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**Music and Politics: How Musicians and
Their Music Become a Factor in Political
Discourse**

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Abstract

The thesis emphasizes music and politics, discussing how musicians and their music become a factor in political discourse. As a powerful media, music can be involved in politics and used by politics. The thesis has categorized several ways of musicians and their music become a factor in the politics and also has listed special examples. According to dimensions of human interests, politics of power, politics of money and politics of behavior can be the three main intentions of music getting involved in politics. Musicians and politicians though have many intentions to let the music get connected to politics, the thesis finally reaches the conclusion that they are all for the result of the collective action of the people to achieve higher mutual interests.

Keywords

Music, Politics, Political Communication, Collective Action, Human Interest

Range of thesis: 92910 Characters

Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that she compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague, 30.07.2018

Liangliang Ma

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Master Thesis Proposal

Institute of Political Studies
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Proposed Topic:

Music and Politics: How Musicians and Their Music Become a Factor in Political Discourse

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My thesis will focus on the following general research question:

How musicians and their music get involved in politics? Moreover, with the course of history and with the development in the socio-economic environment, especially with the contemporary technical and IT break-through, how the music can transgress art and transform into politics and how this impact was changing in time.

Topic characteristics:

Music is so close to people's lives and their perception of reality that, still as art or entertainment, it can become a factor superseding media and even a direct political instrument. Nowadays, in the age of Youtube and television, people may get used to that music is very closely connected to political declarations and political manipulation. Therefore, the history of how musicians and musical performers get involved in politics is an object of my study.

The structure of my thesis will follow the role of music as a political instrument in cases of various societies (countries) and their evolution in time. Data and the empirical evidence underpin the theoretical reasoning about music as a means of social communication will be analyzed by statistics.

In the meantime, the status of female musicians in the political field will be discussed. It seems clear that their participation in politics is getting more frequent and the status becomes higher than before. What's more, their participation is essential tool in a world that now is demanding gender equality, which is significant in the political field.

Working hypotheses:

1. Getting involved in politics by making music is a somewhat indirect but influential way, as music is an indispensable part of people's lives. As the present politics depart from the appeal to rational thinking and supersede the former by appeals on emotions, the role of music as a means of communication rises. This characteristic is becoming more intense with the continuing social development.
2. Nowadays, it is easier for musicians to get involved in politics than in the past when human communication was not globalized and present in every household as a virtual reality. Present favorite musicians and singers find themselves over-connected to politics even though this alignment is informal and indirect.
3. Nowadays, more female musicians are using their music to fight for the gender equality, which can be regarded as a political claim.
4. Though some musicians forwardly add their political claims into their music, many musicians now act in the politics passively. They let themselves to be outsourced by political processes and used as political tools.

National anthems are a model for studying how politics can be directly transformed into music. (I want to talk about this topic as a specific example in my second chapter: "Music and politics interact")

Methodology:

Prediction of trends in quantitative and qualitative terms

Data analysis

Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Music and politics interact
3. An analysis of how musicians got involved in politics in the history
 - a. Musicians are figures in the politics - musicians are endowed with political meanings.
 - b. The works of musicians reflect the politics (national anthem as a particular example; ordinary music works)
 - c. Musicians actively participate in the political acts
 - d. Musicians try to be politicians.
4. Significant figures and their thoughts/deeds
 - a. Classical music composers as national leaders...
 - b. Joan Baez/Bob Dylan/John Lennon (concentrated on a particular era - a comparative study; the female musicians are involved, how their status in politics compare to the male musicians?)

- c. Youssou N'Dour/Fela Kuti (music & politics in non-mainstream countries, e.g. African)
5. The tendency now
- a. International relations/diplomacy (Musicians are used as “tools” to build diplomatic bridges between countries)
 - b. Musicians get involved in politics to attract people’s eyes/musicians are used in political campaigns (H. Clinton’s campaigns 2016)
 - c. Political meanings are imposed on musicians' works (results: the works are praised to an unworthy high level; the musicians are denounced or even prosecuted)
 - d. The female musicians’ status when involved in politics.
6. Conclusions
7. References / Bibliography

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1. Introduction

Music is so close to people's everyday lives as a type of art, entertainment, media or even as a part of the military instrument. Nowadays, people may get used to the situation that musicians and music connect quite intimately to politics, but the stories of how they get involved in politics in the history are still somewhat entertaining. The thesis is based on the narratives of music getting involved in politics with data and empirical evidence.

The thesis first emphasizes finding examples in the history and making them into proper and apparent categories. For example, the Protest Music Movement in the 1960s will be discussed while it is a large-scale movement as well as a significant example in the history, which indicates that the particular political situation can influence the musicians to write music, either forwardly or passively. Music can change the political trend and the people's political preference in the country. Composing and writing lyrics for national anthems, as one of the most typical examples of how some musicians and their music were profoundly influenced or even controlled by politics, shall be carefully explained in the thesis.

Who is the authentic agent of music in the space of politics? The possible answer must be the musicians themselves who create their music and endow their music with a specific meaning. However, there are also other potential agents when we try to categorize the intention of making political music according to the three dimensions of human governance.

It is worth mentioning that the human governance can be divided into three dimensions according to actors' intentions in political decision-making: politics of money, politics of

power and politics of behavior (Benáček, 2018). First, the politics of money. The political agents that are closely related to economic agents and policy-making are aimed to make decisions to achieve economic profit-making. Second, the politics of power. The reason that political agents act in the political arenas is to compete and control over people, collect power, make the opposition less resistant to achieve higher and more distinct interests of the political manipulators. Last but not least, politics of behavior. The agents put their emphasis on influencing a person's political behavior, such as relationships, alliances, ideologies, political views and participation in political discourses. Their aim is to "wake people up" and lead the community in unity to a much brighter side and achieve mutual harmony. Music is a firm part of the concept of soft political power, as the soft power is the ability to shape the preferences of others through appeal and attraction, rather than by coercion or hard power (Nye, 2008). The most defining characteristic of soft power is it is noncoercive, which is a prominent feature music has.

The musicians as a community of artists, using the soft power characteristic of music and trying to establish influence on human moral and ethical behaviors, relationships and values, are always the first authentic agents of behavioral manipulation and agents of music in the space of politics. Here, the politics of behavior is applied when the politicians use the music as factors in specific political discourse, or even when the music is later regarded as a spontaneous "objective" factor confirming specific values to and by the people. In the same time, musicians and their music are connected to politics because music sometimes is the merchandise which can be embellished and sold to make the profit. They act as a quasi-

commercial promotion or marketing agency. Once the music is regarded as an instrument of marketing, the principles of consumer, society and the economic objectives, and the money of individuals who are mostly audience can be influenced by this tool of marketing. It is not hard to discover some examples of musicians trying to promote themselves by intentionally connecting their music to a particular political value to manipulate the consumption of listeners who exercise particular preferences. The music also can help the authority propagate its specific ideology and gain the power to control the community. The creating of the national anthem in some countries can be related to this dimension. Besides that, political propaganda songs are aimed at eulogizing the leaders, political victories or future political aims. For example, in the communist era of Central and Eastern Europe music and songs were also a tool for gathering the governance power. Influential politicians such as Stalin, became the indirect agents behind the composition of music. Musicians becoming politicians is a somewhat unique example. There is a high possibility that the third dimension, the politics of behavior, will modify its meaning and add new space to the second dimension, the politics of power.

Though politics are relevant in all three dimensions of human existence and cooperation, the first two dimensions are not the dominant in the power of the music. The examples of the thesis mainly concentrate on the third dimension: the psychology of human coexistence, morals, ethics, concepts of beauty, concepts of justice and truth, and the resoluteness to take a particular action. Music has its strong power of influencing and changing moral and ethical opinions, values and behaviors of people. When music is connected to politics, it often

makes the humanitarian contribution to the interests of all human beings. It calls for the appearance of the bright side from individuals and the communities, and it promotes mutual harmony in coexistence. As Hans Zimmer (2017, cited in Shah 2017) has said, music lets you rediscover your humanity and your connection to humanity.

Thus, in the thesis, the examples will also be analyzed by going deep into the political intentions of musicians and their music using the concept of three dimensions of human governance as a methodological instrument. However, no matter the intentions are about power, about the economy or human behavior, the eventual ideal aim of musicians and their music connecting to politics is to make individual human interests transform into collective action and to achieve mutual interests, using music as an instrument of their artistic sentiment. In that case, we can say that the vested interests of politicians do not abuse music and it stems from the artistic freedom. It doesn't matter who the authentic agent of music is or which dimension of human interests the original intention was connected to, at the end when the musicians and their music get involved in politics, their most important contribution rests in that music calls for people's collective action to achieve a different kind of "Weltanschauung", for example, a new worldview, which comprises a new cognitive orientation of an individual or society, encompassing the whole of the individual's or society's interpretation of the world (Fadul, 2014). It encompasses natural philosophy (Pinxten, van Dooren and Harvey 1983, cited in Palmer, 1996, p.114), fundamental existential and normative postulates or themes (Opler 1946; Hoebel 1966, cited in Palmer 1996, p.114), values, emotions, and ethics (Palmer, 1996, p.114).

The thesis not only looks back into history, but it also looks at the situation today and attempts to predict the tendency in the future. Getting involved in politics by making music is a rather indirect but influential way, as music is an indispensable part of people's lives. This characteristic is becoming evident with the development of our society, especially the technical developments. For example, see the chain of the phonograph, radio, synthesizers, TV, CD, MP3, iPod, streaming, YouTube and the blockchain utilities of peer-to-peer sharing of music. However, the situation in the future will keep continuing with contradiction and disparity, which is characteristic of any political governance. On the one hand, people may be kept away from real political discussions by government deliberately using the low-taste, no contents but superficially attractive music, or the "high" ideological music sang by favorite idols that also keeps people off the independent thinking. On the other hand, the developing technology, as well as the quantity and quality of new media can give people faster information which is more accessible, that may make people know more about the social and political situation and get them involved in political discussions. What's more, the quantity and quality of new media, as well as the increasing sensitiveness about political correctness, make it reasonably easy for musicians getting involved in politics, or even for them finding themselves over-connected to politics. That is one of the reasons that musicians and their music are passively used as political tools more frequently. Of course, the increasing interconnectedness between musicians, their music, political hierarchies and political discourse may make politics look a less distant and therefore more natural topic of

daily consumption. It can help people find out what politics actually is and so it may become a thing intimately bound up to our lives. It should not be an isolated topic just for insiders.

To conclude, the thesis would like to find out essential narratives which indicate how musicians and their music became factors in political discourse in the history and try to categorize them. In those categorized stories, the hypothesis of three dimensions of human governance will support the analyzing of intentions of musicians and explain how their music is getting involved in politics. The situation today will be discussed, and the tendency in the future will be predicted in the last part of the thesis.

Finally, the thesis uses collective action theory as its underlying theory, making it as the basic reason of musicians and their music get involved in politics. It looks at the role of music as a public good that provides humanity-wide externalities for more in-depth social discourse, mutual empathy, a better understanding of collective identity and, last but not least, allows us to achieve higher levels of well-being (Nikoghosyan, 2017). Collective action refers to action taken together by a group of people whose goal is to enhance their status as a social group and achieve a common objective (Dowding, 2013). We will conclude no matter how musicians and their music become factors in the political discourse, the requirement of collective action, to achieve higher stakes of human interest is the ultimate origin of the connection among musicians, their music, and politics. Music is primarily and dominantly an art and a creative activity of the artist as an independent individual. The servitude to vested politics is just a negative externality of second order in the abuse of

artistic freedom (Benáček, 2018). We will finally test the validity of a hypothesis that music, as a form of art, is initially a positive thing, where its abuse in politics is not dominant and where it is calling for mutual harmony between individuals and communities helps us achieve mutual interests more efficiently.

2. Politics, Music and Collective Action

The goal of the thesis is to clarify how musicians and their music become a factor in political discourse. The thesis has two components as its central premises and argument points: music and politics. Collective action is a conclusion that the thesis is trying to discuss and prove.

The term politics can be defined as the process of making decisions that apply to members of a group in defense of their interests and personal priorities (Hague and Harrop, 2013). It refers to achieving and exercising positions of governance, organized control over a human community, be it a collective social body such as a state, a city, a tribe or a family, which leads to institutionalizing of interests of a given human community, particularly at a level of a state (Prowle and Lucas, 2016). The term political discourse refers to the discourse that all possible actors, such as politicians, organizations even citizens, are engaged in a political bargaining or political process. The political discourses can build political communications which have their functions of expressing opinions and asserting interests related to politics. As the political actors are making decisions to assert their interests, the term politics can be simplified into a rather populist slogan as "the interests of people." Thus, politics exists

everywhere in our lives and has a close connection to our lives. After all, we live a life every day seeking for possible interests to make our lives in a balance with our socio-economic values and making the life worth living. Politics is a mechanism to explain how individual human interests are transformed into achievable mutual interests by acting collective action.

Collective action is a theoretical term first coined by Mancur Olson in 1965 for analyzing and describing the elements that cause and influence a group of individuals to achieve common and collective benefits, thus public goods. Olson (1965) argues that any group of individuals attempting to provide a public good has troubles to do so efficiently. Collective action may be applied to economic aims; to aims in exercising power; or to aims at human cooperation, harmony, cohesion. However, no matter what aims the collective action may be applied to, they are all asking for mutual encompassing interests, and eventually claiming that all participants will be better-off. What matters is to induce in the actors of collective action a belief that gains and benefits from cooperation will more than compensate their private costs foregone. Collective action is an economic principle of efficiency, which opens the acting parties to risks: it is never confident that future gains will indeed cover the present costs. Running a risk is by itself a cost, and it is natural for humans that they are risk-averse. Calls for a collective action must, therefore, be so persuasive that people will be willing to sacrifice their costs and run the risk of a failure, thus reduce their risk-averse tendency. The music enters here on the scene due to a rather strong persuasive power it has.

Music is a kind of public good offering positive externalities most of the time. Music illustrates the riches of the world, and also explains the world and enriches the world. It gives the people the confidence that they are a part of the world. It encourages the human positive tuning and positive attitude to creativity. Music is close to our everyday lives. Both music and its creators influence our interests, too. In reality, music is a performing art where the rendition matters. Music is closely related to psychology, as well as to literature-poetry. There are lyrics to songs and librettos to operas, so the words turn music from mere subjective impressions to teleological guidelines bringing direct links to the contents and actions. Except for being a part of the art, music is a part of the culture. It is evident that music can be one of the culture representatives when a country wants to show their unique existence. There can be the same kinds of music that are popular across different cultures. However, the kinds of music originating in a different culture always have their specific characteristics. Music is not an inert demonstration of beauty – it mobilizes human actions. For example, it can influence our interests directly by changing our behaviors or mental conditions. Music can also influence our interests indirectly by changing the mind and the mental strength of those politicians who are crucial actors in the political discourses, which leads to the modification of overall interest policies which are deeply connected to our lives. We may think here of Adolf Hitler and the way how he was inspired to the detriment of humanity by the music of Wagner. It is worth mentioning that when musicians themselves become politicians, their values that once have appeared in their music can be reflected in

their ways of handling politics. What's more, their influence power shall be taken to a new higher level.

What's more, music is definitely an extension of language (Zimmer, 2017 cited in Shah, 2017). Compared to the regular language, music too is also a kind of language but has a higher capability to express emotion. Music can be informative; it passes information to the people using a more emotional way. We each have the emotions inside of us that we need to get out, and the ones we need to experience, and often words are not enough. Music is the vehicle to express emotion when words do not suffice (Rueff, 2017 cited in Shah, 2017).

There may be an interesting fact. When people are asked whether politics or music is closer to their lives, there is a high possibility that "music" will be answered. In fact, they interact with each other, and both are closely linked to our lives. We can see hundreds of people daily, walking on streets with earphones plugged into their ears. However, politics is a brutal social force inducing us to comply and follow – we cannot avoid living in communities or having connections with communities that are continuously under the governance of political actors, attacking us from all kinds of media, even arts, and music (Cialdini and Goldstein, 2004).

Music is social production and activity; it takes more than one to make music. All art is the result of cooperation. Listening to music has a similar chain of actions and cooperation. Mutual understanding, as implied by the notion of collective action, is essential for social

well-being. Furthermore, from a sociological perspective, well-being in itself can be said to be a social activity rooted in mundane everyday occupations (DeNora, 2007).

As a medium that works to transmit various messages, conscious or subconscious, music is an essential instrument of shaping the harmony among society, economy and politics, as well as decision-making, cost-bearing, self-sacrifice, and risk-taking. Cognitive neuroscience has recently paved a new way of looking at music, emotion, and behavior. Neurologists Sacks (2007) or Rose (2004) discovered that music occupies more areas of the brain than language does and that responding to music is as natural as responding to human voice encoded into words. Leoš Janáček became famous for his ability to transform human conversation into melodies that retained their narratives (Benáček, 2018).

Music can thus offer a particular purpose or target to guide people or simply intuitively by appealing on their interpretation of the world and the feelings of social unity. We know that music is in most of the time pleasurable, and it seems to play a role in our well-being. However, many researchers also believe that music plays a significant role in strengthening social bonds. With music, people are not feeling left abandoned and derelict – what the politicians discovered in times immemorial and what all churches used for instilling their creeds. Thus, music has both characteristics of human communication: objective commands and subjective stimulation.

During the decision-making, it is normal that actors want to make a group of people agree on some perspective. For example, to take the same position on issues, and to take joint

action under the specific leadership. Under that situation, many kinds of instruments can be used: the economic instrument such as pecuniary gains, the political instrument such as gains of powers or the psychological instrument such as changing the confidence or decidedness. While all three can be verbally intermediated, the psychological instrument is strongly biased to the non-verbal intermediation. Music is one of the most powerful of psychological instruments compares to others. It can exercise the influence via appeals to rationality, but it can also exercise the influence via appeals to subconsciousness (Benáček, 2018). The reason musicians and their music become factors in political discourse is that politics finds music as an instrument to be used as an excellent transmission medium calling for collective action to achieve mutual interests. Music is a kind of art, and art is social in the sense that it is created by networks of people acting together and proposes a framework in which differing modes of collective action, mediated by accepted or newly developed conventions, can be studied (Becker, 1974). Music is a product of collective action that also generates collective action.

To finally conclude music being used in political fields to stimulate collective action, we first take a look at several ways of how musicians get involved in political discourses, and how their works become factors in politics. Nowadays, it seems natural and frequent for musicians and their music getting related to politics and becoming factors that influence politics. However, that is not a new thing which appears just in recent years. Many typical examples of that can be found when we look back into an extended period in the history.

3. Analysis of examples of how musicians and their music became factors in political discourse in the history

Though the thesis would like to reach the conclusion that music calling for collective action is the reason musicians and their music become a factor in political discourse, discussing and categorizing examples can help the conclusion be more persuasive. As the examples are showing different situations, they all come to conclude the collective action. The different situations and a contrast between the process and the result make the conclusion more convincing.

3.1. Musicians and their works are used as instruments in the political discourse, musicians and their works are endowed with political meanings.

When it comes to the characteristics of musicians and the meanings of their products of music, it is worth discussing that whether those characteristics and meanings are correct or original. In fact, keeping the music works staying in their original meaning and making a musician be in a single figure is a relatively hard work. Since there may even be uncountable ways to interpret a masterpiece or even a dull work, it is normal that some characteristics of musicians and the meanings of their products of music are frequently and mainly endowed by other people such as audiences or even people who want specific interests.

Beethoven is one of the most celebrated musical figures in the history whose figure and music are continuously connected to politics. When Beethoven was still composing, his music was endowed with political meaning according to his political thoughts. However, the original meaning was not immutable. Other people tried to associate their political thoughts with Beethoven and his music after his death. What's more, those pieces of music Beethoven composed which were not political have even been embellished by some people to promote their political works. Besides Beethoven's political thoughts, the political meanings people interpreted after his death were changing from time to time. In this part, we emphasize more on other people's interpretation of Beethoven's music after his death.

Beethoven never expressed a single and unambiguously coherent political philosophy or ideological viewpoint (Brown, 2007). However, the typical political environment and actors' influence on him can be discovered to infer his political views. There are elements which can be found to reveal his political messages in Beethoven's pieces of music. Beethoven's political views have been changing in different periods of his life, with the influence of external political situation and political actors. After being first influenced by the political environment which created by the ruler of Bonn, Maximilian Franz's ruling philosophy of relatively enlightened despotism (Dennis 1996, p.24), Beethoven's view seemed to become unstable later as French Revolution broke out, and the Republican philosophy was crashing his initial preference in enlightened ruling. Beethoven's personal life and thoughts were badly impacted by the two wars in the Napoleonic Wars. His music pieces were more patriotic and conservative while he paid much attention to the situation of the Napoleonic

Wars, especially those victories over the French. After Napoleon finally lost his power over Europe in the Battle of Waterloo, many leaders of the European states influenced in the Napoleonic Wars were willing to start the political restoration of monarchies and repression of liberal and revolutionary ideas initiated during the period of French Revolution. In this period, which is also his remaining years, Beethoven finally managed to finish his most famous Ninth Symphony. Beethoven put Friedrich Schiller's poem "Ode to Joy (Freedom)" into the fourth movement, the finale of his Ninth Symphony. The "Ode to Joy" theme well-represents the universal brotherhood and solidarity, stating that revolutionary ideas should change the situation with all efforts made by people who would like to get in charge of their destinies. It is full of vigor, courage, and confidence, suggesting Beethoven's progressive political consideration. Beethoven died three years later. His music works then were unavoidable to be led to a long and winding road of people's interpretations.

The person who most notably worked to associate Beethoven's music with explicit political meaning was Richard Wagner (Brown, 2007). Shortly after Beethoven's death, Wagner first listened to Beethoven's music and had shown much admiration and then regarded Beethoven as a significant inspiration. Since Wagner himself was an influential musician and has a particular Germanic passion in politics. While keeping some of Beethoven's original ideas of supporting the revolution, Wagner also made his interpretation more outspread by a specific preference of nationalist emotion towards Germanic Nation. The figure of a Germanic national hero was created. At that time, the Second Reich was making efforts to achieve their industrial success and acquire the military. Music has its strong propagandistic

power of gathering the collective and solidary power of people. The power was able to be strengthened especially when some of Beethoven's music pieces have vigorous rhythm and encouraging melody. However, it was not enough without some certain provocative ideologies being interpreted. Wagner's interpretations have given convenience to the authorities at that time. Since then, a voice of nationalist ideology has appeared in Beethoven's music, started being used as a tool of political propaganda under intentions of concentrating power and got deeper "misunderstanding" for a long time.

After World War I, there seemed to be a "Beethoven interpretation rush" since there were a large number of political parties appeared followed the democratic political system during the period of Weimar Republic. Different political parties launched political campaigns as their propaganda to attract voters. Music was often used in those campaigns and Beethoven, as a famous and popular national figure, was one of the best candidates. The political interests have been urging those parties to find some useful elements, even the unclear ones in this musician's music pieces. They used the elements with obvious meaning directly and tried to interpret the unclear ones according to their preferred ideologies. It can be imagined that a large number of debates arguing about Beethoven's "true" political views had occurred.

In an era which media system was not highly developed as today, a seemed targeted voters could easily believe academic and official explanation of, for example, Beethoven's music. One of the most obvious reason is they had no immediate and convenient tools to prove and

confirm what they had heard, but they had to selectively make choices according to their very first preferences in their minds. The targeted voters, due to their respect and admiration, would admire and follow Beethoven's particular deeds and thoughts. Moreover, when those things suit a political party's interests, it seemed like if Beethoven were alive, he would have supported and voted that party. Showing targeted voters of mutual characteristics was a convenient tool. It equals that social bonds were established and then used to reach maximized political interests.

The Nazi party, who had not yet come into power at that time, emphasized not only Beethoven's resistance towards French invasion but also on those racial problems. The figure of Beethoven was tried to be modified with racial perfection and purity of a Nordic German. Some conservative theorists argued when pressed that if Beethoven did have "mixed blood," he fought to conquer it to produce his pure Nordic music (Brown, 2007).

After the Nazi party came into power, Beethoven's music was still a tool which had been involved in the Nazi party's propaganda. However, this time, the works were not only simple interpretations connected with some far-fetched historical evidence which could almost be found in the real history. Beethoven's own life experience was modified into some standard process for a great man to be born to conform to the Nazi party's ideology. In fact, compared to Beethoven and his music's interpretation and use by Nazi Party in Germany, it is inevitable to mention Wagner's since his music is more politically controversial based on much visible evidence in both his music and behavior. One of the controversies is particularly famous for

its connection with antisemitism, Nazism and Adolf Hitler himself. Wagner's writings on Jews corresponded to some existing trends of thought in Germany during the 19th century and stereotypes can be easily found in Wagner's operas. Hitler was an admirer of Wagner's music and regarded his operas as an embodiment of his vision of the German nation. The Nazis used those parts of Wagner's thought that were useful for propaganda. Because of the associations of Wagner with antisemitism and Nazism, the performance of his music in the State of Israel has been a source of controversy (Bruen, 1993).

The era of following Beethoven's ideologically unbiased political thoughts expressed in his music has not come even after the World War II finished. The country was then divided into two parts, and the political system and ideology differences between these two new countries changed the interpreting emphasis on Beethoven's music. It was evident that the Democratic Republic of Germany was trying to be close again to Beethoven's radical interpretation from his music. The interpretations were not as exaggerated as they were in Nazi period, but it still contained a specific intention from the authorities, which was to make people feel a particular connection between Beethoven and their ideology to gain power. This time, the ideology is communism. However, the Federal Republic tended to seriously wash off Beethoven's figure the Nazi had initially derived, make it stay far away from politics relevance and focus on the technical and musical level.

In November 1989, the Wall between East and West Germany finally collapsed. Beethoven's music was performed by some famous orchestra to celebrate the reunion of the

East and the West. Besides the sense of joy and celebrating, the particular political meaning of liberty and freedom was throughout the whole symphony. As a matter of fact, Beethoven's "Ode to Joy" in his finale of Ninth Symphony has been used internationally over the years mainly for its elements of happiness, freedom, and liberation. It could frequently be heard in not only celebrations but also protests. For example, in Tiananmen Square protest in 1989, "Ode to Joy" could be heard from Chinese students' broadcast.

The original political thoughts of Beethoven in his music can be mostly determined as the politics of behavior since himself can be in control, and the music is the catalyst to let people head to a direction which he thought was reasonable. It is evident that there were some periods of misuse of Beethoven's music especially the time before the end of World War II. Finally, the interpretation of Beethoven's music went back to the right path by interpreters respecting the original good thoughts of the musician, the authentic agent of the music.

We may also have doubts about how we can confirm Beethoven's original political views which were not directly presented in his music into some certain unambiguous words. How can these actual interpreted words be called as "original"? In fact, as mentioned, the rhythm, tone and melody of Beethoven's music pieces, some particular people's dedications for his works and the specific poem he had used in his movement can be references. The research of certain historical period, political environment Beethoven had been in is also responsible for developing a reliable interpretation. Constructivism can offer a proper perspective to interpret Beethoven's music: the context of society, culture and history that Beethoven had

experienced, and his interaction with others influenced his development, here we mainly focus on his political development reflected in his music. The explanation that Beethoven, as an artist, did not put forward an ideological reaction to a particular political situation of his time does not equal to that he had no political thoughts or no responsibly interpreted ones should be put out. Music is simply a metaphor, and its content is philosophical and highly abstract – as such it offers an interpretation which is always personal, subjective and dependent on the concrete situation of the listener. The value of the music rests in its everlasting contiguity of meaning in time and space. Thus, it reproduces itself in new meanings as the time varies and as its listeners are living their concrete lives.

In some periods after Beethoven's death, his music was misused as some political tools. Some politicians and leaders who were demanding more power tended to become the principal agents that control the expression style of the political meaning of Beethoven's music. Their intentions of gathering more power had let Beethoven, and his music became factors in political discourse, which mainly are factors that made up the propaganda of the authorities. When music is endowed with specific political meaning, it is the interpreter wants to achieve some specific preference in his or her mind for most of the time.

3.2. The works of musicians reflect the politics and musicians actively participate in the political acts

The belief of music is a compelling media, the belief of creator of art should have the social responsibility to show public the truth, and the belief of music should be used eventually as

a transmitter influencing people and society to achieve their ideal aspects have encouraged musicians come into the politics. The works of musicians reflect the politics and musicians actively participate in the political acts are the ideal examples showing that musicians are the first agents to let their music become factors in political discourse. When musicians actively participate in the political act, they probably believe more in the power of a public figure than the power of their music which can work to change people's minds. They mostly are not afraid of talking about politics, and they would like to support some political acts. However, they still keep their identities as musicians. In fact, it is hard to find a clear borderline between them when trying to distinguish the two processes of musicians and their music becoming factors in political discourses mentioned above. Some musicians can get involved in the both of two processes, or they are actually in a situation in the middle.

Besides the rapidly increased popularity of rock 'n' roll music, the 60s saw an impressive revival of folk music. As one of the most renowned folk singer-songwriter in the twentieth century, many of Bob Dylan's music works show his deep concerns and activeness about social events and political situations in different periods. Those periods started from when he was unknown to the public at first, and still continued when he has become the most successful folk and rock singer all over the world, especially his protest music period with other active folk singers in the middle and late 60s. He makes use of some traditions of the folk music, which contain the characteristics of narrative, and social and political situation relevant. He also owns extraordinary language and writing abilities, which allow him to

express his social and political opinions which he thinks should be conveyed to people to alert them in a version of folk music, no matter straightly or implicitly.

In Dylan's 1964 song, *The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll*, he wrote about the miserable death of a black maid who was killed by a white young man from a wealthy tobacco farming family. Though it was a murder, the white man was just sentenced to six months. In the last of every verse, the refrain sings: "Oh, but you who philosophize disgrace and criticize all fears, bury the rag deep in your face. For now's the time for your tears (Dylan, 1964)." Dylan was trying to tell people that a racial incident is worth philosophizing and criticizing by the people in the whole society. When people know to do so, they may find the unfair in the society and try to fight for themselves but also other people. Comparing to *The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll*, an earlier work of Dylan, as well as a more famous one, *A Hard Rain's a-Gonna Fall* goes through a deeper meaning using the question and answer form of traditional ballads. What usually does a question do? It mostly expects an answer, but before an answer, it leads people to think about the answer. Dylan first uses questions to increase people's curiosity and the possibility of them thinking about the answer themselves. Dylan (1963) himself reveal the answer by using several metaphors, for example, "newborn baby with wild wolves all around it", "talkers whose tongues were all broken", "white man who walked a black dog" and of course "hard rain" to represent the endangered living condition, restrained freedom of expression, unequal right between different human races and increasingly fierce Vietnam war at that time. With no detailed narration of a story and no

clear persuasion of what should be done, the song hints that people should be aware of the future and stand together to get through the "hard rain."

The 60s protest song movement in the US was a golden period of folk music revival in which a high number of musicians actively participated in politics. Not Bob Dylan was the only one folk singer who got involved in it. Folk singers such as Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, and Joni Mitchell all showed their activeness. In fact, one massive movement may be sparked by only one person; it will not continue developing to a big range of movement without the participation of other people. It is a gradual initiative that is promoted by a group of people with the same aim. Let's call it collective action. The big range of collective action of 60s folk singers was inspired by the unique social and political situation and some political-sensitive leading singers. The collective action of using their protest music to inspire people by 60s folk singers of the US is to exchange more collective action of the ordinary people in order to gain changing power in some social and political problems, for example, the resistance of Vietnam war, which was the most critical social and political problem that led many folk singers to sing out as their protest. Singing out the real situation in Vietnam and what experienced by soldiers, calling for the stop of the war as well as peace and love was the central theme that those folk singers want to pass to the audience.

Comparing to a single musician who would like to use its music to change people's political behavior, a prominent music movement which connected to politics requires the collective

action of many musicians with same aims and its influential power of push people into collective action be stronger.

The folk revival can be considered as a political re-invention of traditional song (Wikipedia, 2018), a development encouraged by Left-leaning folk record labels and magazines such as *Sing Out!* and *Broadside* (Dunlap, 2016). The revival began in the 1930s (Eyerman and Barretta, 1996) and continued after World War II. How does reformative folk music attract people's eyes? While there are full of things about the current social and political conditions in the new adapted lyrics, the old singing tradition, styles and melodies might be used in the new songs. In this way, the new folk music had gained much new popularity at that time. In fact, this phenomenon of keeping the old melody and changing the lyrics into new ones or national language is pretty standard. While the familiar melody is more acceptable by the people, it also has a faster speed in transmitting. For example, in the last year of the 60s, the Czechoslovak singer Marta Kubisova sang the Czech version of *Hey Jude*, *Hej, Jude*. The lyrics were not directly translated from the original English, which are comforting words for a man chasing for his love (Lennon and McCartney, 1968), but were changed into a different meaning Czech version adapting to the social situation, calling for people's mutual wish of freedom and change of society of regime (Rytíř, 1969). The Beatles was one of the most famous and popular music group at that time who represented the mainstream popular culture of the West. As one of their most famous songs, *Hey Jude* was sung among a high number of people and was highly acceptable. The melody of the song not only sounds good but also can be easily remembered. With the new lyric of national language filled inside, the

influence and popularity of the Czech version *Hej, Jude* can be even more, which let the song widely transmitted. The intention of “waking people up”, which means the politics of behavior played a central role in this alignment of music and politics.

In the next part, we talk about musicians who try to be politicians. When the musicians' have another identity as politicians, both the process of becoming the factors in politics and the real intentions of getting involved in politics can be changed.

3.3. Double identity: musician and politician

Some musicians do not only write and sing about politics as musicians, but they try to get an actual connection with the politics and shape it by becoming the first-position actors in the political discourse – the political activists, the politicians. Being active in the politics becomes a main work in their life no less significant than creating music. "Double identity" is a specific example of musicians being in the political discourse, which can be found in many countries. The change of their identities from musicians to politicians is unique and typical for not so few musicians. The intention, the dimension of human interests may have been changed into an entirely new aspect. However, the aim of achieving collective action is like always.

After searching in era of classical music, the Polish composer, as well as a statesman Ignacy Jan Paderewski comes out to be one of the most representative musicians who also shared a part of their lives into political works. Comparing to the politician-musicians years later as

well as the information era today, the double identity of Paderewski seemed normal and pure at that time. It might be because of the wide classical education at that time, as well as the respectable and serious identity of pianists and composers. Apart from being proficient in music composing, Paderewski was philanthropic and had a strong sense of patriotism towards his country. He is also a good speechmaker. He combined those things together, supporting his compatriots and country even by using his own concerts. Paderewski's own musical compositions featured Poland and Polish musical folklore prominently (Gliński, 2017). One of Paderewski's greatest achievements, his 1908 symphony *Polonia*, was focussed entirely on the history of the Polish nation during the last couple of centuries (Gliński, 2017). Paderewski played an important role in meeting with the U.S. President Wilson and obtaining the explicit inclusion of independent Poland in 1918 (Varvounis, 2016), and later became the Prime Minister of Poland in 1919.

Decades later, this kind of identity change was becoming more controversially regarded by the people. The rationality relevant problems are caused because the popularity of the musicians may cause irrational support from their fans, especially in our information era. There are also people who consider the incapability of a musician being a politician, due to their prediction that the art is an open and ideal stuff but being into politics require conservativeness and realism. The late 60s and early 70s were the years that musicians stood up to make political voice which were mainly "peace and love", anti-war and left-wing initiatives. We may find their opinions too idealist and lack of rationality. John Lennon was one of the representative figure at that time, not only for being active by writing politics

in music, but also for being closely connected to political campaigns and organizations. We even can regard him as an “almost politician.” Before deeply got involved into politics with his second wife Yoko Ono in the United States for the rest of his life, John Lennon had already written songs about the politics, expressed his political opinions, and done things that were relevant to the politics. The music works of Lennon has never stopped changing, from mild, social relevant peace and love songs such as *All You Need Is Love* gradually transferred to direct and incisive political theme songs such as *Woman Is The Nigger Of The World*. Returning back his MBE medal to the Queen seemed to be a start of Lennon’s open political expression and propositions. After starting his new life in the United States, the immigration issue with the government, his unrealistic political passion along with his fame constructed Lennon’s political life. He continued insisting his political opinion which expressed in his famous song *Imagine* early on: no religions, no countries, no processions (Lennon, 1971)... The idealistic John Lennon and the conservative Nixon Government at that time composed an absolute contrary situation, making Lennon’s political life harder but even more active (The U.S. vs. John Lennon, 2006).

In Africa, similar examples are more frequently and more complicated. The community and society in Africa compared to Western Countries are quite complex. Tribes, ethnical groups are representative as society levels in Africa. Famous musicians, political activists and politicians such as Fela Kuti and Youssou N’Dour had gained prestige and become leaders in their own communities even before getting involved in the politics of the whole nation. To them, music and politics mix which each other, getting double identity seemed ordinary.

All those musicians in the example have things mutual. They were all active being in the politics and they used their music as a tool to express and achieve their political goals. The music they have created reflects their political views and can give references to their political works later on. Moreover, their fame helped their voice better received by the audience. For those musicians who have stepped into political fields, it is hard to know whether their original thoughts have changed. However, being a political activist or politician is in a better controlling position of calling people into collective action compared to being a musician that uses music as a weapon. Besides, the popularity of the ex-musician has can increases the proportion of the audience. The ex-fans have more possibilities to gather together and become the advocate of the musician's political initiatives and policies.

The intention of musicians being politicians does not always stay in the third dimension of human governance. It is a non-controversial fact that getting involved in politics, especially becoming a politician can give a person money or power, which come to the first and the second dimension.

3.4. When musicians and their music influence some fields that intimately connected to politics

This situation is one of the most indirect relationships between musicians, their music, and politics. For the most of the time, it is not their music were endowed with some particular political meaning, but their existence changed the political situation and relationships.

Music is not only a media, but it can be regarded as a merchandise. Economics and trade are intimately connected to countries' political relations. Let us imagine if one country is in demand for some goods from another country. To get more convenience, will the country's political policies towards the other country to be changed because of the demand? The fact that the international political economy and international relations are existing tells us these subjects should never be separated in the reality. The Beatles was phenomenal. During their trips to the United States, which was called as "Invasion" by the country across the Ocean, the Beatles are not only culture exchangers, but also the ambassador and foreign exchange makers of the Great Britain. When they visited Buckingham Palace to receive their MBE, the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, from the Queen in 1965 (Apple Corps, 2018), they were formally connected to the politics since then being regarded officially by the authorities as the contributors and representatives of the whole nation. Though the Beatles later got involved in the politics forwardly by creating politics relevant songs particularly influential during "the summer of love", they were recognized by the authorities before that due to more passive and indirect reasons: the United States even the whole world was impressed by those four creative young man, and they are from the United Kingdom.

There are more examples can be found in the history of classic music. The thesis has already mentioned about the political contributions of Beethoven and Wagner. There is also Bedřich Smetana whose *My Country* is a symbol of the Czech national independence. The great musician himself enjoyed enormous national prestige for building the Czech national music and contributed widely to the National Revival. The message to humanity stemming from

the political alignment of Wolfgang A. Mozart with Free Masons is explicitly passed to us in his Magic Flute (Benáček, 2018).

Examples are not hard to be found especially when the musicians themselves are some international phenomenon. Of course, things will be even more direct when the influential musicians try to write some political music. However, being influential worldwide itself is automatically get involved in politics. While there are examples talking about apparent diplomatic and economic influence, there are also examples that show particular uses of music more in an unobvious way or an underground situation.

In the cold war period, there was an iron curtain between the East and the West. Though the East was cautious and conservative about the information and cultural relevant product from the West, the open-mind people, especially the young ones, tried their best to find ways to absorb those information and cultural stuff. The information and cultural relevant product are the so-called soft power, which gives people new information and enhances open thoughts. Music was a kind of soft power when it represents culture and creativeness of a country. In fact, it in a way pushed the process of the East democratization. Although the music itself may not have political meaning, as long as it can show some different scene from the west, it was already transformed as a tool to pass specific cultural influence, and lead to some political change. What's more, the western government might have used the music as a specific tool to influence people from the East. That is also why the East government were making so much efforts on avoiding cultural infiltration. We have

mentioned above about the Czechoslovak version of *Hey Jude* in the past chapter. *Hey Jude*, a song from the West side with nothing visible to do with politics but mainly a song initially to comfort a man's feeling, after being changed with new lyrics of a national language, became an inspiring politics related song that encouraged people to make their collective action of fighting for their freedom.

To conclude, this category of the process is mainly that music is closely connected to a field that can be related to politics. The music does not have to be political, but it should surely be able to be regarded as a kind of medium that changes some fields that are closely related to politics. As for those fields, they also have one thing in common: they are rather significant in the space of human interests, and they can require a great amount of collective action to make contribution to themselves.

3.5. Negative music: a music genre that can be defined as a social problem in public policy making

As the society is on its way of development, the mind and thoughts of people are making their progress as well. The development of society and the development of people interact with each other to make the situation more complicated. Music is the thing under the influence of the development. Music is not as pure and full of beauty as before, it also can pass negative energy in this complicated world. The collective action of hatred can be regarded as social and political problems, and the collective action of refusing the negative externality is the main point as the government starts solving those social and political

problems as well as making political decisions and public policies. Public policy refers to the actions taken by the government when encounter social and political problems — its decisions that are intended to solve problems and improve the quality of life for its citizens (Erlyana, Schuldberg and Last, 2016).

Collective action for music does not only mean a group of people doing the same thing following the political initiative in the music, but also means that there are people who appreciate the thoughts in the music and feel the same about it, even there are only a few people. Both the two explanations of collective action for music, especially the latter one can be explained that music always gives people confidence or cognition that they are a part of the world, no matter the music is positive or negative. Negative music is a unique existence in the music which mostly represents destruction but not creativity. It is not only a kind of music that writes about obvious prejudice and hatred, guiding listeners to conduct irrational prejudice and hatred about specific races, political views, or deeds; but sometimes it is a kind of niche music which spreads negative self-emotion and thought, even world-weary emotion to make the listeners develop same negative emotions after following and listening to it, or develop some sense of connection between themselves and the music.

In his book *Music and Politics*, John Street (2011) talked about his experience of getting involved in the judgment of a musician called Simon Bikindi, who was charged by the United Nation and sent to the court because his music was held to have been written with the deliberate intent of inflaming Hutu hatred of their Tutsi neighbors. According to the UN,

the specific songs Simon Bikindi has composed have a direct effect, which is increasing the hatred in their minds, upon those who listen to them. The extreme ideology of hatred that propagated by the music may lead to unacceptable result after receiving by the audience. Music always gives the people the cognition that they are a part of the world. However, when it gives people the information and shows them the picture that they are a part of the world full of hatred, there is a high possibility that they will be irrationally assimilated and regard hatred as necessary to accommodate the environment they live.

In fact, the music itself, which means that the basic elements that construct the music, such as musical note, is not the source of influence that changes people's mind and behavior. The things of music that can change people's mind and behavior are some certain feelings and explanations generate from the people. They are produced and showed by people after they have listened to the music. The feelings and explanations expressed by people are the key points that influence people's mind and behavior. As for the pure music, the original and persuasive interpretation could be a standard when the later generations try to analyze the similar kinds of music. As for music with lyrics, comparing to pure music, has better strength to express some specific thoughts. Trying to dig out the original even the right thoughts in pure music is much more difficult than in music with lyrics. What's more, the lyrics can change the stereotype impression towards some specific melodies.

The second kind of negative music often appears in sub-culture of some specific music genre. For example, some sub-genre of punk music or metal music. These days, there are

never so few people who fancy some niche things. Of course, music is included. Niche music can be a kind of music with less audience and lower popularity. It also can be a kind of music that is not acceptable by the mainstream, one of the reasons for not accepting is that most people refuse the negative things frequently appear in that music. However, some people regard the characteristic of off stream as something "cool" which worth being known as their interest. There are also many people who are not in a right mental situation, and music with negative emotion gives them a sense of belonging. It gives the people the confidence that they are a part of the world.

Censorship is a typical example of the public policy that comes out regarding negative music, though the real reason of censorship in most situations is the interests of authorities but not the music itself is offensive or has the real problem of being negative. It is not to be supposed that censors are reliable guides to the meaning and power of music. They are symptoms of its potential and possibilities (Street, 2011).

To conclude, negative music has two ways to attract people to collective action. One is collective action of the following, which shows destructive activity towards creativity; one is collective action of resisting, which shows people prefer the actual creation of music. Making public policy is a collective action of resisting negative externality of the negative music. Whatever the real intention of the authority on such policies would be, they require collective action of the people. A group of political agents gather together to make it come

out; then it can influence the citizens, which is a even larger group of people to commit collective action towards the target it aims at.

3.6. National anthem: a specific tool used by the country to promote different political attitudes

National anthem mostly is a kind of music with lyrics which owns its special meaning of existence in politics. It is a song that recognized either by a nation's government as the official national song or by convention through use by the people. (Global Rhythm, 2007)

The music style of the national anthem is often influenced by the culture and geographical region of the countries. However, the music style can be influenced and choose not to use culture or geographical region as a foundational reference when the country is highly ideological. The majority of national anthems are marches or hymns in style. The countries of Latin America, Central Asia, and Europe tend towards more elaborate and operatic pieces, while those in the Middle East, Oceania, Africa, and the Caribbean use a more simplistic fanfare (Sfetcu, 2014). A generally patriotic emotion is always expressed and emphasized in national anthems, and national anthems are deeply connected with the identities of countries. For example, the trend of new national anthems appearing after independence is visible. In eastern and southern Asia, most countries gained sovereignty shortly after World War II, and many adopted existing anthems as part of their new identity (Linford, 2011). The national anthems from all over the world can be mostly divided by two characteristics: descriptive and narrative. As for the descriptive national anthems, they try to

describe the history, traditions, scenery, people or even an essential person in the country while eulogizing them. The narrative national anthems are more likely to tell specific stories that happened in the history to make their people remember. They also work as warnings.

Because countries' government recognizes national anthems as official, they thus always represent countries' basic figures and ideas. It is the most obvious kind of music which is connected to the nation-states. When we look at the definition of a nation-state, it shows that a nation-state should be a sovereign state of which most of the citizens or subjects are also united by factors which define a nation, such as a language or common descent. One single individual cannot compose a nation-state, but many individuals that united together to become communities and societies. The individuals belong to a united nation-state, that is what national anthem trying to express to the people.

As mentioned above, national anthems always represent countries' basic figures and ideas. That is a basic external characteristic to establish impressions from both foreign people as well as their own people. What's more, as for the internal, they have their specific power to unite their own countries' people.

As our world is continuing on its trend to globalization, countries are joining in closer communications and many boundaries are weakened to find more possibilities of development. The concept of the country nowadays can be varied. The sense of patriotism and nationalism is not as important as before, especially in European countries, and the attitude towards it has changed from positive to neutral. It is now often connected with

irrationality which is not able to help a country to have open and equal attitude. Some national anthems try to use a symbol to make people feel a sense of belonging to their nation-state, and a sense of identity towards people themselves and other compatriots. The sense of belonging and the sense of identity are the foundation to guarantee the collective action of people. If the music can make individuals unite in a community and feel no sense of alienation, the collective action can be conducted.

The national anthem of the Czech Republic is an excellent example of the descriptive national anthem which uses the description of great beauty on the Czech land calling for its people's sense of belonging and sense of identity as Czech people.

Czech Original (Tyl, 1834)

English Version (Minahan, 2010)

Kde domov můj, kde domov můj,

Where my home is, where my home is,

Voda hučí po lučinách,

Waters roar across the meadows,

bory šumí po skalinách,

Pinewoods rustle upon the cliff-rocks,

v sadě skví se jara květ,

Bloom of spring shines in the orchard,

zemský ráj to na pohled!

Paradise on earth it is to see!

A to je ta krásná země,

And this is the beautiful land,

země česká domov můj,

The Czech land, my home,

země česká domov můj!

The Czech land, my home!

In the Czech national anthem, home is the most frequent word appears in the lyrics. Here, home is not the house or flat a family lives in, but a whole nation-state, the Czech land. The anthem enlarged the scale of the community from a small family to a great nation-state which is constituted by a large number of people. It is meant to let people realize that they are part of the nation state, that they can be identified as Czech People. The Czech national anthem is rather gentle in words and in the emotion of calling for the sense of belonging. The soft words that praise the beauty of the land, in fact, is indirect in calling for collective action. The Chinese national anthem, a typical example of the narrative national anthem, when compares to the Czech national anthem, its words are more like persuading or even ordering people to some collective action. In Chinese national anthem, the specific words of "Arise, we who refuse to be slaves!" are directly sung out. China has a tragic colonial history and experienced several wars in its modern history and contemporary history. It is regarded as an essential symbol that should never be forgotten by generations of Chinese people and it should be borne by them. The danger of being invaded again is also written in the lyrics to remind people to always be in a prepared and vigilant condition. The marching rhythm and melody also make people feel a specific sense of ambition to fight for their nation-state.

Chinese Original (Tian, 1935)

English Version (The State Council of
The People's Republic of China, 2018)

起来！不愿做奴隶的人们！

Arise, we who refuse to be slaves!

把我们的血肉， *With our very flesh and blood,*

筑成我们新的长城。 *Let us build our new Great Wall!*

中华民族到了最危险的时候， *The peoples of China are at their most critical time,*

每个人被迫着发出最后的吼声。 *Everybody must roar defiance.*

起来！起来！起来！ *Arise! Arise! Arise!*

我们万众一心， *Millions of hearts with one mind,*

冒着敌人的炮火，前进！ *Brave the enemy's gunfire, March on!*

前进！前进！进！ *March on! March, march on!*

As we have mentioned Czech *Hey Jude* which kept the melody and modified the lyric, it is interesting to also mention German national anthem, which influenced by the change of regimes as an interesting example: the same music written by Joseph Haydn was used by Austro-Hungarian Empire, Weimar Republic, Nazi Third Reich as well we post-WWII West Germany (Semerák, 2018), but the lyric has experience several modifications. With the poem written by Lorenz Leopold Haschka, "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser (God save Franz the Emperor)" was the official anthem of the emperor of the Austrian Empire. After the death of Francis II new lyrics were composed in 1854 which mentioned the Emperor, but not by name (Wikipedia, 2018). Later in 1922, "Deutschlandlied" – with the same music by Haydn and lyric by Hoffmann von Fallersleben became the official German national anthem. When

it came to Nazi regime, only the first stanza was kept and it was followed by the Sturmabteilung song. It is not difficult to infer why Nazi Germany only chose to use the first stanza of Deutschlandlie when discover the first was written as “Germany, Germany above all, above all in the world” (Blackburn,1985), and the rest emphasizes on beauty, justice and freedom. When the Germany separated after the WWII, the West Germany adopted Deutschlandlied again with only the third stanza as official while the East developed their new national anthem. However, from about 1972, the East made adaptations that the lyric of their own national anthem can be sung to the melody of the Deutschlandlied and vice versa (Wikipedia, 2018). After reunion, the third stanza with Haydn’s music officially became the national anthem of Germany, praising the national aspiration for justice and freedom. The change of the regime had changed the identity and the nature of the country. National anthem as one of the representative of the country should have been changed too. The people of the country could thus receive the “right” ideology the country wanted them to obey.

The national anthem is the most apparent and official kind of political music that calls for collective action of people from a nation-state. A national anthem can be regarded as a public good which the governments have decided to be. In most people's whole life, a national anthem can be heard many times through different channels. During their young age, people should be educated about the knowledge of their own countries. National anthem as a shared knowledge should be taught. For some countries such as China, singing national anthems every day in a flag raising ceremony is a necessary way to conduct patriotic education to people since they are very young. There are also national anthems can be heard during some

political events, sports events, especially those international ones. Thus, before the national anthems can make people have a sense of belonging, ambition or identity, a cognition of their own countries and a sense of connection between them and their country should have been established long ago. The ambition of doing the collective action for the country is the excellent externality. It is the result the government wants to receive using the public good national anthem.

However, the self-identification will never be the same, and we should live in a world with ethnical and cultural diversity. National anthem may not continue as music to spark people's nationalism, but a song to spark a sense of belonging which can be supportive of a unique kind of culture.

4. The future of music and politics: the contradiction and disparity continue

In the future, music will still be used to connect with politics, as it is one of the most potent medium using mostly psychological influence to change people's mind. I first predict that in the future, politics can be less serious to people. It is mainly in two ways. Firstly, with low taste entertainment, people are cheated by the authorities and tend not to care about the real things of the politics or only tend to know the surface of the politics. This possibility appeals to people's subconsciousness. There may be a decrease in the quality of political music, and as for the politics of music, the democratic countries have less possibility to make unliberal music policies to avoid music and politics interact with each other. However, the countries with authoritarian political systems will positively restrain the real political music with free thoughts to be born. What they will do is to use a particular kind of propaganda, tittytainment, to enhance the control over their people. Politics being "less serious" mainly means that people concern less about the politics. In a second way, with the increase of cognition of people, politics will be known as a common thing that can be discussed anytime and anywhere. More and more people under democratic and free political environment will understand that politics means looking for human interests, and with the self-involvement of individuals, politics can be added with some elements which are equal and free. This possibility appeal to people's rationality. Politics being "less serious" mainly means that politics is not a topic only can be discussed by professionals, but also by ordinary people. Though these two situations are contradictory, the trend may be close to the first because

coming up with intentions to know the serious information is much more bothering and tiring compares to getting entertainment which hardly requires thinking. It can be predicted that when two things are put in front of people, most of them will choose the one that is more accessible to be done. The thesis will mainly discuss the first situation.

But politics can also be more significant to people in the future, but I predict it will mainly be in a passive situation. That is because we are living in a world paying much more attention to political correctness, people are increasingly forced to think more about politics. The relationship between music and politics will also be tricky.

To conclude, there will be much contradiction and disparity. Thus, I would like to use some examples happened recently to predict the future relationships among musician, music, and politics.

4.1. Entertainmentization of politics

Politics entertainmentization opens the door to an easier chance to let the music and politics get connected with each other. The popular sub-culture, meme culture is a good example that reflects how the development of media technology influences the transmission of different opinions, which political opinion included, though mostly it aims to create humor and make people laugh.

To discuss the contradiction and disparity in the future, we may have to first put our eyes on those countries that still under authoritarian political systems, as the political protest songs

as well as politics hinted songs are still in a quite small percentage and are in a situation of the underground. The political protest songs and politics hinted songs are under reasonably strict censorship. The only kind of political song under the authoritarian regime that can straightforwardly come out of the stage are the songs that propagate or eulogize the system and the leader. For example, as China still has its special Art Troupe in the military to do particularly political propaganda. Clear ideological content music is composed, written and performed by them. However, the Chinese authorities have realized that under the real market economics, Chinese people's enthusiasm and admiration about some particular leading ideology or leaders have been gradually fading. The entertainment industry had developed rapidly after entering a much more unconstrained environment, giving the new generations a broader space to choose what they want to follow. Of course, the new generations have developed their taste. With people's gradual increasing attention to the entertainment industry, a particular kind of economy, fan economy has appeared in China, though it is not that fresh in many foreign countries. After many years' development, the fan economy in China is getting larger and more mature. While the fan economy can push the entertainment industry to higher development, the musicians or singers themselves are controlling an increasingly larger group of people, both their consuming behavior and their thoughts. The musicians or singers are admired more like idols with incredible popularity not only in China but it is a worldwide phenomenon. The Korean singer and musician Psy who released his Gangnam Style single in 2012 may be a typical example. The music video of the song became the first YouTube video to achieve one billion views (Gruger, 2012). At

present this music video has been viewed over 3.1 billion times on YouTube alone (officialpsy, 2012) and it was the world's most viewed song until July 2017 (Dresdale, 2017). With billions of views and with endless flows of music in supermarkets, restaurants and radios the singers became the world's most admired celebrities, by far more followed and regarded as idols than politicians, sportspersons or actors. We can ask a question "what kind of political phenomena mark this popularity?" The Chinese authorities have already discovered the "Idol" phenomenon and its importance. When there are many people have already attracted by music or figures, it is time to use the influential power of those musicians and singers to influence and change people's minds.

While most Chinese still have a strong sense of patriotism, it is easy for the authorities to make the concept of "China is getting better" equal to "the existing authoritarian system and authorities are good." The propaganda uses famous musicians and figures to speak in the public or a particular themed video eulogizing the incredible change of the country and the enormous contribution the government and the party have made. There should be many fans who follow their idols being influenced by ideologies without any doubts. There also people who appreciate the patriotic emotion the musicians and singers have expressed, and become fans because of that. It seems that a virtuous circle, of course in the authorities' eyes, has been established. In fact, it can not only let the authorities keep guiding people's behavior and ideology, but it can also establish a figure which is open-minded and modern for the authorities. The false impression can make people believe that the political regime they now live under is not that authoritarian or conservative. The music is more likely an easy tool to

attract people's following. The popular musicians and singers have their particular figures to be admired and followed by their fans. Their figures seem to be much more important under the situation of fan economy, which is a medium to propagate the specific ideology the government wants to promote.

In the future, the connection among musicians, their music works and politics will reach a newer and closer level. Nowadays, politics is turning to a less serious thing comparing the situation before, thanks to the rapid development of technology and of course, media. Music as a thing that can influence and be influenced by politics, its connection to politics has a trend of being frequent, no matter the connection is positive or passive. The word positive means musicians and singers forwardly add some political elements to their music works. The word passive means the music works are endowed with political relevance without the musicians and singers' original intentions of getting involved in politics.

As we are living in a world in which technology is developing rapidly, the concept of community, society, collective group will gradually be minimized by people. In the future, people may not have to live in a community in a conventional sense, which means the connection between people and community is getting increasingly unnecessary. Leading a life alone and not having frequent interaction with other people may turn into a normal phenomenon. However, as countries still exist, there is a high possibility that people should head together to achieve something using collective power in some situations, especially the mutual interests we are looking for are on a very high level. Under those situations, music

as a powerful tool influencing people to feel that they are part of the world, part of the community again, and will be used to lead people to get back to the collective action to achieve the collective goal.

Example of Chinese government using the popular figure and characteristic of musicians and singers to propagate the ideology represent a specific way authoritarian regime controlling the people to achieve collective action and mutual interests further even when there is a changed new generation. In the old days, Goebbels in Nazi Germany and Stalin in the Soviet Union were the real masters being proficient in using that. The US election happened in 2016 let a larger scale of musicians and their musical performing come to the election stage, promoting the electors. Using the popularity of specific music or musicians, especially singers to propagate political aims is not only a phenomenon in countries under the authoritarian political system. Comparing to the way the authoritarian regime propagating their ideologies, the way the candidates used in the US election in 2016 was somewhat similar, but had many essential differences such as the right to choose freely. In some aspects, it also shows that in countries which have somewhat democratic political regimes, musicians and singers have more freedom and initiative to get involved in politics, supporting and promoting the political views they prefer. They could support the candidate who fits their interests or would benefit their future interests, using their high popularity to call more people for collective action of supporting to make their interests even more achievable. The result may not be satisfying when conservative opinion describes musicians and singers' choices as cynical, radical and irrational. The examples above all have shown

the importance of musicians' figures. Whether the musicians have abilities to increase listeners' rationality is controversial.

The term tittytainment was first invented by Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security advisor of Jimmy Carter. He first used the term in 1995 in a discussion which concerned "the future of work." They sketched out a new social order agree that in the society of the 21st century, 20 % of the people will have work and 80 % will be kept docile, as if in a state of semi-hypnosis, by means of what Brzezinski called "tittytainment": a mixture of deadeningly predictable, lowest common denominator entertainment for the soul, and nourishment for the body (Livraghi, 2010). The word combines the words "tits" and "entertainment", refers to the comforting effect of mass entertainment such as watching TV, as the similar comforting effect of an infant sucking on its mother's breast. The therapeutic effect, which mostly leads to the decrease in people's independent and rational thinking comes from low taste entertainment that is unexpectedly appealing. The situation now is even getting worse due to the rapid development of mass media in following over two decades. Though China is an ideological socialist country, tittytainment can still be a method of blinding people's eye as long as it is tightly ideological in control. More and more people can develop a false impression of the government, which seems to be more open and modern but in fact, it is just using the trick of tittytainment to propagate the ideologies.

I also get inspiration by considering the real meaning of "Orwellism." You may think this situation only happens in some countries under totalitarian or authoritarian systems because

the word connects to George Orwell and his creation of country Oceania under a totalitarian government in 1984. However, this phenomenon also happens in the democratic societies. "Authoritarian" alone does not constitute complete meaning of "Orwellian". As language is playing a significant role in shaping our thoughts and opinions, changing and controlling it can change and control our thoughts and opinions. The use of "doublespeak", such as war is said as peace, slavery is said as freedom in "Orwellism", can distort the meaning of language by undermining but not conveying it (TED-Ed, 2015). It mainly indicates that the government can change our language system by currently using some words with distorted meanings or with some extra meanings added. Sometimes, to achieve this, authoritarian rules that are used to control people's actions and speech are not mandatory.

As mentioned above, music is also a kind of language, primarily that the music people usually listen to is accompanied by lyrics. While music can use its melody to change people's emotion, the language and terms can be as the lyrics to make multiple influences. The music then can be regarded as speech and expression. The deceptive and manipulative use of language in the music is also a rather fast way the authorities use to manipulate people's mind. Using music as a fast medium the authority can either use lyric to change the meaning of the words or simplify the meaning of them. The authority may encourage the production of music with lyrics lack of complexity to reduce people's critical thought.

Orwell (1964) once said in his essay *Politics and the English Language* that political language is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an

appearance of solidity to pure wind. Though sounds exaggerated, it is the reality that to persuade people into making collective action under their risk aversion for interests, making lies sound truthful and murder respectable are not big deals. Nowadays, gaining interests is not a less significant work than any time before. Though the language distorting process made by the authorities may be in a long term and works slowly, it does not mean the deceiving and controlling nature of the process can disappear. If we connect “tittytainment” with “Orwellism”, it is easy to find the mutual characteristic in those two phenomena. The particular kind of joyful and attractive melody is composed, and the authorities can profoundly influence the lyrics that transmits messages, either turn it into low-taste or high-ideological, if they are aiming at being in control of people's minds by using music.

4.2. Music under political correctness

While there is a trend that people are getting increasingly unaware of and insensitive about politics, something opposite to it happens as well. As we are now living in a world with high attention to political correctness, people may be pushed passively to consider about politics. The political correctness is originally used to describe the avoidance of forms of expression or action that are perceived to exclude, marginalize, or insult groups of people who are socially disadvantaged or discriminated against (Oxford Dictionaries). However, the meaning of political correctness today is gradually off its original track. The originally democracy and freedom promoting ideology is turning into a situation that is lack of democracy and freedom – by tearing out some sensitive political topics from the public

discourse by force. People are gradually not allowed to say anything that are considered as insulting even the intention is not to insult. When under both kinds of political correctness, it is not easy for hatred songs which belong to negative songs to be allowed to appear in public. However, a song which is related to politics can be more controversial.

The entertainmentization of politics makes musicians and singers join into the politics, such as political campaign either forwardly or passively. There are also musicians and singers who refused their works to be involved. The Rolling Stones refused Trump to use *You Can't Always Get What You Want* as attracting music in his campaign. The story shows that some musicians' rejection or even fear of being "endowed" with particular political views that will undermine their future interests. Political correctness is definitely one of the most critical things they would like to consider, which is once more connected to their interests.

News can be easily found that political correctness has already influenced some musicians. More musicians are showing their compromise. There is news that Guns 'n' Roses has kicked out the song *One in A Million* from their luxurious anniversary album set *Locked N' Loaded* due to its controversial political character. The lyric of the song contains some racist and anti-homosexual element, as well as some emotion of anti-immigration. Axl Rose, who has written this song used to defend himself in front of the controversial situation, but today the band chose to hide this song. Can this be representative of the phenomenon under the era political correctness today? Nowadays, popular songs such as Gangnam Style are used to propagate the origin country is also a trend. The diplomatic music in the future will be less

seriously chosen and seemed more independent from the control of the authority due to the democratic countries choose liberal and humanitarian as their political correctness.

The connection between music and politics in the future will never be fading, but it is going to a more contradict situation. The authorities are more likely to use low taste entertainment as well as control language to reduce people from political doubts and attention as mentioned above. However, political correctness has already come to its big time, the works of musicians and singers can easily be connected to politics more passively. The musicians would either carefully follow the political correctness when creating music, or be involved in political correctness even the music works are non-political.

5. Conclusion

Musicians and their music are influential factors in political discourse. The thesis first categorizes the process of how musicians and their music become factors in the political discourse using different examples. It uses the theory of collective action as the leading theory, indicating that the underlying intention of music and politics interacting with each other is to receive the specific collective action of the people who listen to politics-related music to get overall interests.

Beethoven's music was endowed with political meaning which does not suit his original one to promote national emotion to achieve people's cohesion in the newly born country under new authorities. In the US, the 60s witnessed a period of folk music revival and an upsurge of protest music. The folk music, which has a tradition of social and political involvement, was trying to reveal the reality by writing lyrics directly or indirectly to wake up the people to resist. For those musicians who have stepped into political fields, it is hard to know whether their original thoughts have changed, but being a politician is in a better controlling position of calling people into collective action compares to being a musician who uses music as a weapon. Music can be connected to political related fields which are rather significant in the space of human interests and require a great amount of collective action. There is also negative music to show hatred or negative emotions. On the one hand, this kind of music can spark the same negative feeling of the listeners. On the other hand, the reaction after listening to negative music may become a social problem which requires both collective

actions of policymakers in the political fields and of people who want positive things to construct the world. The national anthem as a country's official song is the most specific example of music and politics combine and interact with each other. The national anthems can call out people's sense of belonging and a sense of identity. However, the primary domestic experience and education are indispensable to make people have original intentions to feel that they are parts of their own countries.

There are various instruments that can be used to make people agree on the same perspective, to take the same position on many issues, and to take a standard action under specific leadership. Music is one of those instruments. It can exercise the influence via appeals to rationality: musicians can write music to warn people about the social and political situation, encourage them to do the correct collective action under rationality. Music also can exercise the influence via appeals to subconsciousness: though the political music can be ambiguous or lack rationality, people may follow and create collective action under the influence of popularity, imagination or mutual emotion.

The conclusion of collective action makes all the intentions of music becoming factors in the political discourse find their sources. When it comes to the intentions, it is tough to dig out the real and detailed ones. People always have a standard of binary in their hearts to characterize whether things are good or bad, true or fake, and so on. However, the standard of pure binary mostly is not suitable when we analyze the things we know and we are experiencing. We cannot characterize the intentions by a simple standard. The aim of getting

collective action can be a comprehensive representation of musicians' and politicians' intentions of combining music and politics.

Music and politics will continue their close relationship, as music is one of the most influential media can be used. With the development of media technologies, low-taste or high-ideological entertainment will increase and spread, making themselves the obstacle of people's rational thinking on politics; on the other hand, the development of media technologies may help people to find more channels to get information, making themselves more informed, and becoming more rational. However, no matter how things will be, our society keeps its way to higher development, and people's opinions come to more favor to complete equality among human so that political correctness will become an unexpectedly important role. The possibility of musicians and their music passively involved in politics will increase due to that. When this phenomenon starts, people's collective action of thinking and discussion about the politics especially political correctness, musicians and their music naturally become factors in the political discourse.

The reason music and politics interact with each other because politics finds music as an instrument to use as a high transmission media calling for collective action to achieve mutual interests. No matter it is the music that comforts people or negative music, they all can be connected to politics in different ways. No matter people start doing the same things after listening to music or only their feelings are the same, these can all be regarded as successful in sparking collective action.

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