part of Europe. In order to represent our country in Eurovision in a musical and touristic sense, keeping in mind that we are a tourist country. Put simply, for the promotion of the country.

This capacity for a large-scale promotion that reaches over 100 million viewers, albeit for only three minutes, has been recognised by my informants as one of the major reasons for participation. Nine out of my twelve informants discussed the promotional powers of Eurovision in the interviews, but it was noted that the promotional powers work in a twofold way. It is not only important for the host country as a promotional tool, but maybe more for the host city itself, as Merima points out: "It is a great honour and great advertising for the country and the city. I think there were many people across Europe who had no idea where Malmö was and now they know."

The line between promotion and self-glorification can be a thin one, as I have noted previously with the Belarusian song from 2011, "I love Belarus." While the former Yugoslav countries have never sent such an overtly self-glorifying song, they have sent a plethora of songs that definitely played on romanticised notions of a national culture unscathed by modernity. At other times, when it suited them differently, they took the 'international approach' showing that we are not any different than Europe and can have the same cultural background and music, too. However, the best promotion seems to have come from those romanticised national performances on the Eurovision stage, according to my informants (and to the scores in the contest).

Overwhelmingly, two songs came to the forefront of discussion with my informants, as the best representatives in both a musical sense and a promotional/representative sense. The Serbia & Montenegro ballad *Lane moje* from 2004 and Bosnia's *Lejla* from 2006 were singled

out by the majority of my informants as the best pickings from the Serbo-Croatian speaking area. The most talked about person was Željko Joksimović, who wrote both of the songs and was lauded as the Balkan 'Mr. Eurovision' who cannot do any wrong[67]. Many informants professed to being fans of his and liking both his participations (in 2004 and 2012), but that *Lane moje* is the song that had started the whole Balkan ethno-ballad trend. The composition and live performance of *Lane moje* was generally seen as a more benevolent, 'civilised' (read, European) depiction of the Balkans. As Mitrović (2010, 174) argues, "the Serbian team tried to transform the image of the Balkan/Serbian male, and people for that matter, from a militant and non-cultivated savage, or brute, always ready to fight, into something civil, emotional, yet archaic." This seemingly successful attempt, elevated not just foreigners' opinion of the former Yugoslav peoples but also their own perceptions of themselves: we are European after all, and we can create beautiful art and music that can rival, and even better its European counterparts.

The benevolent, civilised imagery promoted by the performance was in large part so successful within the diasporas, the former Yugoslav republics themselves and across Europe in general, precisely because it went against the usual narratives of the war-torn Balkans. Not only were Balkan people 'softened' and made more 'cultured', but it provided, for the first time in over a decade, a chance to represent the area in a positive light and distance it from the conflicts that have plagued the area. Many informants pointed out the same thing – how positive depictions of the Balkans via Eurovision performances, such as *Lane moje* or *Lejla,* can help the image of the countries and their peoples. Furthermore, *Lejla* was seen as an especially relevant composition, since it showcased the collaboration of formerly warring states and the embracing

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[67] In his four Eurovision participations, he has managed to acquire a 2nd, two 3rd, and a 6th place, making him one of the most consistently successful composers in Eurovision.

of a cultural synchronism that was negated throughout the 1990s in an attempt to ensure cultural sovereignty for the Bosnian state, along with political sovereignty.

The relevance of Eurovision's promotional capabilities was especially emphasised by my informants when discussing Bosnian and Serbian performances. Most informants, quite understandably, tended to discuss the Bosnian War and Eurovision's ability to show a different side of the formerly war-torn country. Not only are Eurovision performances important "so that the world sees that we are not just war and fighting there" and "that there are nice things there, too," as Ahmed pointed out, but also for a sense of personal fulfilment. Furthermore, for some, like Senad, Eurovision is a way to re-imagine the homeland as a happier place and to be able to have a positive reference point of their experiences:

> I am a child of war. I think all of us, war children, we have very limited contexts in which we get to prove ourselves. We have few occasions to show ourselves in a positive light, in a happy light. 'Bosnia, argh, tragedy only!' [Eurovision] is a way to paint my war memories with some better, happier connotations and associations.

Whether through focusing on the musical and lyrical content of songs or through the collaborative aspects of the former Yugoslav music scene, Eurovision can provide a little relief from consistently negative associations with Bosnia. Up to the time when I conducted my interviews in the summer of 2013, Bosnia & Herzegovina's only recognised successes in any sort of international context came through the arts. One example is the victories of the Bosnian films in international film festivals[68] and another are Bosnia's (relatively consistent) Eurovision successes, especially *Lejla*'s third place in 2006.

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[68] Most notably, the Academy Award win in the Best Foreign Film category for the film *No Man's Land* in 2002. Additionally, Bosnian films have done well at the Berlin Film Festival, winning the highest award, the Golden Bear in 2006 with the film *Grbavica*, and most recently winning the Jury Grand Prix award (second highest award) for *An Episode in the Life of an Iron Picker,* in 2013. The film was also shortlisted for the Academy Award's Best Foreign Film category as one of the top nine films that year, but did not make the final nominees list of five.

In a promotional sense, the song contest is possibly most important for Serbia, since its international reputation has been severely tarnished by its involvements in wars in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, and Kosovo, from 1991 to 1999. As Andrea noted, the way the Swedish (and Western) media depicted Serbia was as the violent aggressor: "That was the image. I am not saying whether that is real or not, but that's the image presented." In her opinion, it is good that Serbia gets to participate in the song contest after being banned for over a decade, since it gives the country a chance to speak for itself through song and showcase its European sensibilities.

The importance and popularity of Eurovision in Serbia has fluctuated over the years, with its successes and failures at the contest. However, through it all, the contest has managed to rekindle a sense of national pride based on actual achievements instead of solely a nationalist perception of a glorified Serbian history. Along with its recent sporting successes, most notably in tennis due to Novak Đoković, Serbia's high rankings in Eurovision have become a point of national pride. In a way, it is similar to the relationship the Irish had with the contest in the 1990s, when they won an unprecedented four contests that decade[69] (Singleton 2013). Eurovision gives Serbian people something to be proud of once again, after a reputational 'dark age', as Đorđe points out:

> It is nice, in a way. That means that you are proud of where you are from, but you did not really have anything to brag about in the past 12 years. Now we have Eurovision and tennis and it's like 'we are something [important] after all!' That we are not that backward because of the war. We used to be important before the war. Everyone knew who *Jugovići* were, and now we are slowly coming back. Whether through music, film, tennis, sport, whatever. Ultimately, every advertising is positive, I think.

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[69] Ireland won in 1992, 1993, 1994, and again in 1996. No country has won two contests back to back, but Ireland managed three. Along with the four victories, it placed second twice, in 1990 and 1997, making it by far the most successful nation in the contest in the 1990s.

The relevance of Eurovision for Serbia has been even larger in big part due to their victory in 2007 and the consequent hosting of the event in Belgrade the year after. Hosting is both an honour and obligation set by the EBU and can be used to varying effects. Some countries take hosting more seriously than others due to a number of (often political) reasons. As Vesna pondered about the contest's hosting in 2012 (Baku, Azerbaijan) and 2013: "I thought that Baku and Azerbaijan maybe had the greater need to present itself as a good country and stuff like that, and Sweden had a more relaxed way." National promotion, or "putting the country on the map" as Svjetlana said, is also done through the proper hosting and promotion of the host city. While the potential for reputational betterment is a big winner in the whole media aspect of the contest, tourism is another one.

The economic expectations of Malmö and Skåne in regards to the hosting of ESC were quite high (Book 2013) but ultimately justified, according to a report commissioned by the city and region a month after the contest (Malmö stad and Region Skåne 2013). The city was visited by a total of 48,100 people (out of which 31,700 were tourists) and the overall profit of the hosting was 22 million EUR for the two-week event. The estimated promotional value in lieu of marketing was worth over 120 million EUR. As residents of Malmö and its metropolitan region, most of my informants expressed joy over the city's hosting of the contest and positive experiences over those two weeks. On the one hand, the promotion of the city was seen as very successful, so much so, that it made people proud of being from the city, as Ahmed pointed out:

> They did a crazy good advertisement for Malmö. I was very proud
> to be from Malmö when I was watching the intro number and all
> that. Zlatan [Ibrahimović][70], the lights, everything, just *wow*. You
> could not believe it. It created something positive, a positive spirit.
> Like 'look where I live'.

[70] Zlatan Ibrahimović is a famous Swedish soccer player and the captain of the Swedish national team since 2008, born and raised in Malmö. His parents are Bosnian and Croatian, and he is often celebrated as a figurehead of Swedish integration success.

Similarly, according to Kenan, some lamented the post-Eurovision state of Malmö and the loss of vibrancy in the city that they experienced during the contest:

> I do not remember ever experiencing Malmö as empty than the days right after Eurovision. It was the very first time that I experienced Malmö as a world-class, European city, a true metropolis, despite its usual multinational character. A place where there were so many different people. I met a group of people from Australia – incredible! From Japan. From Australia and Japan! I could not believe my eyes when I met them. We met people from all over in those seven days.

Aside from the discussion of Malmö's successful hosting of the contest, one of my informants mused about what it would be like if the contest, with its 40,000+ visitors, came to a place like Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital. Senad expressed his disappointment at the inability of the Bosnian people to "get along down there on our 100 square metres," while the rest of Europe is united through the EU, which manages to "unite some 37 languages, differences, constitutions." He thought of what it would mean for the citizens of Sarajevo, and Bosnia at large, to see with their own eyes the diversity that Europe offers and how seemingly harmonious it can all be, in spite of a competitive setting of the contest. National and host-city promotion aside, these encounters that Eurovision facilitates both in person at the event as well as on small screens across Europe, is the most rewarding aspect of the contest for my informants.

"Together Unite, Unite Europe!"[71]

Eurovision, as a multi-media family event, provides a space for families to get together and participate in a pan-European event simultaneously with millions of others across the globe. According to both scholarship and my informants, the majority of people watch Eurovision with either friends or family, or both. Professional networking opportunities in the media field during the contest are extraordinary and are part of the draw for various professionals. One of my

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[71] Lyric from the 1990 Eurovision winning song from Italy, *Insieme: 1992* (Together: 1992).

informants who is interested in event management expressed her appreciation of being able to meet so many peers from across Europe: "I have made friends for life. Networking contacts for life, both personally and professionally. And that is very important to a person. And to me, personally, so I can succeed in life." If we put those professional and family-oriented experiences of socialising around Eurovision to the side, a much more relevant aspect of the contest becomes clear: the facilitation of large-scale encounters and their effects on peoples' perceptions of themselves, their countries, and Europe in a global context.

As noted previously, both the physical and imagined encounters that are facilitated through the contest are crucial for the development of a larger idea of Europeanness. Eurovision represents a multicultural transnational social field where the 'European idea' is increasingly relevant for the contest, but also the contest itself is relevant for the European idea itself (Fricker and Gluhovic 2013b, 9). One reinforces the other. And while we can see in the case of the former Yugoslav republics that many songs have national rather than international (or European) representations in their compositions, lyrics and visual performances, they seem to be interpreted as part of a pan-European cultural heritage rather than a destructive nationalist one. As Senad eloquently phrased it, regardless of our perception of the performances, they are important in themselves because they represent much-needed *encounters*:

> Europe with its history, and especially us Bosnians and Herzegovinians, *cannot afford not having encounters*, and Eurovision is one of those encounters. We just cannot afford that. Everyone needs to work towards more encounters. And more meetings that are not in my backyard and my mosque. Outside of this Bosniak-Muslim perspective where [the same] people meet each other in their backyards, in their villages, in their mosques. I want to go to someone else's backyard, someone else's mosque! I am very interested what happens there, it is important to me. Whether it be in Athens, Istanbul, or now in Malmö.

The image of a Europe inspired by its own diversity through millions of encounters via the reach of Eurovision, is a powerful one. The ability to unite millions through a simultaneous sharing of a musical (and socio-political and cultural) experience is where Eurovision has managed to resonate the most with my informants, as Ahmed points out:

> I think it connects people in a way where at least for one night every country, or at least a part of its population, face each other and become inspired by one another. It is kind of like this year's logo, 'we are the one' [*sic*]. At least for that one night, we are all somehow united.

The appreciation of European cultural diversities is seen as a positive experience, one that is not marred by potential nationalist outliers. Even if nationalist outliers are present, they are still perceived as part of that larger European experience and help enrich the diversity of understandings of Europe as a whole, but also specific regions and countries. In spite of the "territorial imperative" of the rootedness of nations in soil and similar primordial ideas still being prevalent in Europe (Heffernan 1998, 239), Eurovision can still be understood as a potential driver of changing pro-European attitudes. As Fricker and Gluhovic (2013b, 3) argue:

> The ESC, with its unique, imaginative, and aesthetic modality, has always been a symbolic contact zone between European cultures – an arena of European identification in which both national solidarity and participation in European identity are confirmed. It is also a site where cultural struggles over the meanings, frontiers, and limits of Europe, as well as similarities and differences existing within Europe, are enacted.

Their observations are clearly reflected in the ways my participants experience Eurovision. While the territorial imperative that Heffernan notes is still present and strong, the underlying current seems to be one of a celebration of European diversities. Michael Heffernan (1998, 242) claims that a truly multicultural and cosmopolitan Europe can be only achieved as "a diasporic Europe of overlapping, changing and temporary identities, an arena of endless heterogeneity and

hybridity." Eurovision is, clearly, such an arena both when theorised by scholars and when practically experienced by its fans and audiences.

When looking at the former Yugoslav republics and their diasporas, it is important to mention their re-assertion of belonging to these pan- and pro-European ideas, as demonstrated via the contest (Sieg 2013). The idea of encounters is crucial here, too. Simply put, if they do not participate in cultural events, they cannot expect to be seen as belonging to Europe in the same cultural capacity as other countries which do participate in events such as the ESC. This is especially the case for societies and states that have tarnished reputations internationally, such as Bosnia & Herzegovina and Serbia, and ones that have had their sovereignty questioned, such as Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia. It is a platform where nations and their populations can assert their Europeanness.

While one could easily dismiss the contest as an irrelevant entertainment event, it does enforce cultural and national hierarchies and differentiated understandings of European regions, as Georgiou's (2008) research on Eurovision's effect on stereotypes has demonstrated. However, we need to be careful to not overestimate the power of Eurovision in shaping the European cultural landscape. After all, it is an annual event and while its emotional effects cannot be quantified, for the majority they do not parallel the influences of everyday hegemonic structures of nationalism onto their conceptualisations of the nation and their membership in the same.

Chapter Seven:
Conclusion

> To me, the Song Contest is a battlefield where you can allow
> yourself to be a patriot. You can even allow yourself to be a
> nationalist, which is a word you don't want to attach very much to
> people these days. You can support your own country, you can say
> that others stink. It's harmless but it's very significant. If we didn't
> have that battlefield we might have more battles.
>
> Jørgen Franck, Director of Eurovision TV;
> quoted in Fricker and Gluhovic (2013c, 71)

After almost 60 years of the contest and more than a thousand performed compositions
from over 40 nations, the fundamental structure of the Eurovision Song Contest still reinforces
the nation-state system. While it is understood as 'bringing Europe together,' the hegemony of
'the nation' is never fully disrupted by the contest. The banality of the nation-state is reinforced
not only by the national competitive setup of the contest, but also by the fans' participation.
Overwhelmingly, the contest, in combination with the audience, naturalises the social contract
where the latter expresses the appropriate, expected emotion – one of national belonging, loyalty,
pride, and, according to the director of Eurovision TV, one of nationalism itself.

Franck's comment reflects Eurovision's unparalleled scope for national self- and state-
representation. It allows for an immersive three-minute construction of the nation for domestic
and international consumption: visually, audibly, contextually, and physically. The all-round
construction of a symbolic national space has the flexibility to showcase the nation in terms it
chooses – often seemingly silly and innocent, yet clearly political and often directed from the
upper echelons of the nation-state itself.

The contest does provide for a somewhat unquantifiable 'shot' of national identity, belonging and pride for participating nations, just as the World Cup and other international (usually sporting) events often do. Some of my informants confirmed this with their unwavering support for their homelands, no matter the performance or song quality, or their personal feelings about the performer. The homeland is the homeland, and one must support it. In a way, supporting the nation, whether through active voting or even just cheering on one's homeland at a viewing party, makes some diasporic people actively perform their diasporic identities. Even for the ones that usually reject the diasporic label, Eurovision represents a space for diasporic mobilisation where they can briefly participate in and take their diasporic identity from a *way of being*, to a *way of belonging*, as Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) put it. It is the perfect example of the fluidity and constant negotiation of (diasporic) identities and the showcasing of the processual basis of the identity. As Brubaker (2005) argues, diaspora indeed becomes a category of practice, which can be accessed and employed when necessary.

On the other hand, this engagement with one's national diasporic identity via ESC tends to be surprisingly short. The emotional connection can rise to a fever pitch, but soon after the contest is done, it easily dissipates almost as quickly as it came. The interpellation, or discursive 'call into being,' of fellow nationals that the contest can stage via its national symbolism in the performances, tends to have little staying power beyond the contest itself. This is also evident in the long-term staying power of only two songs, *Lane moje* and *Lejla*, from a field of fifty-seven analysed songs, when it comes to their popularity and power of national representations. Of course, dedicated Eurovision fans allocate much more relevance to the contest and venerate a much larger sample of songs, but that is a comparatively small community in the larger scheme of things.

The clear 'winner' of the contest seem to be its promotional aspects and specifically the promotion of the 'European idea.' While the contest facilitates the showcasing of national differences (which can lead to stereotyping of different countries and cultures, as Georgiou (2008) argues), it simultaneously showcases European cultural diversity. All my informants appreciated the ability to experience European diversity, no matter how limited the experience was – whether it was just the three minute performance or attending Eurovision events organised in Malmö during the hosting of the contest there. From enjoying meeting new people to experiencing their city in a completely different light for the first time, Eurovision did help enforce a sense of European cultural diversity as a positive phenomenon.

Despite national symbolism in Eurovision performances failing at generating the power of a mobilising structure, national representations are nonetheless understood as an excellent promotional tool for the state. Whether it allows for the tourist promotion of the host city or the re-imagining of (stereotypes of) a nation and re-branding of tarnished reputations (i.e. Bosnia & Herzegovina and Serbia), the contest is an effective tool for representing European diversities. It tells a short story of/about the nation, albeit one sanctioned by the state itself via the national broadcaster. This celebration of European diversities is in many ways similar to the project of the European Union and the creation of a larger European identity.

Understanding the contest as an exemplification of cultural ideals of the European Union does have its merit. Maybe Eurovision has the paradoxical power of enforcing and naturalising national imagery, while simultaneously promoting European diversity and an appreciation of exploring European differences as a factor of cultural unity. Fundamentally, that would be a much more productive end-result of such an event and one that makes the contest worth the funds, time, commitment and (inter)national engagement from year to year. The fact that the

height of its reach comes in a limited period every year is not necessarily a negative thing. I would argue that we could easily replace the "World Cup" from Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2011, 291) quote with "Eurovision" and argue that the emotional gains of the Eurovision Song Contest cannot be quantified. That is precisely why it is so important for scholarship, its fans and casual audiences, both diasporic and non-diasporic, across Europe and beyond.

My Contribution and What is to be Done

In the long run, my research points toward the ESC as serving the 'European idea' rather than the overt national ideologies and causes that could be perpetuated via its representational aspects. This is in part because of an overall lack of nationalist 'hotness' to the symbolism noted in the performances analysed. This lack of hotness could be attributed to the inclusive nature of Eurovision as a pan-European, inter-national, multi-generational and, importantly, non-masculine-only event. Where sporting events regularly ignite visceral masculine and nationalist passions due to their exclusive air of masculine ownership over the events, Eurovision is an open playing field for all Europeans, regardless of sex, gender, or age.

That being said, national representations and symbolism are nonetheless an integral part of the ESC. The analysis of national symbolism in the performances sheds light on the ways that national representations can be both useful for the promotion of the state in a reputational sense, as well as engaging a short-term sense of national pride. More importantly however, the analysis affirms Eurovision's capacity for the long-term promotion of pro-European ideas, which is especially relevant in a Europe increasingly plagued by right-wing ideologies based on nationalism, xenophobia and racism.

Furthermore, the project reaffirms the usefulness of Sökefeld's (2006) approach to the understanding of the social mobilisation of diasporas via political opportunities, mobilising structures, and master frames. In spite of the small sample size, my research confirms the existence of master frames that create a sense of an imagined diasporic community. In my case study of the former Yugoslav communities in the Malmö metropolitan area, the major master frames revolved around the conflicts and nationalism in the homelands. The coagulation of the discursive and conceptual aspects of the master frames with the ability for visual and audible expression of the same, gives credence to Eurovision as a clearly political and relevant project in Europe, as per Fricker and Gluhovic (2013b).

I must emphasise the small sample size and the limited generalisability of my research findings, which is something I have reiterated in the methods chapter. The generalisability of the sample can be questioned on several accounts, such as the low average age of the sample, as well as the highly liberal and anti-nationalist sentiments expressed, which are not usually not seen as representative of former Yugoslav diasporic communities. The sampling results were due to the snowballing sampling technique, but also due to the topic at hand. The general public does not view Eurovision as a serious event, let alone as a legitimate topic of research, so it does take a somewhat more open minded person to be willing to participate in such a project.

Additionally, it would have been instructive to organise a focus group after having the one-on-one preliminary interviews in order to discuss the national Eurovision performances in a group setting. Having organised a 'viewing party' of all the performances I analysed, and then discussing them with the group would have yielded interesting insights, especially since it would have given me two instances of interaction with my informants. Furthermore, in retrospect, my project could have benefited from the application of a comparative approach. For example,

instead of looking at former Yugoslavs solely in Malmö/Sweden, I could have looked at how diasporic communities in a non-European country such as Canada reflect on Eurovision. Do they even know of it, do they follow it at all, or is it completely irrelevant? What sort of diasporic mobilisers are they exposed to and respond to, or do not respond to?

Taking the comparative approach further, one could look at how people back in the homeland (in this case, the former Yugoslav republics) understand the contest, and whether their perceptions correspond to the perceptions of the diasporas. That would also pose the question of how effectively the national broadcasters' messages are coming across and whom they are targeting with their performances in the first place. Furthermore, although my sample was quite limited, it would be useful to conduct a large-scale, pan-European comparative analysis of larger diasporic communities across Europe, such as the Romanian or Turkish ones, for example. Such a comparative study would not only benefit our understanding of Eurovision, but it would highlight the ways different diasporic communities engage with the representations of their homelands on an international scale.

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Appendices

Appendix A:

The expansion of Eurovision from 1956 to 2013

Year interval	Average Number of Participants	Debuting Countries and Years of Debut	
1956-59	10	The Netherlands (1956) France (1956) [West] Germany (1956) Italy (1956) Luxembourg (1956) Belgium (1956)	Switzerland (1956) Austria (1957) Denmark (1957) United Kingdom (1957) Sweden (1958) Monaco (1959)
1960-69	16	Finland (1961) Spain (1961) Yugoslavia (1961)	Portugal (1964) Ireland (1965)
1970-79	18	Malta (1971) Israel (1973)	Greece (1974) Turkey (1975)
1980-89	20	Morocco (1980) Cyprus (1981)	Iceland (1986)
1990-99	24	Bosnia & Herzegovina (1993) Croatia (1993) Slovenia (1993) Estonia (1994) Hungary (1994)	Romania (1994) Slovakia (1994) Lithuania (1994) Poland (1994) Russian Federation (1994) FYR Macedonia (1996)
2000-09	34	Latvia (2000) Ukraine (2003) Albania (2004) Andorra (2004) Belarus (2004) Serbia & Montenegro (2004) Bulgaria (2005) Moldova (2005)	Armenia (2006) Czech Republic (2007) Georgia (2007) Montenegro (2007) Serbia (2007) Azerbaijan (2008) San Marino (2008)
2010-13	41		

Source: Eurovision. 2014b. "History." Last accessed May 21.
http://www.eurovision.tv/page/history/year.

Appendix B:

Ethnic motives featured in Top 10-ranking Eurovision songs

The table features 24 songs in the past decade (2003-13) that have managed to rank in the Top 10 songs of the contest, and which featured some sort of ethnic motives. Rarely are the songs completely ethnic and usually they feature some sort of mixing with pop-sounds, as is noted in the table. There have been many more songs that featured ethnic motives, but they did not fare as well as the ones featured.

The shaded countries are considered to be from 'Western European' countries, if we utilise the East-West dichotomy.

Year	Country	Rank	Singer & Song	Ethnic Aspect
2003	Turkey	WINNER	Sertab Erener "Everyway that I can"	Music and Performance (fusion with pop)
2003	Belgium	2nd place	Urban Trad "Sanomi"	Music and Performance
2004	Ukraine	WINNER	Ruslana "Wild Dances"	Music and Performance
2004	Serbia & Montenegro	2nd place	Željko Joksimović "Lane moje"	Music and Performance
2004	Greece	3rd place	Sakis Rouvas "Shake it"	Music (heavy fusion with pop)
2004	Turkey	4th place	Athena "For real"	Music (heavy fusion with pop-rock)
2005	Moldova	6th place	Zdob si Zdub "Boonika bate doba"	Music and Performance (fusion with pop-rock)
2005	Serbia & Montenegro	7th place	No Name "Zauvijek moja"	Music and Performance partially
2005	Greece	WINNER	Helena Paparizou "My number one"	Music and Performance (heavy fusion with pop)
2006	Bosnia & Herzegovina	3rd place	Hari Mata Hari "Lejla"	Music
2006	Ukraine	7th place	Tina Karol "Show me your love"	Music and Performance (slight fusion with pop)
2007	Turkey	4th place	Kenan Dogulu "Shake it up shekerim"	Performance mainly

2007	Bulgaria	5th place	Elitsa & Stoyan "Water"	Music (heavy fusion with techno)
2007	Armenia	8th place	Hayko "Anytime you need"	Music (fusion with pop)
2008	Serbia	6th place	Jelena Tomašević "Oro"	Music and Performance
2009	Norway	WINNER	Aleksander Rybak "Fairytale"	Music (fusion with pop)
2009	Turkey	4th place	Hadise "Dum tek tek"	Music and Performance (heavy fusion with pop)
2009	France	8th place	Patricia Kaas "Et s'il fallait le faire"	Music
2010	Armenia	7th place	Eva Rivas "Apricot Stone"	Music and Performance
2010	Greece	8th place	Giorgos Alkaios & Friends "OPA!"	Music and Performance (fusion with pop)
2011	Greece	7th place	Loucas Yiorkas & Stereo Mike "Watch my dance"	Music and Performance (fusion with rap)
2012	Russia	2nd place	Buranovskiye Babushki "Party for Everybody"	Music and Performance (heavy fusion with pop)
2012	Serbia	3rd place	Željko Joksimović "Nije ljubav stvar"	Music and Performance
2013	Denmark	WINNER	Emmelie de Forest "Only Teardrops"	Music Performance marginally

Source: Eurovision. 2014b. "History." Last accessed May 21.
http://www.eurovision.tv/page/history/year

Year	Country	Artist & Song in Parenthesis	YouTube link
1989	Yugoslavia	Riva (*Rock me*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0q5uQm-9aBA
1990	Yugoslavia	Tajči (*Hajde da ludujemo*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kA3fnvVAkSE
1991	Yugoslavia	Baby Doll (*Brazil*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0JrLO8CFM8M
1992	Yugoslavia	Extra Nena (*Ljubim te pesmama*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-fQJAlbO9CM
1993	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Fazla (*Sva bol svijeta*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yCDM_WegJVw
1993	Croatia	Put (*Don't ever cry*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oKanpKMeLfQ
1994	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Alma & Dejan (*Ostani kraj mene*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Rtsu5NQWJI
1994	Croatia	Tony Cetinski (*Nek' ti bude ljubav sva*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pzE8q0IQbrg
1995	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Davorin Popović (*Dvadeset i prvi vijek*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9wM-b6XJI7E
1995	Croatia	Magazin & Lidija (*Nostalgija*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_rSGV4zV41g
1996	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Amila Glamočak (*Za našu ljubav*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iy7Ro7082R8
1996	Croatia	Maja Blagdan (*Sveta ljubav*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1epZjewaJ-Q
1997	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Alma Čardžić (*Goodbye*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8dGvx4r0RbU
1997	Croatia	E.N.I. (*Probudi me*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jOn2EokyQ40
1998	Croatia	Danijela (*Neka mi ne svane*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ojVGmkYnFM8
1999	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Dino Merlin & Beatrice (*Putnici*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0bMXjZfZhTc
1999	Croatia	Doris Dragović (*Marija Magdalena*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sEHoc_qIJnk
2000	Croatia	Goran Karan (*Ostani*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dqZKKfK2aEA
2001	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Nino Pršeš (*Hano*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BdXt72Ox3Tc
2001	Croatia	Vanna (*Strings of my heart*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZKw7TFWdUTg
2002	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Maja Tatić (*Fairytales about love*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iUA-jNAmsyw
2002	Croatia	Vesna Pisarović (*Everything I want*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zVRljHW3n_s

Year	Country	Artist (Song)	Link
2003	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Mija Martina (*Could it be*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fajtrqcTBx8
	Croatia	Claudia Beni (*Više nisam tvoja*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wDG19zG5PDY
2004	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Deen (*In the Disco*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=23h__RssJQo
	Croatia	Ivan Mikulić (*You are the only one*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WnuBcWHRMjY
	Serbia & Montenegro	Željko Joksimović (*Lane moje*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z7OvpjplJ_8
2005	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Feminnem (*Call me*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=elPI-5JZCws
	Croatia	Boris Novković (*Vukovi umiru sami*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HpS7rzZqJw8
	Serbia & Montenegro	No Name (*Zauvijek moja*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qE1NlzpCGiM
2006	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Hari Mata Hari (*Lejla*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SXlIN3mcsH4
	Croatia	Severina (*Moja štikla*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hGp3YfEj_GY
2007	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Marija Šestić (*Rijeka bez imena*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CxzWQwKx0yI
	Croatia	Dragonfly ft. Dado Topić (*Vjerujem u ljubav*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3UR-I5VwEuQ
	Montenegro	Stevan Faddy (*Ajde, kroči*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I5T0zBpHpJU
	Serbia	Marija Šerifović (*Molitva*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSueQN1QvV4
2008	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Laka (*Pokušaj*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UkIFRPw17PQ
	Croatia	Kraljevi Ulice feat. 75 Cents (*Romansa*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uvpoe355YRU
	Montenegro	Stefan Filipović (*Zauvijek, volim te*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vZjBSvdFeW8
	Serbia	Jelena Tomašević feat. Bora Dugić (*Oro*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CMt5RCrl8qM
2009	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Regina (*Bistra voda*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwtnCw_hEP8
	Croatia	Igor Cukrov feat. Andrea (*Lijepa Tena*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1jUheqlIJ_Y
	Montenegro	Andrea Demirović (*Just get out of my life*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N503LJ2dygI
	Serbia	Marko Kon and Milaan (*Cipela*)	Live performance video with sound unavailable due to copyright issues. Used multiple videos. For the performance: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uV9Y7S9C6To. For the song: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DRObP8XE4Ko.

	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Vukašin Brajić (*Thunder and Lightning*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wgPtHtmSFec
2010	Croatia	Feminnem (*Lako je sve*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x2M9zNayOF0
	Serbia	Milan Stanković (*Ovo je Balkan*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TBwWB3kKd6o
	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Dino Merlin (*Love in Rewind*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mBg3coarF_8
2011	Croatia	Daria (*Celebrate*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wTJzolnObu0
	Serbia	Nina (*Čaroban*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-CWvXKxjCs8
	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Maya Sar (*Korake ti znam*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=81hIbZNoFU8
	Croatia	Nina Badrić (*Nebo*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QzdI4yuqwzY
2012	Montenegro	Rambo Amadeus (*Euro Neuro*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JHnqF5PLP2w
	Serbia	Željko Joksimović (*Nije ljubav stvar*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R9x9VbJzaDQ
	Croatia	Klapa s Mora (*Mižerja*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FYm4sGd-qP0
2013	Montenegro	Who See (*Igranka*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FR9rtB2ilZU
	Serbia	Moje 3 (*Ljubav je svuda*)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbAAFijZIxE

The links were all last accessed on August 14, 2014.

Appendix D:

National symbolism values as allocated through the performance analysis

Explanation of score values, as presented in Chapter 6 :

-2	Completely foreign appeal / performance
-1	An international 'flavour' to the song / performance
0	Non-national, mainstream sound / performance
1	Some national symbolism
2	Explicit / strong national symbolism

Table featuring all the national symbolism values, as allocated via the performance analysis:

Year	Country	Artist & Song in Parentheses	Points	Rank	# of countries	Audible	Textual	Visual	Total
1989	Yugoslavia	Riva (*Rock me*)	137	1	22	0	-1	0	**-1**
1990	Yugoslavia	Tajči (*Hajde da ludujemo*)	81	7	22	0	0	-2	**-2**
1991	Yugoslavia	Baby Doll (*Brazil*)	1	21	22	-1	-2	-1	**-4**
1992	Yugoslavia	Extra Nena (*Ljubim te pesmama*)	44	13	23	1	0	0	**1**
1993	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Fazla (*Sva bol svijeta*)	27	16	25	1	2	0	**3**
	Croatia	Put (*Don't ever cry*)	31	15	25	0	2	1	**3**
1994	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Alma & Dejan (*Ostani kraj mene*)	39	15	25	0	1	1	**2**
	Croatia	Tony Cetinski (*Nek' ti bude ljubav sva*)	27	16	25	0	0	0	**0**

1995	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Davorin Popović (*Dvadeset i prvi vijek*)	14	19	23	0	0	0	**0**
	Croatia	Magazin & Lidija (*Nostalgija*)	91	6	23	-1	0	1	**0**
1996	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Amila Glamočak (*Za našu ljubav*)	13	22	23	0	0	0	**0**
	Croatia	Maja Blagdan (*Sveta ljubav*)	98	4	23	1	0	0	**1**
1997	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Alma Čardžić (*Goodbye*)	22	18	25	-1	0	0	**-1**
	Croatia	E.N.I. (*Probudi me*)	24	17	25	-1	0	-1	**-2**
1998	Croatia	Danijela (*Neka mi ne svane*)	131	5	25	0	0	0	**0**
1999	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Dino Merlin & Beatrice (*Putnici*)	86	7	23	2	0	0	**2**
	Croatia	Doris Dragović (*Marija Magdalena*)	118	4	23	1	1	0	**2**
2000	Croatia	Goran Karan (*Ostani*)	70	9	24	0	0	0	**0**
2001	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Nino Pršeš (*Hano*)	29	14	23	1	0	-1	**0**
	Croatia	Vanna (*Strings of my heart*)	42	10	23	0	0	0	**0**
2002	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Maja Tatić (*Fairytales about love*)	33	13	24	-1	0	0	**-1**
	Croatia	Vesna Pisarović (*Everything I want*)	44	11	24	0	0	0	**0**
2003	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Mija Martina (*Could it be*)	27	16	26	-1	0	0	**-1**
	Croatia	Claudia Beni (*Više nisam tvoja*)	29	15	26	-1	0	0	**-1**

Year	Country	Artist (Song)							
2004	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Deen (*In the Disco*)	91	9	36	-2	0	-2	**-4**
	Croatia	Ivan Mikulić (*You are the only one*)	50	13	36	0	0	0	**0**
	Serbia & Montenegro	Željko Joksimović (*Lane moje*)	263	2	36	2	0	2	**4**
2005	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Feminnem (*Call me*)	79	14	39	-2	-2	0	**-4**
	Croatia	Boris Novković (*Vukovi umiru sami*)	115	11	39	2	1	2	**5**
	Serbia & Montenegro	No Name (*Zauvijek moja*)	137	7	39	2	1	1	**4**
2006	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Hari Mata Hari (*Lejla*)	229	3	37	2	1	1	**4**
	Croatia	Severina (*Moja štikla*)	56	12	37	2	1	1	**4**
2007	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Marija Šestić (*Rijeka bez imena*)	106	11	42	2	0	1	**3**
	Croatia	Dragonfly ft. Dado Topić (*Vjerujem u ljubav*)	DNQ	DNQ	42	0	0	0	**0**
	Montenegro	Stevan Faddy (*Ajde, kroči*)	DNQ	DNQ	42	0	0	0	**0**
	Serbia	Marija Šerifović (*Molitva*)	286	**1**	42	1	0	-1	**0**
2008	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Laka (*Pokušaj*)	110	10	43	-1	0	0	**-1**
	Croatia	Kraljevi Ulice feat. 75 Cents (*Romansa*)	44	21	43	-1	0	-1	**-2**
	Montenegro	Stefan Filipović (*Zauvijek, volim te*)	DNQ	DNQ	43	0	0	0	**0**
	Serbia	Jelena Tomašević feat. Bora Dugić (*Oro*)	160	6	43	2	2	1	**5**

	Country	Artist (Song)							
2009	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Regina (*Bistra voda*)	106	9	42	0	1	2	**3**
	Croatia	Igor Cukrov feat. Andrea (*Lijepa Tena*)	45	18	42	-1	0	0	**-1**
	Montenegro	Andrea Demirović (*Just get out of my life*)	DNQ	DNQ	42	-1	0	-1	**-2**
	Serbia	Marko Kon and Milaan (*Cipela*)	DNQ	DNQ	42	1	0	1	**2**
2010	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Vukašin Brajić (*Thunder and Lightning*)	51	17	39	-1	0	0	**-1**
	Croatia	Feminnem (*Lako je sve*)	DNQ	DNQ	39	0	0	0	**0**
	Serbia	Milan Stanković (*Ovo je Balkan*)	72	13	39	2	1	0	**3**
2011	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Dino Merlin (*Love in Rewind*)	125	6	43	0	0	-1	**-1**
	Croatia	Daria (*Celebrate*)	DNQ	DNQ	43	-2	0	-1	**-3**
	Serbia	Nina (*Čaroban*)	85	14	43	-2	0	-2	**-4**
2012	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Maya Sar (*Korake ti znam*)	55	18	42	1	0	0	**1**
	Croatia	Nina Badrić (*Nebo*)	DNQ	DNQ	42	0	0	0	**0**
	Montenegro	Rambo Amadeus (*Euro Neuro*)	DNQ	DNQ	42	0	0	0	**0**
	Serbia	Željko Joksimović (*Nije ljubav stvar*)	214	3	42	1	0	1	**2**
2013	Croatia	Klapa s Mora (*Mižerja*)	DNQ	DNQ	42	1	1	1	**3**
	Montenegro	Who See (*Igranka*)	DNQ	DNQ	42	-2	0	-1	**-3**
	Serbia	Moje 3 (*Ljubav je svuda*)	DNQ	DNQ	42	0	0	0	**0**

Appendix E:

The three-finger gesture

Marija Šerifović, the representative of Serbia and Eurovision winner of 2007, making the three-finger gesture as the receives the highest points from Bosnia & Herzegovina.

Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/bs/7/73/Evrovizija_2007_srbija2.jpg.
Last accessed October 1, 2014.