

VARIA

MUSIC IN THE FIELD OF POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND TRENDS

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Research on relations between art and politics has its tradition. However, it mainly refers to literature, whose part, as far as its authors' intentions are concerned, is of a political character, in a lesser degree – of a picture. Sound, especially if it is not linked to a text and/or a picture, is considerably more seldom analyzed from the point of view of its importance in politics. As long as a word and a picture happen to convey unequivocal political meaning, qualified as such by most recipients, sound cannot be obviously considered a political message. It is questionable whether music can convey any meaning in whatever sense. If one can manage to suppress this doubt, it will result in a question how to construe the senses conveyed through the medium of melodic – rhythmic structures. However, the findings in the field of widely understood humanities¹ affirm that music serves as a creator's message directed to both individual

¹ For example, musicologists concentrate not only on formal aspects of music works, the history of their origin and circulation, but also on semantic character of music. Psychologists engaged in music research, describe psychological mechanisms related to getting to know music, composing, performing and listening to music; scientists engaged in semiotics look at music as a medium of meanings; sociologists do research on social determinants of coming into being and reception of musical works.

and collective receivers. Political science studies often bring up a matter of communication between authorities and the subjects (in authoritarian regimes), and also between representatives of a nation or people claiming their role and electorate (in democratic regimes). At the end of the 1960s, American and Canadian scientists made room for music, one of the most widespread communicators, i. a. in political sphere. At that time, interdisciplinary teams including American sociologists, political scientists, culture and media experts undertook multi – faceted research², focused mainly on popular music.

² See, e.g.: J. Rodnitzky, *The evolution of the American protest song*, "Journal of Popular Culture" No. 3, 1969, the same author: *The decline of contemporary protest music*, "Popular Music and Society" No. 1, 1971; J. Robinson, P. Hirsch, *Teenage Response to Rock and Roll Protest Songs*, [in:] S. Denisoff, R Peterson (eds.) *The Sounds of Social Change: Studies in Popular Culture*, Chicago 1972; J. Robinson, R. Pilskaín, Hirsch P, *The rhetoric of revolt: Protest rock and drugs*, "Journal of Communication" No. 26, 1976; S. Kosokoff, C. Carmichael, *The Rhetoric of Protest: Song, Speech and Attitude Change* "Southern Speech Journal" No. 35, 1970; G.H. Lewis, *Popular music: Symbolic resource and transformer of meaning in society*, „International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music" No. 13, 1982; the same author: *The sociology of popular music: A selected and annotated bibliography*, "Popular Music and Society" No. 7, 1979; D. Weinstein, *Heavy metal: A cultural sociology*, New York 1991; Orman J., Conclusion: *The impact of popular music in society*, [in:] Bindas K.J. (eds.) *America's musical pulse: Popular music in twentieth-century society*, Westport 1992; P. Hirsch, *Sociological Approaches to the Pop Music Phenomenon*, "American Behavioral Scientist" No. 14, 1971, p. 371–388; J. Goldthorpe, *Intoxicated culture: Punk symbolism and punk protest*, "Socialist Review" No. 92, 1992; M. Rauhut, *Music knows No. borders: The political background of the GDR's international rock concerts in the late eighties*, Straw W, Johnson S, Sullivan R, Friedlander P (eds.) *Popular music – style and identity*, Montreal 1993; A. Szemere A, *Subcultural politics and social change: Alternative music in postcommunist Hungary*, "Popular Music and Society" No. 20, 1996; D. Graham, *Punk: Political pop*, [in:] P. Taylor (eds.), *Post pop art.*, Cambridge 1989; B. Bowden B, *Performed literature: Words and music by Bob Dylan*, Bloomington 1982; the same author: *Performed literature: A case study of Bob Dylan's "Hard Rain"*, "Literature in Performance" No. 3, 1982; S. Groce, *The sociology of popular music: A selected and annotated bibliography of recent work*, "Popular Music and Society" No. 16, 1992; L. Grenier, *From "diversity" to "difference": The case of socio-cultural studies of music*, "New Formations" No. 9, 1989; S. Frith, *World music, politics and social change: Papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music*, New York 1989; R. Garofalo, *Hip hop for high school*, "Radical America" No. 18, 1984; J. Peterson, P. Christenson, *Political orientation and music preference in the 1980s*, "Popular Music and Society" No. 11,

The research has been continued, although a sub – discipline called political science of music as an analogy to sociology of music³, which came into being over fifty years ago, has not come into being yet. From an American research perspective, music belongs to rather traditional than innovative subjects of research in social sciences, in which also political science has its place. In European research centers, sociological research on music have been carried out since the beginning of the 70^{s4}, in the field of political science – at least since the end of 90^{s5}. In Polish political science, research on music has been conducted for merely a few years. Polish experts on political science, similarly to the scientists from western Europe and the US, preferably direct their searches for relations between music and politics towards popular music⁶. Only one of two books that have been

1987; J. Orman, K. Mashkin, T. Volgy, Socio-Political Attitudes and Music Preferences, "Social Science Quarterly" No. 56, 1975; B.W. Curtis, *Music Makes the Nation: Nationalist Composers and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, New York 2008.

³ We can reasonably tell about over a hundred years' tradition of sociological research on music initiated by K. Buchner and M. Weber. See: K. Buchner, *Arbeit und Rhythmus*, Leipzig 1897; M. Weber, *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*, New York 1958 (German version published in 1921.) The history of music research development in the field of sociology presents in detail A.N. Sochor in: *Woprosy socyologii i estetyki muzyki*, Leningrad 1980, p. 26, passim.

⁴ See: I. Supićić, *Wstęp do socjologii muzyki*, Warszawa 1969.

⁵ See, e.g.: S. Smith, A sonic geography of voice: Towards an affective politics, "Progress in Human Geography" No. 36, 2012, p. 336–353; M. Martiniello, J.-M. Lafleur, *Ethnic Minorities' Cultural and Artistic Practices as Forms of Political Expression: A Review of the Literature and a Theoretical Discussion on Music*, "Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies", No. 34, 2008; F. Spinetti, *Open borders. Tradition and Tajik Popular Music: questions of Aesthetic, Identity and Political Economy*, "Ethnomusicology Forum" No. 14, 2005; S. Gemie, *Roots, rock, Breizh: music and the politics of nationhood in contemporary Brittany*, "Nations and Nationalism", No. 11, 2005, p. 103–120; M. Sorce-Keller, *Why is Music So Ideological, and Why Do Totalitarian States Take It So Seriously? A Personal View from History and the Social Science*, "Journal of Musicological Research", No. 26, 2007.

⁶ E.g.: M. Kosiarz, *Obywatel Bono; U2-muzyka I polityka*, [in:] A.M. Zarychta, Ł. Donaj, M. Kosiarz, A. Barański (eds.), *Media a polityka*, Łódź 2007; K. Messyasz, *Hip-hop. Awangardowy głos pokolenia czyli czego raperzy nie wybaczą rządzącym*, [in:] A.M. Zarychta, Ł. Donaj, M. Kosiarz, A. Barański (eds.), *Media a polityka*, Łódź 2007; J. Klein, *It Can't Happen Here: Social and Political Commentary in the Works of Frank Zappa*, [in:] A.M. Zarychta, Ł. Donaj, M. Kosiarz, A. Barański (eds.), *Media a polityka*, Łódź 2007;

published in Poland so far, includes observation of music from the perspective of political science, but it does not reflect this preference⁷. The analysis of popular music and other type of light music in consumer communities typical of modern democratic regimes is presented in the book as a secondary, not principal research issue. In another way, it is discussed in Marek Jeziński's⁸ work – an essential problem is the relation between popular music and an ideological dimension of functioning of modern societies. The author analyzes relations presenting the way in which musicians performing popular and ideologically engaged music give voice to political, social or ideological values through their program included in artistic actions.

The omnipresent tendency to steer sociological and political research on music towards popular music results from the need to analyze contemporary phenomena both in music and politics, and also from the researchers' extraprofessional musical interests, which relatively rarely include classical music. The third, possibly the most important reason for focusing on popular music is the intention to avoid working on pure sound material, which requires musicological qualifications. Methodology of interdisciplinary research, to which belongs all communicological research, combines various research traditions, methods and techniques. Research on music as a phenomenon relating to politics should unite i.a. political science, sociological, musicological, psychological, anthropological, historical, philosophical and semiotic view. In political science, which is interdisciplinary science, the view from the perspective of above – mentioned disciplines, even with the use of their typical research and techniques is accepted without hesitation. In the centers where political science is a young discipline, many times some doubts arise as far as musicological view, and to a less degree semiotic view are concerned (however, semiotic interpretations do not raise serious reservations in recently fashionable research on branding of states, nations, supranational organ-

Z. Grębecka, *Nie bądź Rosją, bądź Raisą. Znaki rosyjskości w tekstach piosenek polskiego rocka*, [in:] A. de Lazari, T. Rongińska (eds.), *Polacy i Rosjanie. Przewyciężanie uprzedzeń*, Łódź 2006, p. 405–433.

⁷ See: I. Massaka, *Muzyka jako instrument wpływu politycznego*, Łódź 2009.

⁸ See: M. Jeziński, *Muzyka popularna jako wehikuł ideologiczny*, Toruń 2011.

izations, political parties and informal groups oriented to political objectives). In Poland, musicology and political science still seem to be not only very distant from each other, but also not consistent to each other at all. The achievements of scientists working on popular music both in Poland and in the world do not favor the revision of this opinion because the work on popular music resolves itself into the research on the meanings added to the verbal level, this way omitting the necessity of musicological analysis. The starting point for music research with reference to the political sphere ought to be the defining of the research subject, explaining how music is understood in this research and showing the sources of such reasoning. Every epoch created its own definition of music, depending on philosophical assumptions and current types of performance. However, all of them – beginning with Aristotle's definition, following by Eduard Hanslick's definition and ending with the 20th century definition of Anton Webern – assume that music is a sound structure consisting of rhythm, melody, harmony, articulation, dynamics, agogics, tone color, form and acoustics. Webern incorporated silence and other acoustic phenomena into this definition. Human voice is admittedly a musical instrument, which can co-create music, but according to music theoreticians, word is not ranked among elements of music. The verbal component, if it occurs with the musical accompaniment, is a supplementary element and it is not considered an integral part of music. From a musicological point of view, musical – verbal production is not music in the proper sense of the word. It is closer related to a syncretic creative activity, which is fully expressed in opera – musical theatre. A majority of researchers working on the relations between music and politics tacitly assume that a melodic – rhythmic structure and a melodic – rhythmic – verbal structure are music to the same extent. Such understanding of music is characteristic of culture theory⁹ and philosophy of music. It was popularized by Theodor Adorno¹⁰ and other critics of culture industry products centered in the Frankfurt School. Today the common understanding of music is just the same. Not

⁹ See e.g. cultural research of popular music S. Hall, P. Whannel, *The Popular Arts*, London 1964.

¹⁰ See: T. Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, London 1991.

deciding the question of legitimacy of defining music in accordance with the musicological principles, it is worth mentioning that from among many genres of popular music almost exclusively instrumental – vocal compositions are chosen for the analysis of their reference to politics. It is almost sure that the researchers made such a choice because they assume that this could increase the level of measurability of their research findings. The research methodology of the reception of non – verbal sound signals is still in its experimental stage as far as both its semantic aspect and the influence on listeners are concerned. One cannot expect that the research results of that kind will be measurable, and ipso facto reliable, to the same extent as the research of more unequivocal messages. In social sciences, where an empirical approach and a quantitative method are highly valued, this fact is difficult to be accepted. Those researchers who in spite of uncertainty relating to results undertake research of music with reference to politics, not incidentally define music according to its common understanding, approved in the field of culture. It allows to analyze the musical compositions with a supplementary verbal component only and to stick to the claim that doing research on music is being carried out.

Besides, the merits of the research are usually shifted from melody to verbal component of songs without a change in the name of the research subject. If the subject of research was defined according to musicological assumptions, it would be difficult to justify the above – mentioned selection of research material and the applied research technique. Then we would have to state that we not exactly deal with the research on relations between music, even popular, and politics, but with sociological or literary research on the social circulation and role of a certain specific group of written texts, which are lyrics e.g. protest songs or texts considered as such. From a point of view of a scientist who defines music according to the musicological theory, such research does not solve the fundamental problem, namely the reception of music as a non- verbal message and explaining the problem of its social reception with a political result. After all, it is impossible to undeniably prove what is a way and range of impact of a song on a listener, so as not to remain doubts that this impact results from music, and not from a verbal component. The rejection of a musicological

notion of music allows for omission of the analysis of musical passages not equipped with a text, whereas the conclusions on the influence of the verbal component of such compositions can be moved onto the totality of a musical composition (a song). It is the most frequent way of drawing conclusions concerning the political results of the reception of a composition or/and a chosen set of songs. The analysis of pure musical influence in the field of political science is a rarity. Non – musicological defining of music in cultural, sociological and political science research supports Griel Markus's opinion. He claims, and following him Simon Frith – one of the scientists who study the presence of popular music in the space of mass culture – that “words are sounds that we receive before they become comprehensible sentences”¹¹ One can agree with Frith that words in songs are signs of sound¹² This gives the basis for treating them as a sound layer overlapping the tone of the non – verbal sound passages. However, it does not mean – contrary to Frith – that “pop songs celebrate not what is verbal, but what is non – verbal”. Preferably, both components in a song – verbal and non – verbal – have the same importance for listeners, although the perception of semantic and emotional content depends on the sound and the meaning of each component both separately and in a united form. In political science research, however, the most important seems to be not exactly the perception of the sound of music (although it also has its importance in the process of transformation of impressions, states of mind and emotions into opinions, and then actions), but the reception of its semantic content (even in the form of a not quite clear suggestion), its message. For this reason, focusing on senses included in the verbal component of popular songs simplifies a research task. Defining of the meaning, and especially ways of finding it in musical passages is even more difficult. The methodology of reception of musical messages without their verbal component is different and much more indeterminate than in the case of verbal messages.

An interesting suggestion for explaining the process of decoding of the meaning included in music is the theory of musical semiotics by Zofia

¹¹ Cited after S. Frith, *Sound Effect*, London 1983, p. 14.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 35.

Lissa, based on the Marxist musical aesthetics. The theory was found on the hypothesis that music contains mainly emotional substance. Lissa convincingly describes the mechanism of switching from sound signals to affection, and subsequently to meanings, thus towards emotional experiences, within which personal experiences play an important and active role. Marxist scientists aptly noticed that the intended result of musical effect to the highest degree depends on the ability to bring about appropriate and lasting associative links including sound passages, a situational context, emotional experiences and the accompanying afterthoughts with the tendency to change them into opinions. Irrespective of the findings of the Marxist theory of music, Deryck Cooke¹³ and Michał Bristiger¹⁴ came to similar conclusions. Although, as opposed to the Marxist musicologists they were not much interested in utility of music in the process of social steering in accordance with ideology in force, they also tried to discover the rule governing the functioning of “the language” of music. They found that, to the highest degree, it is based on applying an element assigning a particular meaning to specific musical structures. This element is an association, which connects definite meanings with specified musical fragments. The findings of the Marxist musicologists, western estheticians of culture and culturologists resulted in conclusion that music is a specific message, which cannot be understood without a prompt coming from outside the musical source. The essence of musical works can be understood thanks to the so-called reflection effect – a message is interpreted through the context of its sending. Forms of music are filled with associations, meanings and pictures, which are the derivatives of the situation, time and place they were listened to. With this intention, sometimes situations and places of musical compositions performance are directed. Their aim is to permanently express a particular message, e.g. connected with a state, ideology, state authorities, a nation and preferable ethos. Deciphering of the message included in a musical form, which is later sent in any situational and audiovisual context occurs through the association with

¹³ See: D. Cooke, *The language of Music*, London 1959.

¹⁴ See: M. Bristiger, *Związki muzyki ze słowem*, Kraków 1986.

the context, in which it was the most frequently¹⁵ listened to. After a few performances in similar circumstances and mood, accompanied by properly matched pictures, music expresses commonly communicable messages, inducing to adopt specific attitudes and behavior. The theory of coding and decoding of the message included in musical structures elaborated as such by the Marxist musicological school and also the research of western theoreticians of music, which proved the importance of the theory, are a promising research track. The theory of reflection effect can be successfully used in the analysis of the processes starting with sending a musical message and ending with a listener's reaction. The theory can be adapted, among other things, in research on social and political functionality of music.

In political science research into music, irrespective of placing in the research field all possible musical works or only popular music, taking songs under special consideration, two research questions come to mind: why could listening to and performing music have political consequences?, and what is the possibility of modifying by means of music social attitudes and opinions (and also collective behavior resulting from them) towards political situations and their direct doers? Research works presenting the cases of presence of music in political situations and its accompanying political phenomena as embellishment or background, without trying to explain cause – effect processes, starting with its sending, following by its reception and ending with its transformation into a situation which could be rightly named political, are able to become a useful contribution to political science research in view of the factual – demonstrative material¹⁶ included. However, they usually focus on the description of the situation in which musical works were performed. They do not include the methodological conception approaching to understanding of the process of musical influence on macrostructures (especially of that kind which could

¹⁵ The decisive factor in the process of the reception of musical structures is the initial situational context in which they were listened to.

¹⁶ The historical panorama of the presence of music in the context of political events and phenomena, i.a. in the revolutionary and totalitarian propaganda, e.g. in: D. Gwizdalanka, *Muzyka i polityka*, Warszawa 1999; A. Zwoliński, *Dźwięk w relacjach społecznych*, Kraków 2004.

be regarded as universal and timeless) and they ipso facto omit the functional – behavioral analysis of music, and not much contribute to the knowledge of political potential of a phenomenon non-political by nature, which is music.

Assuming that music is performed in order to produce political results, we treat it both as a message and as a tool of political influence. From the perspective of Dahl and Stinebrickner, political influence may adopt a form of a domineering deed, encouragement, power and compulsion, persuasion, manipulation, supremacy and authority¹⁷. If we consider music as a tool for political influence, it is necessary to give some thought to what its immanent features could be used to cause a particular reaction. Thanks to which “natural” features, music, even not equipped with a text, can “order” or “induce” a community to actions desired by creators of politics? Apart from the ability to receive and send messages (through the context of emission), it is worthwhile to take notice of the most important, from a viewpoint of its utility in politics, features of music such as: emotiveness, moodiness and the ability to communicate figuratively.

Emotiveness

As it was stated before, music contains and evokes emotional messages, which are the aspect of the meaning it includes. If the emotional ground, which is the place for socialization and sociotechnical actions using music, is appropriately recognized, it is possible to control social emotions successfully. The research into an emotional aspect of politics initiated by Plato, Aristotle, Descartes and Spinoza, continued by Ernst Cassirer, Vilfredo Pareto, Leon Petrażycki and Gustaw le Bon prove that guiding collective emotions is one of the most efficient ways of shaping a collective attitude towards authorities and also a political assessment determining adequate attitudes and behavior, and – consequently – essential for the development of a political situation. Emotions, as it was proved by psychology, cause prompt reaction and they are a strongly stimulating factor.

¹⁷ See: R.A. Dahl, B. Stinebrickner, *Współczesna analiza polityczna*, Warszawa 2008, p. 67.

Moodiness

Music belongs to the most powerful factors creating atmosphere. It is characterized by a particular mood and it also creates moods. For music, to cause the desired social reactions producing an effect in politics, in accordance with the expectations of its creators, just as in case of emotions, it is necessary to identify the moods of social aggregations, which are the objects of guidance. On the basis of psychological research, it has been proved that moods, in another way than emotions, have not an immediate stimulating value, but they only favor mobilization, give it mental preparation. Nevertheless, moods to an extent not less than emotions influence the attitude towards authorities and also opinions, thus social behavior leading to a political result.

Ability to communicate figuratively

Musical material performed cyclically in particular situations, important from a viewpoint of society, in this in situations of a political character, takes over the meaning of these situations and their ideological sense, becoming their symbolic denotation. This way, music in its symbolic and conventional way constitutes an anthology of historical, social and political facts. It could be made out as transposition or sublimation of these facts. Musical and musical – mimic forms – expressing senses figuratively – are the signs of these environments and their communities by means of which they identify themselves and are identified by other communities. This is the way in which state and national anthems function. Thanks to its symbolic and emotive properties, and also the fact that it creates moods, music is a typical material for ceremonies and rituals¹⁸. Consequently, it defines and consolidates communities and also takes part in building up tradition, which is an important level for integration of nations and also formulation and perception of their identity against a background of other nations. Rituals reflect and preserve social and political order. They are one of the most important levels, on which

¹⁸ From antiquity to modern times, music is i.a. a permanent element of the ceremony of appointing a ruler (in authoritarian regimes), in election campaigns (in democracy), in both types of regimes – in situations of authority demonstration.

political activity¹⁹ develops. Through rituals, aspirations and plans are expressed as well as places in social hierarchy and power system are appointed. Music as a material for different types of rituals is an important instrument of shaping and maintaining political order.

Political influence, with reference to political authority, does not have a normative aspect, therefore everyone who has the awareness of influence (a part of it is belief) could use it, although also an unintentional influence happens. Thus, in the research field, it is necessary to place the subjects exercising power as well as the subjects that do not directly exercise power. They, to the same extent, are able to efficiently exert influence on the social opinion about political reality as well as on those, on whom it depends in the highest degree. In what way could it be done by means of music? What kind of music does it tend to be and what determines its efficiency as a regulator of the level of legitimacy of power? One of the most important aspects of its authorship is the increase or decrease of support for the current political decision-makers by means of music. Many researchers are interested in this aspect because of its unflagging relevance from the ancient times to the present, but it does not mean that the state of research on the subject – matter is satisfactory. A few important works touching on the subject of glorification and consolidation of power using music in authoritarian regimes were produced, in this in modern totalitarian regimes²⁰. A considerable amount of articles on using music (mainly pop music, rock, rap, punk, hip-hop and film music) for political purposes in

¹⁹ About political meaning of rituals in connection with their affective-sentimental value see: A. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, London 1965.

²⁰ See, e.g.: M. Jabłoński, J. Tatarska (eds.), *Muzyka i totalitaryzm*, Poznań 1996; C. Applegate, P. Potter (eds.), *Music and German National Identity*, Chicago-London 2002; B. Mencil, *Wsio belcanto trudiaszczymysja ili opera stalinskoj epochi*, [in:] H. Günter, J. Dobrienko, *Socrealistyczny Kanon*, Sankt-Pietierburg 2000; M. Gryś, *Wizerunek władzy totalitarnej w zwierciadle IV Symfonii i „Ubu rex” Krzysztofa Pendereckiego*, „Muzyka” No. 3, 2005; P. Jurieniew, *Sowietskaja kinokomedija*, Moskwa 1964; R. Taylor, *K topografii utopii w stalinskom mjuzikle. Poczemu by i nie stalinskij mjuzikl?*, [in:] M. Balina, J. Dobrienko, J. Murszowa, *Sowietskoje bogatstwo. Statji o kulturze, literaturie i kino*, Sankt-Pietierburg 2002; B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu swastyki*, Poznań 1969; H. Orłowski (eds.), *Wobec faszyzmu*, Warszawa 1987; G. Fackler, „Des Lagers Simme” *Musik in den frühen Konzentrationslagern des NS-Regimes (1933–1936)*, Bremen 2000.

democratic regimes have been written – starting with the cases of protesting against political order and also political elites as the architects and guards, and ending with social manipulation by means of musical material in commercialized mass media centers and political marketing, in this in political advertisement, and also in contemporary politics of memory²¹.

There are not enough overall analyses, which could show from historical and comparative perspectives how contexts and ways of emission of music changed over the centuries in order to regulate the level of the legitimacy of power and how musical forms changed with reference to susceptibility of the subjects (in authoritarian regimes) and consumers / electorate (in democratic regimes) to musical influence, which is connected with the question of evolution within the scope of widely understood culture. As it is known, the state and permanence of a political regime depend on the degree of legitimacy of power. From this point of view, it is worth assessing in which arrangements musical influence on the side of those who are interested in maintaining a current political order is of a socialization character, and in which – sociotechnical. How does music work in actions steering at obtaining the greatest adaptation of individuals and community to the improvement of the existing order through the attachment of the individuals functioning in this order to its particular, fundamental values and ideals? Depending on historical period and a type of regime, the objectives of undertaken socialization and sociotechnical actions change. Differences in the objectives of socialization and sociotechnics reached by means of music have an influence on dissimilarity of musical forms used. Disciplining and indoctrination of totalitarian communities at the beginning of the 20th century took place with the participation of music, which to a large degree belonged to a clas-

²¹ R. Denselow, *When the music's over: the story of political pop*, Boston 1989; G.H. Lewis, *Popular music: Symbolic resource and transformer of meaning in society*, „International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music” No. 13, 1982; J. Goldthorpe, *Intoxicated culture: Punk symbolism and punk protest*, „Socialist Review” No. 92, 1992; S. Kosokoff, C.W. Carmichael, *The Rhetoric of Protest: Song, Speech and Attitude Change* „Southern Speech Journal” No. 35, 1970; A. Szemere, *Subcultural politics and social change: Alternative music in postcommunist Hungary*, „Popular Music and Society” No. 20, 1996.

sical canon, a tonal music, monumental and pathetic or referring to folksiness. Modern consumer society is controlled using popular music, in the mass media and advertising they often take on the form of muzak.

It is symptomatic that the issue of disciplining of communities and manipulating them by means of music with the intention of maintaining a political order and the social relations typical of this order is discussed relatively rarely, especially in reference to modern democratic regimes. Far more often music is qualified and analyzed in the political context as a tool for expressing discontent with the present political order. Undeniably, music not only serves a purpose of consolidation of current states and phenomena in politics, but it is also used in attempts to disturb them by conspicuous negation. Music political contestation, starting with the sixties in the United States and western European countries, and since the beginning of the nineties in the states of Central and Eastern Europe, has become expressive and tends to intensify. It is possible that a spectacular range of the phenomenon favors a popular but wrong opinion about music used mainly as a tool for protest in reference to politics. The analyses of contestation music usually lack the reflection upon its not only symbolic but also real efficacy. Has any musical composition (or their set creating a musical trend) emitted, even repeatedly and by different social groups at the same time, with the intention of contestation against a particular political order, disturbed this order in any way? Has it brought about a significant political consequence for this order? Undoubtedly, music can intensify social discontent in an indirect way, it creates moods and emotions, which may intensify the social discontent or/and a national rebellion. This is especially likely to occur when a breakthrough for a state or a nation comes. Contestation compositions reflect the moods of the social groups, which treat them as their own artistically formulated program. They represent and join them confirming in the articulated convictions, such as this is their most important role. Different kinds of groups have a great need to evoke their critical views on political reality using protest songs. Performers of such compositions are gladly seen as spiritual and moral leaders of a group. The psychological influence of the contestation music in reference to exponents of a protest is undisputed. It helps to avert frustration, maintains the common outlook of the community, replaces more

radical forms of fighting for their ideals. With reference to the political order that is being protested, they act as a safety – valve, which gives a safe direction to a potential social and political conflict.

Research on music as a tool for political influence seems to be urgently necessary. The development of marketing as well as the need to coordinate relations among new social and political structures creates the need for improving the ability to use sociotechnical measures. Music belongs to the oldest, the most universal and sophisticated from among them. The fact that its mechanism of influence has not been discovered yet, could be attractive to researchers if they adopt an appropriate attitude. The social range and effectiveness of music as a tool of political influence are still poorly measurable, but it does not mean that it is necessary to give up the research on this phenomenon.