

Echoes of Sexism: A Thematic Analysis of Ambivalent Sexism in Turbo-Folk Lyrics

Klaudija Abat

Master (MSc) in Erasmus Mundus in Psychology of Global Mobility,
Inclusion and Diversity in Society

Dr. Ricardo Borges Rodrigues, Assistant Professor,
ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

June, 2025

Department of Social and Organizational Psychology

Echoes of Sexism: A Thematic Analysis of Ambivalent Sexism in
Turbo-Folk Lyrics

Klaudija Abat

Master (MSc) in Erasmus Mundus in Psychology of Global Mobility,
Inclusion and Diversity in Society

Dr. Ricardo Borges Rodrigues, Assistant Professor,
ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

June, 2025

Echoes of Sexism: A Thematic Analysis of Ambivalent Sexism in Turbo-Folk Lyrics

Klaudija Abat

Department of Social and Organizational Psychology, University Institute of Lisbon
03402 - Master Dissertation in Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion and Diversity in
Society

Dr. Ricardo Borges Rodrigues

June 30, 2025

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the European Masters of Global Mobility,
Inclusion, and Diversity in Society

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I extend my gratitude to Dr. Ricardo Borges Rodrigues, whose insightful guidance, encouragement and generous feedback have shaped this work at every stage. His expertise and patience were instrumental in transforming initial ideas into the study this has become.

My heartfelt thanks go to my best friend and sister Martina, whose unwavering moral support was matched with her linguistics expertise. Her support and thoughtful contribution to the analysis refined both the clarity and nuance of my writing.

I am grateful to my family and partner Marko for their endless patience and sympathetic ears to countless brainstorming sessions. Their belief in my work and willingness to share in its challenges sustained me throughout this journey.

Finally, I want to thank my wonderful Global Minds cohort, whose camaraderie, insight, and consistent encouragement have been a great source of inspiration. Their shared passion for discovery and social impact has enriched both my academic and personal growth.

To each of you, thank you for helping this study come to life.

Contents

Resumo	vii
Abstract.....	viii
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. Literature Review	3
2.1. Psychological Effects of Musical Lyrics	3
2.2. Music and Sexism.....	4
2.3. Ambivalent Sexism Theory	5
2.4. Turbo-folk and its Origins	7
2.5. Historical Context	7
2.6. Women in the Balkan Context.....	8
2.7. The Present Context	9
2.8. Rationale	9
Chapter 3. Method	10
3.1. Research Design	10
3.1.1. <i>Philosophical Underpinnings</i>	11
3.1.2. <i>Theoretical orientation</i>	11
3.1.3. <i>Analytical approach</i>	12
3.2 Data Corpus and Collection	13
3.3. Ethical Considerations	13
3.4. Reflexivity	14
3.5. Analytical Framework.....	14
3.6. Analytic Procedure	14
3.6.1. <i>Phase 1: Familiarizing oneself with the data</i>	15
3.6.2. <i>Phase 2: Generating initial codes</i>	15
3.6.3. <i>Phase 3: Searching for themes</i>	16
3.6.4. <i>Phase 4: Reviewing themes</i>	17
3.6.5. <i>Phase 5: Defining and naming themes</i>	17
3.6.6. <i>Phase 6: Producing the report</i>	17
Chapter 4. Results.....	17
4.1. Theme 1: Heterosexual Intimacy.....	18
4.1.1. <i>Suffering as Devotion</i>	20
4.2. Theme 2: Hostile Sexism	20
4.2.1. <i>Wounded Male Honor</i>	22

4.3. Theme 3: Conditional Chivalry	23
4.4. Theme 4: Masculine Responses to Heartbreak	25
4.5. Theme 5: Female Experience of Sexism.....	27
4.5.1. <i>Rejection of Sexist Norms</i>	28
4.5.2. <i>Conformity to Sexist Norms</i>	29
Chapter 5. Discussion	31
5.1. Interpretation of Findings.....	32
5.2. Implications and Limitations	35
5.3. Future Research	36
5.4. Conclusion	37
References	38
Appendices	42
Appendix A	42
Appendix B	73
Appendix C	92

Resumo

Este estudo analisa o sexismo ambivalente nas letras de músicas turbo-folk no contexto pós-jugoslavo, com foco na Sérvia e em Montenegro. Analisa de que modo os temas de sexismo hostil e benevolente presentes nas letras reforçam papéis de gênero tradicionais e atitudes discriminatórias em relação às mulheres. Utilizando uma abordagem qualitativa fundamentada na Teoria do Sexismo Ambivalente, foram analisadas trinta músicas populares do final da década de 1990 e início dos anos 2000, selecionadas com base na sua relevância cultural e popularidade regional. As letras, tratadas como artefatos culturais, foram submetidas a uma análise temática dedutiva e indutiva, realizada com recurso ao MAXQDA. Cinco temas principais emergiram da análise: Intimidade Heterossexual, Sexismo Hostil, Cavalheirismo Condicional, Respostas Masculinas à Desilusão Amorosa e Experiências Femininas de Sexismo. A intimidade heterossexual foi o tema mais recorrente, seguido de representações que culpam as mulheres por conflitos românticos (sexismo hostil) e idealizações condicionadas à conformidade com papéis tradicionais (cavalheirismo condicional). As respostas masculinas revelaram estratégias como o uso de álcool e o distanciamento emocional. As artistas femininas oscilaram entre resistir e reproduzir normas sexistas. Os resultados sugerem que as letras turbo-folk perpetuam normas sexistas ambivalentes e refletem tensões socioculturais mais amplas nos Balcãs. O estudo destaca a necessidade de investigar a influência da música nas narrativas de gênero.

Palavras-chave: turbo-folk, sexismo ambivalente, sexismo hostil, sexismo benevolente, análise temática.

Abstract

This study examines ambivalent sexism in the lyrics of turbo-folk music from the post-Yugoslav cultural context, specifically in Serbia and Montenegro. It explores how themes of hostile and benevolent sexism embedded in lyrics reflect traditional gender roles and prejudice attitudes toward women. Utilizing a qualitative design based on Ambivalent Sexism Theory (AST), the analysis focuses on thirty popular turbo-folk songs from the late 1990s and early 2000s, selected for their regional popularity and cultural relevance. Turbo-folk lyrics are investigated as cultural artifacts that both reflect and transmit patriarchal values in post-conflict Balkan society. A Thematic Analysis (TA) was conducted using MAXQDA, employing both deductive and inductive approaches to identify patterns of sexism. The lyrics, analyzed in their original language and translated for accessibility, yielded five overarching themes: Heterosexual Intimacy, Hostile Sexism, Conditional Chivalry, Masculine Responses to Heartbreak, and Female Experiences of Sexism. Heterosexual intimacy emerged as the most prevalent theme, while hostile sexism manifested in narratives blaming women for relationship issues. Conditional chivalry idealized women based on conformity to traditional roles. Masculine responses featured alcohol use and emotional detachment, emphasizing traditional masculinities. Female perspectives showed the complexity between conformity and resistance to sexism. The findings conclude that turbo-folk lyrics reinforce and perpetuate ambivalent sexist norms, reflecting broader socio-cultural realities in the Balkans. This study highlights the need for further exploration of music's influence on gender narratives.

Keywords: turbo-folk, ambivalent sexism, hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, thematic analysis.

Echoes of Sexism: A Thematic Analysis of Ambivalent Sexism in Turbo-Folk Lyrics

More than simply entertain, music has the power to mirror societal attitudes and values (Barradas & Sakka, 2021). Turbo-folk, born amidst Yugoslavia's collapse and characterized by a blend of traditional folk melodies and contemporary pop rhythms both echoed and shaped gendered attitudes (Slavková, 2010). The genre quickly gained dominance in the Balkan region, particularly Montenegro and Serbia. It became a symbolic cultural phenomenon that mirrored the prevailing societal tensions, including nationalism, consumerism, and evolving gender relations (Volčič & Erjavec, 2010). In this socio-cultural environment, gender roles were anchored in patriarchal values, idealizing female subordination and romanticizing traditional male dominance (Jurčić, 2020).

Women in this society have historically been confined to traditional roles centered on family and motherhood which contributed to normalizing patriarchal narratives and even gender-based violence (Ninković, 2022). Turbo-folk served a dual role in this environment by both perpetuating conservative gender norms while promoting the visibility of female performers. These performers, as well as the lyrical narratives embody traditional femininity alongside hints of empowerment and independence. The complexity behind the portrayal of gender norms within turbo-folk lyrics, reflecting explicit misogyny and simultaneously seemingly positive depictions of femininity, poses a crucial point of exploration. This study aims to examine the turbo-folk genre as a significant cultural artifact that provides an important insight into gender norms and sexism in the Balkans.

Psychological research examining the turbo-folk genre, its lyrics and the impact on gender attitudes remains scarce. Existing studies approached turbo-folk from sociological and cultural perspectives, focusing on nationalism in the genre, and leaving unexplored the psychological mechanisms behind the sexism embedded within the lyrics (Jurčić, 2020). While some studies have addressed the portrayal of women in turbo-folk songs, focusing on references to gender-based violence in lyrics, the depth of sexist narratives that are often repeated in these songs was overlooked (Ninković, 2022).

Since music is recognized as a powerful medium for shaping beliefs and societal attitudes, this study identified the need to investigate the mechanisms by which turbo-folk lyrics perpetuate gender norms and sexism (Ruth & Schramm, 2021). Addressing this gap is necessary for both

deeper theoretical understanding of ambivalent sexism, comprised of hostile and benevolent dimensions, but also for promoting gender equality and reducing gender-based violence within the Balkan society. This study offers a contribution by linking such a cultural artifact with psychological theory, offering an insight into how embedded sexist themes in turbo-folk might influence listeners' attitudes and beliefs, ultimately informing efforts to challenge sexist narratives in the region.

Central to this study's attempt to understand the presence of sexism in turbo-folk music is Ambivalent Sexism Theory (AST), which suggests two interrelated dimensions: hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism explicitly expresses negative attitudes towards women, while benevolent sexism embodies superficially positive yet restrictive attitudes towards women (Glick & Fiske, 1997). These dimensions portray women in a range of ways from manipulative and deceitful to nurturing and morally pure, patterns which can often be heard in turbo-folk songs. Employing AST in analyzing turbo-folk lyrics allows a nuanced insight into how benign and romanticized portrayals of gender roles can reinforce patriarchal structures. The present study seeks to uncover underlying sexist narratives in the turbo-folk genre and understand their implications for societal attitudes towards women in the Balkan context.

Music has been shown to have a capacity to shape societal attitudes, particularly gender roles and sexism (Bretthauer et al., 2007). Previous studies across different music genres, from country music to rap and Bollywood music, have consistently identified themes of male dominance, female objectification, and hostility towards women (Cobb & Boettcher, 2007; Siddiqi, 2020). Despite the abundant international research, studies focused on examining sexism in turbo-folk music remain limited. The studies that do touch on this theme emphasize overt sexism and neglect subtler manifestations such as benevolent sexism. The present study addresses this gap by applying AST to a selection of 30 popular turbo-folk songs, with the aim to uncover both explicit and implicit sexist themes.

The objective of the study is to identify and analyze themes of hostile and benevolent sexism within songs and contextualize findings with broader psychological frameworks and culturally-specific narratives. The study employs a Thematic Analysis, utilizing both deductive and inductive coding methods informed by AST. The selected songs were chosen based on their popularity from a curated playlist by the biggest turbo-folk production house Grand Production (Šentevska, 2014). Lyrics were analyzed in their original language, Serbian, and translated for

accessibility, ensuring cultural and contextual accuracy. The study employed the MAXQDA software to support the coding and analysis, enabling the identification of hostile and benevolent sexism themes and facilitating a nuanced interpretation of the findings within the socio-cultural context of the Balkans.

This paper is structured into five key chapters. Following this introduction, the next chapter presents a comprehensive literature review exploring sexism in music, AST, and the socio-cultural context of turbo-folk and women in the Balkan region. Chapter Method details the qualitative methodology and TA approach. Chapter Results provides an in-depth overview of the results, outlining five overarching themes identified. Lastly, Chapter Discussion interprets the findings, their implications, limitations, and proposes directions for future research.

Literature Review

2.1. Psychological Effects of Musical Lyrics

Music is not merely an entertaining auditory experience, but a crucial cultural artifact that influences psychological processes and social attitudes, shaping emotions, beliefs, and behaviors (Barradas & Sakka, 2021). Previous psychological research indicates that lyrics can influence listeners' attitudes through emotional engagement and identity formation. Lyrics achieve this by engaging mechanisms such as episodic memory and visual imagery, especially when themes within the lyrics align with shared cultural narratives (Barradas & Sakka, 2021). Research has shown that prosocial lyrics can elicit empathetic emotions and increase prosocial thoughts, ultimately shaping behavior as well (Ruth & Schramm, 2021). Studies have employed the General Learning Model to explain these effects by examining the interaction of media stimuli with affective and cognitive pathways that influence internal states (Ruth & Schramm, 2021).

In line with these findings, listening to music with pro-equality lyrics has been found to reduce aggression towards women, demonstrating the potential of lyrical content to positively shape beliefs about gender (Greitemeyer et al., 2015). Some studies have examined whether reading lyrics alone, without listening to the musical arrangement, can affect behavior and attitudes, finding no significant impact on prosocial behavior or attitudes (Kimmel, 2019). These findings suggest that the emotional and psychological effects of lyrics might be diminished without the musical component, highlighting the importance of music as a multimodal experience.

Other studies explored lyrical themes by using the Linguistic Inquiry Word Count and applying principal components analysis, allowing researchers to capture emotional and thematic complexity and identify underlying psychological patterns in large bodies of lyrics (Osuna, 2011). Extending the search for psychological patterns into moral and cultural domains, studies have linked listeners' moral values with the lyrical content of their preferred music (Preniqi et al., 2022). The findings of these studies showed that musical preferences can reflect and reinforce ideological worldviews, including attitudes toward authority, tradition, and empathy (Preniqi et al., 2022). This supports the view that lyrics can function as culturally embedded tools that can shape attitudes and societal norms.

2.2. Music and Sexism

Previous studies that focused on exploring sexism in music and lyrics often highlight how lyrics serve as powerful transmitters of such values, including harmful gender stereotypes and sexist attitudes (Hyatt et al., 2017). Popular songs were found to often reflect themes of male dominance, objectification, and violence against women, reinforcing traditional gender hierarchies in listeners (Bretthauer et al., 2007). An analysis of different musical genres demonstrated that popular songs perpetuate sexist narratives by portraying women as inferior, trivializing their roles, and objectifying them (Neff, 2014). These studies of different genres revealed distinct manifestations of sexism in country music, which tends to emphasize traditional masculinity, subtly promoting male dominance (Jones & Deflem, 2022). Additionally, rap lyrics have been found to often portray hostility toward women and associate male power with aggression (Cobb & Boettcher, 2007). Studies indicate that misogynistic and hostile lyrics predicted both unprovoked and provoked aggression against women (Hyatt et al., 2017).

These findings were replicated in further studies that found an increase in sexist language over decades, particularly in genres popular among male audiences (Chen et al., 2024). There was a significant thematic shift in songs from themes of romance to increasing sexualization of women (Chen et al., 204). Women were more frequently described through reductive stereotypes and gendered expectations in popular music (Betti et al., 2023). These patterns are present across cultures, and studies show Bollywood music and lyrics perpetuating these harmful stereotypes and reinforcing patriarchal norms (Siddiqi, 2020). In Pakistani music, research has shown how lyrics reinforce traditional gender roles, describing women in familial contexts or negative stereotypical

roles, and in doing so, contributing to systemic gender discrimination (Noor & Missal, 2024). Even in children's music, subtle gender stereotypes have been identified, propagating harmful beliefs at very early developmental stages and potentially shaping long-term attitudes and behaviors toward gender (Chao-Fernández et al., 2020).

Recent studies in Kosovo provide more evidence of how lyrics can serve to reinforce gender norms, glorifying and idealizing male authority while belittling and objectifying women, perpetuating restrictive stereotypes deeply embedded in the cultural narrative (Gërbeshi Zylfiu & Xhoni, 2024). Even those songs that seem or intend to be progressive have been found to perpetuate gender disparities, illustrating the complexity of the impact lyrics can have on social perceptions (Coffey-Glover & Handforth, 2019).

These studies and findings show the nuanced but powerful role music can play in reinforcing and transmitting sexist norms across cultures and genres. Understanding the mechanism through which this is done sets the groundwork for a deeper analysis of sexism in music and lyrics. While most of the abovementioned studies referenced overt and hostile sexism, it is important to uncover those more subtle mechanisms, including benevolent sexism.

2.3. Ambivalent Sexism Theory

Ambivalent Sexism Theory is a framework that describes and explains sexism as composed of two distinct but interconnected attitudes: hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile Sexism is defined as encapsulating explicitly negative views of women. This includes describing women as manipulative, overly emotional, and inferior to men, and justifying men's dominance in doing so. Benevolent sexism describes women in subjectively positive, but stereotypically restricted roles. These descriptions idealize women's nurturing qualities, purity, and fragility, which confines women to subordinate positions under the pretense of affection and protection (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Despite the seemingly positive depictions of women, benevolent sexism has significant consequences for women, undermining their autonomy, promoting dependency, and reinforcing traditional gender norms (Glick et al., 1997). Men who endorse benevolent sexism have been found to hold paternalistic views that, regardless of appearing caring, justify women's exclusion from positions of power (Glick & Fiske, 2011).

Benevolent sexism has been found to include three subcomponents: protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Protective paternalism reflects the belief that men should protect and provide for women, while complementary gender differentiation idealizes women as inherently more moral, gentle, and refined than men. Heterosexual intimacy refers to men viewing romantic relationships with women as integral to their fulfillment and well-being. The duality of hostile and benevolent sexism, stemming from the overlap of competition and intimacy between men and women, is present across cultures, reflecting men's ambivalence due to their structural dominance yet interpersonal dependence on women (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Consequences of this ambivalence are widespread, with hostile sexism predicting overt discrimination and violence against women (Glick & Fiske, 1997).

In contrast, benevolent sexism perpetuates oppression through subtly hinting that women should accept their unequal treatment as protection (Glick & Fiske, 2011). Benevolent sexism also disarms women's resistance to gender inequality by framing it in romanticized terms, glorifying submissiveness and compliance. It is essential to note that early applications of the theory gave significant attention to both dimensions; however, more recent research has placed greater emphasis on benevolent sexism and its subdimensions (Glick & Fiske, 2011). Unlike hostile sexism, which is widely recognized as discriminatory, benevolent sexism is more challenging to detect, and both men and women frequently internalize it (Glick & Fiske, 2011). Additionally, benevolent sexism has been found to predict subtle, systemic forms of inequality that align more closely with the normalized and romanticized depictions frequently found in media like music. As such, while hostile sexism remains crucial in understanding explicit misogyny, AST also underscores how seemingly positive portrayals of women, inherent to benevolent sexism, can be equally limiting and damaging (Glick & Fiske, 1997).

This theoretical perspective is relevant for interpreting cultural artifacts like music lyrics, as ambivalent sexism can both reinforce harmful stereotypes and romanticized images of women. Within the socio-cultural context of the Balkans, historically characterized by strong patriarchal values and complex gender dynamics, this theory provides an essential insight into how popular music in the area might reflect and perpetuate ambivalent attitudes towards women (Bracewell, 1996).

2.4. Turbo-folk and its Origins

Turbo-folk music emerged during the turbulent years of Yugoslavia's dissolution in the late 1980s and 1990s (Slavková, 2010). It represents a synthesis of traditional Balkan folk melodies with contemporary pop and dance rhythms, blending local and global influences. Characterized by provocative aesthetics, extravagant visuals, and hybrid musical structure, turbo-folk quickly became the most dominant form of popular music in Serbia and throughout the former Yugoslav republics (Volčič & Erjavec, 2010). It is widely recognized not only as a musical genre but also as a significant cultural phenomenon, deeply intertwined with political and social conditions (Cvoro, 2012).

The cultural significance of turbo-folk lies in its dualistic nature. It is simultaneously criticized for promoting materialism, consumerism, and a patriarchal order while also being embraced as an authentic cultural expression that captures the lived experiences and aspirations of the population (Volčič & Erjavec, 2010). The genre was built upon the folk music traditions and the deeply rooted rural values brought into urban spaces through the rapid migration of rural populations into cities during socialist modernization (Grujić, 2009).

2.5. Historical Context

The historical emergence of turbo-folk aligns with the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia, characterized by intense nationalism, ethnic conflict, and a shift from socialism to capitalism (Cvoro, 2012). In this context, turbo-folk music was seen as the “soundtrack of war” because it served as a mediator for nationalist ideologies, shaping and reflecting public sentiments (Slavková, 2010). Turbo-folk allowed a platform for expressing national pride and collective identity, combining political messages with entertainment and blurring the lines between cultural and national representation (Cvoro, 2012).

A prominent figure of turbo-folk in the Balkans, Svetlana “Ceca” Raznatovic reflects this dynamic. Married to Zeljko Raznatovic, also known as “Arkan”, a notorious Serbian paramilitary leader, Ceca embodied a symbolic overlap of nationalism and popular culture (Volčič & Erjavec, 2010). While her husband was tied to war atrocities in the region, the power of Ceca's success as a turbo-folk icon resulted in her often being referred to as “Serbian Mother”. Her music encapsulated this complexity by both reinforcing traditional patriarchal values and engaging in a

nuanced expression of contemporary female empowerment through commodified femininity (Volčič & Erjavec, 2010).

2.6. Women in the Balkan Context

In the traditional Balkan context, women were often relegated to subordinate roles and defined primarily by their family and motherhood (Ramet, 2010). Historically, the region had challenges regarding gender-based violence, which was only exacerbated by economic instability and post-war trauma (Haider, 2017). Domestic violence and violence against women continue to be pervasive and deeply embedded in patriarchal norms, and they are often normalized or romanticized in cultural narratives, including song lyrics (Ćopić, 2004). Music has historically served as a cultural medium through which gender roles are reinforced, perpetuating narratives of female submission and the normalization of violence within romantic or familial relationships (Ninkovic, 2022). Turbo-folk has been criticized for lyrics that often idealize female passivity, submission, and acceptance of abuse as an ultimate testament of love (Jerković & Alihodžić, 2020). At the same time, the genre provided a public stage for female performers who, through their success and visibility, challenged traditional gender roles and asserted economic independence and social influence (Grujić, 2009).

In the post-war Balkans, gender violence has been closely linked to the legacy of militarized masculinities and the trauma of war (Bracewell, 1996). Research has shown a rise in domestic violence in post-conflict societies in the Balkans, exacerbated by economic crises, trauma, alcohol consumption, and social disintegration (Ćopić, 2004). Traditional literature and narratives from the region often normalize and glamorize a woman's position in the post-war society, highlighting their roles as mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters, justifying oppressive behavior within familial and societal structures (Dumančić & Krolo, 2016).

In this sense, turbo-folk serves as a mirror for these cultural tensions, reinforcing traditional gender norms while also occasionally offering a critique of the structure it upholds. This tension can be observed in the characterization of a woman as a "sponzoruša", meaning a "gold digger", a woman who employs her femininity and sexuality for social and economic advancement (Jelača, 2015). While commonly perceived and used negatively in moral discourses, this characterization also represents a challenge to traditional gender roles, reflecting an attempt to negotiate agency and survival in the described socioeconomic landscape.

2.7. The Present Context

The conceptualization of gender within the context of turbo-folk and broader Balkan societies remains rooted mainly in the traditional binary of male and female roles. However, there have been many recent attempts to recontextualize and redefine these representations (Jelača, 2015). Still, traditional expectations and patriarchal norms remain deeply rooted and continue to shape contemporary understandings and lived experiences of gender in the Balkans (Banović & Banović, 2024). This continued struggle manifests in persistent gender-based violence and inequality. Despite significant legal and institutional reforms, sexism remains ever-present in daily life, influencing socio-cultural attitudes. Montenegro has one of the highest rates of sex-selective abortion in Europe, reflecting an ongoing preference for male children deeply rooted in traditional views of gender roles (Davidović, 2022). This practice perpetuates harmful patriarchal norms that systematically devalue female lives and reinforce discriminatory attitudes towards women from birth (Davidović, 2022).

Femicide and domestic abuse are prevalent in both Montenegro and Serbia, with reports indicating a significant proportion of violence against women to be perpetrated within familial and intimate partner contexts (Banović & Banović, 2024). The media, while at times instrumental in raising awareness, often fail to help women by contributing to gender stereotypes and minimizing the gravity of violence against women, reinforcing silence and stigma around reporting abuse (Zeković, 2015). Alcohol consumption remains culturally normalized and frequently used as an explanation for aggressive behavior. Substance abuse is widely recognized as a contributing factor to domestic abuse, deflecting responsibility from perpetrators and allowing space for victim-blaming attitudes. This normalization is rooted in the abovementioned historical and socio-cultural narratives from the post-Yugoslav period.

2.8. Rationale

The current study sets out to extend research on the effect of lyrics on sexist beliefs by critically examining turbo-folk lyrics through TA to uncover embedded themes of ambivalent sexism. Understanding the complexity of the dynamics between cultural expressions, societal attitudes, and gender norms can provide essential insights into how popular culture and music perpetuate or potentially challenge deeply rooted sexist norms. The study aims to connect the analysis of current

gender-related issues in Montenegro and Serbia with wider psychological insights into how sexism can be shaped by culture and expressed through music.

Building on the existing literature on the psychological effects of music with lyrics, sexism in musical lyrics, and the Ambivalent Sexism framework, this study focuses on the turbo-folk genre as a revealing cultural artifact within the post-Yugoslav space. The theoretical and historical context outlined above makes it evident how turbo-folk emerged as both a product and producer of national identity, gendered expectations, and socio-political tensions. It illustrates messages embedded in lyrics that reflect the dominant ideologies surrounding gender. Within this framework, the present study aims to investigate the role that turbo-folk lyrics play in shaping and normalizing gender norms in Montenegro and Serbia through the lens of ambivalent sexism. The study seeks to answer the research question:

What themes of ambivalent sexism, hostile and benevolent, are present in the lyrics of turbo-folk songs?

By applying TA to a curated selection of thirty turbo-folk songs from the late 1990s and early 2000s, the study seeks to uncover underlying gender narratives that inform cultural understandings of womanhood and masculinity. This qualitative approach enables an in-depth examination of lyrical content, allowing for the identification of patterns and culturally specific meanings.

Method

3.1. Research Design

This qualitative study employed Thematic Analysis to explore sexism in turbo-folk lyrics. TA is a method for identifying and providing insight into patterns of meaning across a dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Employing TA was the most appropriate choice to address the study's research question, as it offers flexibility and recognizes cultural nuances as a valuable asset. To best address the peculiarities of the research question, including the underexplored topic and cultural context, a series of decisions were made in conceptualizing the study. The number of theoretical assumptions addressed includes philosophical underpinnings, theoretical orientation, and analytical approach.

3.1.1. Philosophical Underpinnings

The researcher, under the guidance of the supervisor, determined the ontological and epistemological positions in the early stages of the study's conceptualization. The purpose of such choices is to theoretically conceptualize how the researcher understands the data (Byrne, 2021). Ontology refers to assumptions about the nature of reality, what is considered authentic, and how reality is structured (Byrne, 2021). The study adopts a critical realist ontological position, assuming that there is a reality, such as gender inequality and patriarchal structures, that exists independently of human perceptions. However, our access to this reality is mediated through language and culture (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the present research, themes of sexism are embedded in turbo-folk lyrics as reflections of sociocultural systems. Still, our understanding of them is shaped by the cultural context of the Balkans, as well as the researcher's lens. Thus, TA was chosen as a method that both acknowledges the existence of underlying social realities and allows for the interpretation of how these realities are constructed and expressed through language.

Epistemology refers to the assumptions about knowledge and how one comes to know things, as well as what is considered valid knowledge (Byrne, 2021). The research employs a constructionist epistemology, adopting a bidirectional understanding of the relationship between experience and language, considering language to be implicit in the social production and reproduction of both meaning and experience (Byrne, 2021). TA conducted within a constructivist framework seeks to theorize the sociocultural contexts and structural conditions that shape how individuals think, feel, or speak. This study aims to identify how themes of sexism are constructed and normalized through language, with a focus on what the lyrics reveal about societal beliefs that shape the representation of relationships, women, and masculinity in turbo-folk music.

3.1.2. Theoretical orientation

This study adopts a critical orientation that seeks to explore patterns and themes of meaning with a theoretical understanding that language can create and not just reflect a given social reality (Byrne, 2021). In TA, a critical perspective allows researchers to examine the mechanisms that shape systems of meaning (Byrne, 2021). In the context of the present study, it helps examine how gender, patriarchy, and romantic relationships are framed in turbo-folk lyrics. The study treats lyrics as a discourse shaped by sociocultural norms and examines how language in turbo-folk

constructs and maintains broader social realities. A critical orientation in this case helps explore how structural conditions and cultural ideologies enable and normalize certain representations of gender and relationships.

3.1.3. Analytical approach

Themes or patterns within data can be identified using two approaches, a deductive “top-down” approach or an inductive “bottom-up” approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The deductive approach is driven by the researcher’s theoretical interests, guiding the analysis to explore predefined themes informed by existing literature. In contrast, the inductive approach allows themes to emerge from the analysis without constraint by pre-established theoretical frameworks or specific research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In the present study, both approaches are employed. Themes were informed by the AST, which guided the identification of patterns related to sexism. The theory served as a framework for developing an initial coding scheme, allowing the analysis to specifically target concepts such as hostile and benevolent sexism in pursuit of answering the research question. However, space was intentionally reserved for original themes to be identified from the turbo-folk lyrics, acknowledging that important patterns may arise naturally from the data independently from the theoretical framework. This choice was made to enrich the analysis and capture a comprehensive view of theoretically driven themes and those emerging organically, informed by the researcher’s cultural context awareness and subjectivity (Bryne, 2021).

Another important decision in TA involves the level at which themes are identified: semantic or latent (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Semantic themes represent explicit or surface meanings that are directly identifiable within the lyrics and do not require deeper interpretation beyond what is stated. Latent themes necessitate interpretive analysis, which seeks to identify the underlying ideas and ideologies that shape the explicit content. This study primarily employed a latent approach, aiming to critically interpret the underlying meanings and societal implications embedded in turbo-folk music. However, analysis at the semantic level was also employed in cases where lyrics conveyed specific ideas relevant to themes of sexism in a straightforward manner.

3.2 Data Corpus and Collection

The data collection involved sourcing 30 turbo-folk songs from a Spotify playlist titled “Grand Hitovi 2000ih” (Grand Hits from the 2000s), which featured a total of 215 songs and had 2,570 listeners who had saved the playlist. The playlist was created by Grand Production, previously mentioned as the largest production company of turbo-folk music in the Balkans (Šentevska, 2014). The selection of the playlist was also informed by temporal framing, focusing on the period from the late 1990s to the early 2000s to capture the rise of turbo-folk in post-war Balkan society. The playlist was exported as an Excel file, and songs were sorted by popularity, identifying the top 30 songs as the data corpus. The songs’ release dates ranged from 1998 to 2009. Of the 30 turbo-folk songs selected for analysis, 14 were performed by female artists, 14 by male artists, and 2 were duets featuring both male and female performers. This distribution emerged organically through the above-mentioned selection criteria, rather than being predetermined. Female writers and authors appeared on 5 of the 30 selected songs.

The song lyrics were manually transcribed in their original language, Serbian, and proofread for accuracy by a research collaborator with native proficiency in Serbian and Montenegrin. The lyrics were then translated to English using Google Translate to expedite the process and proofread and adjusted for context and cultural nuance by the researcher and collaborator. The final dataset, comprising both the original and translated versions of the lyrics, is available in the Appendix.

3.3. Ethical Considerations

Formal ethical approval was not sought as the study was judged by the researcher and supervisor to fall outside the scope of the university’s research ethics review. As the data corpus consisted solely of publicly available turbo-folk lyrics, no living participants had been recruited; therefore, concerns regarding consent, anonymity, or risk of harm were deemed negligible. Copyright protections were respected, as full lyrics were not reproduced, and only brief, illustrative fragments necessary for analysis were extracted as quotes. These extracts remained within limits considered “fair use” for scholarly criticism and review, and every song was fully referenced.

3.4. Reflexivity

As a female Balkan researcher, the author's positionality and potential bias were addressed in every stage of the study, from the conceptualization to reporting and interpreting the analysis. While this positionality offered many advantages, including language fluency, proficiency in regional idioms, historical context, and personal experience with sexism, it also posed a risk of misinterpreting lyrics in efforts to echo personal experience. A conscious effort was made to avoid bias and a forced fit of AST to the dataset by engaging a native Montenegrin and Serbian speaking co-analyst and maintaining reflexive memos throughout the entire analysis, documenting emotional reactions or personal histories related to the lyrics. These systems allowed a balance between cultural insights and critical distance, strengthening the credibility of the findings.

3.5. Analytical Framework

Based on the philosophical rationale and analytic lens, the lyrics were examined using a codebook TA, a strategy that combines coding reliability and reflexive TA (Byrne, 2021). Its similarity to coding reliability lies in adopting the use of a structured codebook and sharing the conceptualization of themes as domain summaries. However, qualitative values tend to predominate in codebook analysis, as the accuracy and reliability of coding are not primary concerns (Byrne, 2021). A provisional codebook was developed and drafted before formal coding, drawing on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. The coding involved reflexive comments, allowing the researcher to identify new codes and themes, rather than embedding them in theory. In line with the similarities to coding reliability approaches, a Montenegrin collaborator was involved to ensure intercoder reliability and provide insights to help avoid the researcher's bias. A nuanced understanding was achieved in code development, and the refined codebook was used to guide the systematic coding of the entire data corpus. The choice of the codebook approach provided a rigorous, reliable, and culturally sensitive framework for uncovering themes and patterns of sexism in turbo-folk lyrics.

3.6. Analytic Procedure

The analytic procedure followed the six-phase TA framework, systematically guiding the analysis from initial immersion to the final reporting of discovered themes (Cooper et al., 2012). The following phases, outlined below, were applied flexibly to accommodate the evolving needs of the

analysis and the researcher's reflexive positioning, allowing for movement between phases as necessary.

3.6.1. Phase 1: Familiarizing oneself with the data

The TA began with a thorough familiarization with the data. Regardless of how data is obtained and how familiar researchers might be with it, becoming deeply immersed in the depth of the data corpus through repeated, active reading and listening is a vital foundation for subsequent analytical phases (Cooper et al., 2012). Thus, the present study required repeated listening to songs and reading transcribed lyrics. Initial coding was performed manually, focusing exclusively on the written content of the turbo-folk lyrics, without annotations regarding tone or the artist's positionality. Initial reading and re-reading enabled the identification of patterns related to sexism, shaping preliminary ideas and coding schemes, and ensuring that the codebook approach was not applied in a forced manner to fit the data. Early coding ideas and interpretive notes were recorded, establishing a foundational understanding that informed the subsequent structured coding process.

3.6.2. Phase 2: Generating initial codes

Following the full immersion in the data corpus, initial coding proceeded manually and was anchored in AST. Each of the 22 items from the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory inspired a deductive code (e.g., the item “Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash” informed the code “Women Being Controlling”) (Glick & Fiske, 1996). A code is the most basic segment of raw data that can be assessed in a meaningful way (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Leaning on this definition, every code captured a semantic or latent feature that indicated the presence of sexism. Any excerpt that hinted at sexism but did not fit the predefined, theoretically driven category was labeled with a code “Relating to Sexism”. Working systematically through the entire dataset, lyric segments were highlighted and annotated, allowing individual extracts to carry multiple codes and maintain contextual richness (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

A second native Montenegrin analyst independently coded the whole corpus using the same codebook, providing an alternative interpretive lens. Leaning on similarities with code reliability TA, inter-rater agreement was assessed with Cohen's kappa ($\kappa = 0.78$), indicating substantial consensus. Any discrepancies, those arising from the researcher's theory-driven confirmatory tilt and the collaborator's novice and lesser sensitivity to subtler sexist cues, were

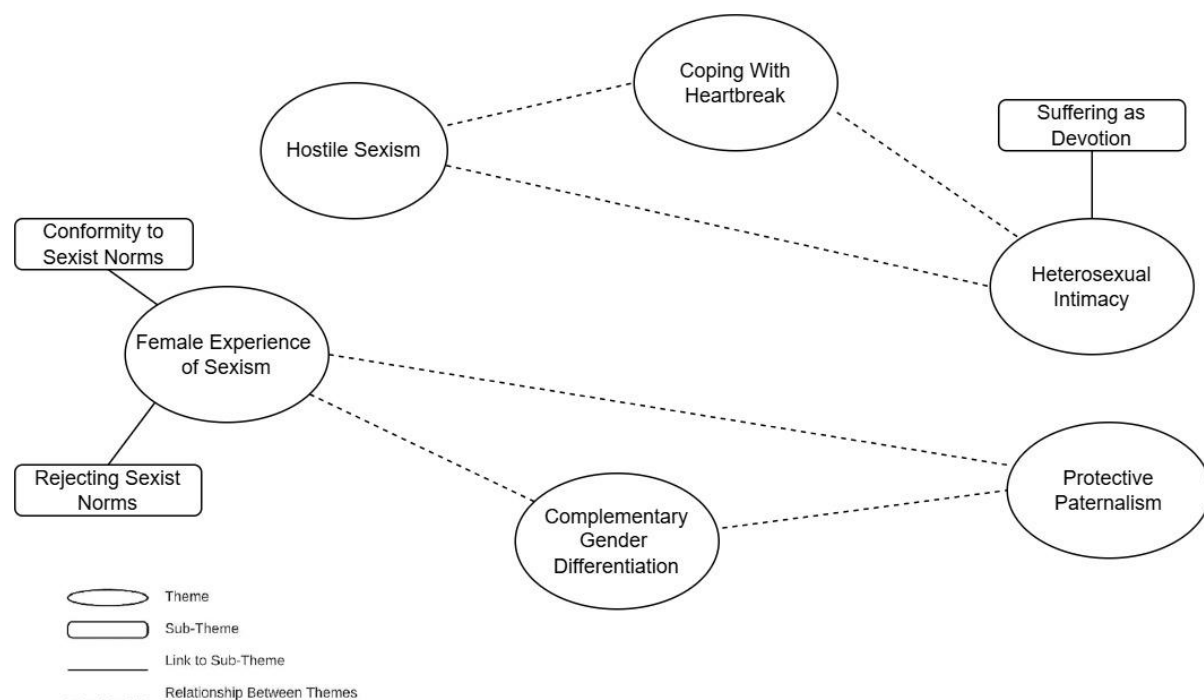
resolved through dialogue, and the codebook was refined accordingly. The collaboratively vetted codes were then imported into MAXQDA, ready for theme development.

3.6.3. Phase 3: Searching for themes

With the full dataset coded, individual codes were clustered into broader patterns of meaning. Using MAXQDA's code frequencies and code relations browser, the deductive and inductive codes were grouped into thematic clusters. Ambiguous codes were marked in a "to be determined" cluster for later review. Relationships among codes and candidate themes were explored, leaning on subjective cultural interpretation in cases of ambiguous conceptual fit. This process yielded an initial thematic map comprising several overarching candidate themes and subthemes (see Figure 1). The six initial candidate themes included: Hostile Sexism, Coping with Heartbreak, Heterosexual Intimacy, Protective Paternalism, Complementary Gender Differentiation, and Female Experience of Sexism.

Figure 1

Identified Candidate Themes



3.6.4. Phase 4: Reviewing themes

During this phase, candidate themes were reviewed and refined through two iterative stages. All coded segments within each theme were reread to confirm internal coherence, and any extracts that disrupted it were either reassigned or discarded (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). This provided an updated thematic map that helped visualize relationships among overarching themes and sub-themes. These themes were subsequently evaluated across the entire dataset. The goal of this stage is to confirm that the candidate thematic map accurately reflects the meaning present in the data set as a whole (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). This phase yielded five overarching themes in this study, resulting in a final thematic structure that balanced internal homogeneity with external heterogeneity and faithfully captures sexist patterns within songs.

3.6.5. Phase 5: Defining and naming themes

With the final thematic structure in place, themes were revisited to interpret and confirm their core meanings, ensuring that all coded segments captured a distinct facet of sexism in the lyrics (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). This revision was crucial in ensuring minimal conceptual overlap across themes and identifying sub-themes. Each theme was then described in a few concise sentences to test clarity and was finally assigned a name that best captures the types of sexist patterns or cultural narratives that it represents.

3.6.6. Phase 6: Producing the report

In this last phase of the analysis, the most vivid and compelling coded segments were extracted to illustrate each finalized theme and sub-theme (Cooper et al., 2012). While being chosen for their ability to demonstrate prevalence across the dataset, as well as evidence of ambivalent sexism, extracts were also selected to provide the best insight into the story of sexism in turbo-folk music and the Balkan socio-cultural context.

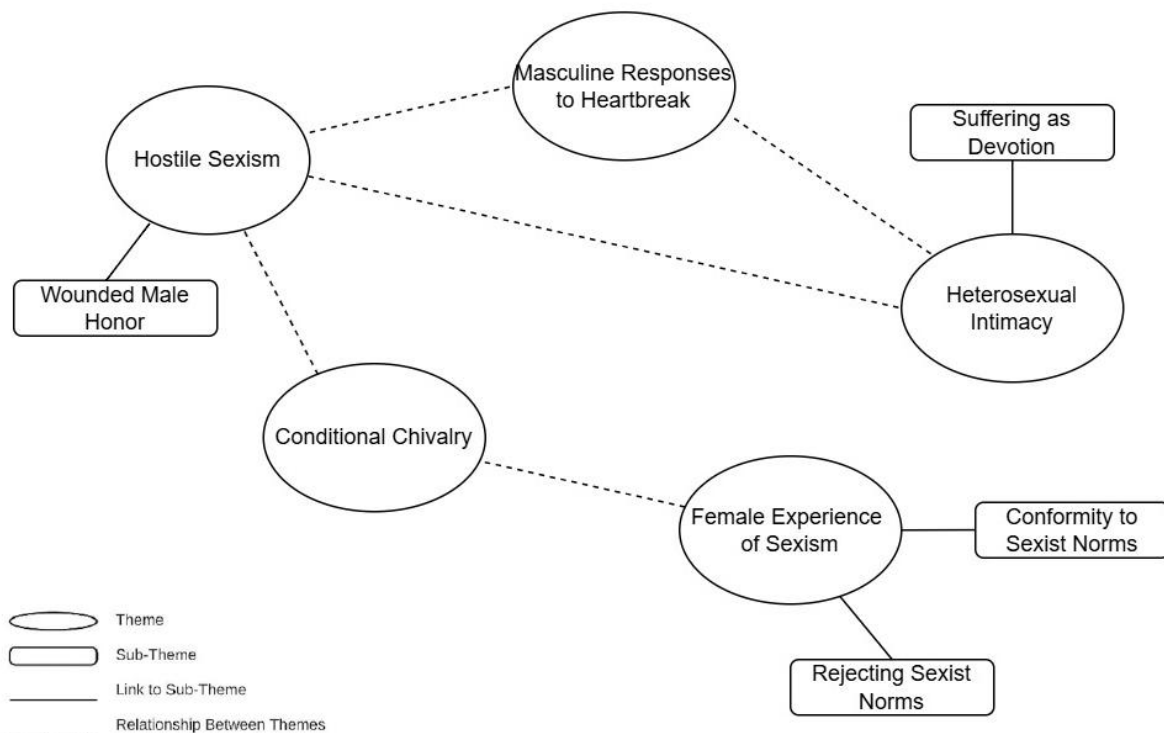
Results

The six phases of TA of the 30 turbo-folk song lyrics yielded five overarching themes (see Figure 2). Patterns of sexism were present throughout the entire dataset, with every song featuring at least one code related to the themes mentioned above. The frequency of the themes across the dataset

appeared in the following order: Heterosexual Intimacy (67%), Masculine Responses to Heartbreak (50%), Hostile Sexism (47%), Conditional Chivalry (38%), and Female Experience of Sexism (37%). However, TA in this study was not conducted solely with a strong focus on frequency and reliability; therefore, the results are presented in an order that best captures the thematic progression and underlying narrative of sexism in turbo-folk lyrics.

Figure 2

Five Overarching Identified Themes



4.1. Theme 1: Heterosexual Intimacy

Across all lyrics, there were references to romantic relationships as central to artists' identities and emotional experiences. Within this theme, heterosexual relationships were depicted as a priority among both male and female artists. Leaning on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, multiple codes reflected the items referring to men needing a woman whom they adore, being incomplete without them, and not being truly happy in life unless romantically involved with them (Glick & Fiske, 1996). While these patterns were present among both male and female artists, they manifested in a slightly different manner. Female artists often referred to romantic intimacy as essential for emotional fulfillment:

Mala kuća, mali prag
Ti ko život meni drag
I u džepu stoja, dve
To za sreću dosta je (Stoja, 2001)
[A small house, a small doorstep
You're as dear to me as life itself
Just a few bills in my pocket
That's enough for happiness]

Lyrics from male artists, however, articulated the absolute necessity of romantic intimacy by describing life without the beloved woman as unimaginable and unbearable:

Bez nje bi sve u jednu čašu stalo
A s njom i dva života mi je malo
Svirajte meni samo tužne pesme
Jer ona bila mi je sve (Bojanić, 2002)
[Without her, everything fits in a single glass
But with her, even two lives aren't enough
Play me only sad songs
Because she was everything to me]

They frequently communicated a profound sense of incompleteness and depicted enduring emotional distress after losing their partner, reinforcing the importance placed on heterosexual intimacy:

Sve što je lepo život mi uskrati
Zašto te nema, izdržati neću (Đani, 2003)
[Life denied me everything beautiful
Why aren't you here? I won't be able to take it]

References to emotional distress stemming from heterosexual intimacy or the loss of a relationship emerged across lyrics, clustering into a subtheme reflecting that despair and suffering are integral to romantic devotion.

4.1.1. *Suffering as Devotion*

This subtheme included codes referring to dysfunctional relationships, romanticizing pain, and not moving on. Lyrics described unwavering attachment despite experiences of betrayal or hurt. One example depicted a male singer accepting infidelity and expressing continued commitment despite emotional pain:

Ma samo da si sa mnom dao bih sve
Jer i kad me varaš, ti me varaš najbolje (Šaulić, 2002)
[If only you were with me – I'd give everything
Because even when you cheat on me, you do it best]

Another artist conveyed despair and a sense of personal loss following separation, framing the absence of the romantic partner as unbearable. The level of pain is usually used to reflect the depth of the love and devotion for one's partner:

Ostani zbogom nek te sreća prati
A ja ću negde naći svoju sreću
Sve što je lepo život mi uskrati
Zašto te nema, izdržati neću (Đani, 2003)
[Say goodbye, may happiness follow you
And I'll find my own joy somewhere
Life denied me everything beautiful
Why aren't you here? I won't be able to take it]

This theme overall depicted heterosexual relationships as profoundly central and essential to identity, emotional well-being, and personal fulfillment. Loss of these relationships resulted in significant suffering, suggesting that the more intense the suffering, the stronger the devotion and bond with a significant other.

4.2. Theme 2: Hostile Sexism

While references to heartbreak-induced suffering were used to highlight the level of love and devotion, the other side of that coin was used to depict women as manipulative, deceitful, and unfaithful. A distinct pattern was identified within the lyrics, characterized by a pronounced blame and resentment directed at women as the cause of this heartbreak. The theme of hostile sexism reveals the negative consequences when glorified intimacy deteriorates. Rooted in AST, the

characterization of women as unappreciative, deceitful, tempting, and controlling was used as a mechanism through which women were assigned blame for male suffering and wounded pride.

One vivid example of depicting women as controlling, or seeking to “put the man on a tight leash once he commits to her” comes from one of the male artists (Glick & Fiske, 1996):

Mislila si da ćeš me uzeti pod svoje
I da ćeš me promeniti lako
Nisi znala, malena, kako stvari stoje (Lazić, 2009)
[You thought you could tame me
That you’d change me easily
But little one, you didn’t know]

This sentiment reflects the notion that women seek to gain power by gaining control over men. This plays into the expectation of women to be manipulative or deceitful, or have a hidden goal:

Ko si shvatam zadnji, nažalost (Kitić, 2000)
[I realize who you are now – too late]

These behaviors are expected of women through tactics of seduction, characterizing women as temptresses who get a kick out of teasing men (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Kafanska pjevačica moju dušu uzela
Da je dijete, ne bi umela (Kalač, 2002)
[The tavern singer took my soul
If she were a child, she wouldn’t have led me on]

This lyric frames the woman, a bar singer, as someone seductively powerful. Comparing her to a child implies she is not innocent, and it is her adult femininity rather than innocence that reels him in. Characterizing women in this way sets the stage across the lyrics to transfer responsibility for emotions and behaviors to women, often manifesting as blaming women for relationships ending and any dysfunctional follow-up behavior. Across lyrics, blame was often placed on women for betraying their partners by leaving for another or hurting their pride. These codes and patterns overlapped into a subtheme of hostile sexism.

4.2.1. *Wounded Male Honor*

Different male singers often refer to women leaving for another man or falling in love with someone else in their lyrics, thereby becoming the primary source of heartbreak. Often, this heartbreak results in resentment:

Otišla si nekom drugom
Ostao sam sâm sa tugom
Poludeću, ne znam gde ću
Al' zapamti preživeti (Đani, 2003)
[You left for someone else
I'm left alone with sorrow
I'm going crazy, don't know where I'll go
But remember - I'll survive]

One vivid example expresses betrayal, underscoring emotional pain not from the woman's unfaithfulness itself, but rather from being the last to discover this betrayal. In this case, resentment comes directly from hurt pride:

Ne boli što nisam znao
Da te drugi meni krao
Boli što sam zadnji saznao (Kitić, 2000)
[It doesn't hurt that I didn't know
That someone else was stealing you
What hurts is that I was the last to find out]

Other lyrics suggest that resentment can turn into vindictive pleasure derived from the anticipation of women's regret after ending the relationship. These lyrics reflect wanting the woman to ultimately suffer loneliness and regret for being unappreciative of the love she received from the man:

Otvorićeš prozor sama i bez sreće
Upalićeš fenjer, al' me biti neće
Čujem da se kaješ, zato Bogu hvala (Šaulić, 2003)
[You'll open the window, alone and joyless
You'll light a lantern - but I won't be there
I hear you're regretful - thank God for that]

Frequently, hostility and resentment towards women simply manifested as explicit blame for emotional devastation and self-destructive behaviors:

Ona, ona, ona mi je srce slomila
Ona, ona, ona me u crno zavila
Ona, ona, ona je kriva
Što sam pijan i lud (Filipović, 2004)
[She, she, she broke my heart
She, she, she cloaked me in black
She, she, she is to blame
For me being drunk and mad]

Overall, this theme of hostile sexism did not manifest among male artists as derogatory name-calling but rather emerged through portrayals that place the responsibility of emotional turmoil, betrayal, and relational dissolution on women, often in line with AST items relating to hostile sexism.

4.3. Theme 3: Conditional Chivalry

This theme was identified across lyrics reflecting patterns in which women are idealized, romanticized, and framed as morally superior, but only when they meet certain expectations. In this theme, elements of both protective paternalism and complementary differentiation, as conceptualized in AST, consistently overlapped. The lyrics revealed a persistent tension between praise and expectations, with respect for women being contingent on their conformity to idealized gender roles. This theme comes after hostile sexism, showing the benevolence through which the same singers who punish and blame “bad” women put “good” ones on a pedestal.

Male artists often presented themselves as protectors and providers, frequently emphasizing their sacrifices as evidence of their role in the relationship. However, these acts were framed as conditional on women’s perceived loyalty, innocence, or moral superiority. The concepts of childlike purity and superior morality often overlapped. These lyrics express a male singer’s depth of dedication through material and emotional surrender:

Tebi, za koju sam stvorio sve
Sve što si htela i dalo ti se
Tebi, zbog koje sam sada na dnu

Dao sam da mi crnu krojiš sudbinu (Kitić, 2002)

[You, the one I created everything for

Everything you wanted—I gave you

You, the one who now has me at rock bottom

I let you shape my fate in black]

This portrayal turns to disappointment when the idealized image of the woman fails to hold. In the same song, religious and symbolic imagery elevates the woman as sacred, questioning how a woman of such moral superiority could betray him:

Zašto baš ti, moja ikono sa zida

Sahrani me, tako izdade bez stida? (Kitić, 2002)

[Why you, my icon on the wall?

You buried me—betrayed me without shame]

Elevating women in such a way is often also depicted in metaphorical terms that highlight their innate power and capabilities:

Ona i kamen pretvara u zlato (Bojanić, 2002)

[She turns even stone into gold]

This imagery constructs women as uniquely capable of inspiring love, portraying empathy and softness, and reinforcing the notion of exceptional feminine purity or emotional strength. These patterns are also evident in depictions of women as innocent, distinguished from those who deviate from expected roles:

Nije bila zavodnica, a ni prevara (Filipović, 2004)

[She wasn't a seductress or a cheat]

This innocence often refers to childlike innocence and fragility as desirable traits in a woman:

Bez šljokica i bez šminke, jedva je prepoznah ja

Imala je lice djeteta (Kalač, 2002)

[No glitter, no makeup

I barely recognized her

She had the face of a child]

These representations of women often appeared alongside depictions of traditional masculinity, where men referenced their own gender roles and social identities as reliable partners and providers:

Ostajem Balkanac i provincijalac
Putuj Evropo, sreću želim ti ja
A ti, mala, kad ti zatreba muškarac (Đani, 2007)
Doći ćeš meni budi sigurna
[I remain a Balkan man and a provincial guy
Go on, Europe – I wish you happiness
And you, girl, when you need a real man
You'll come to me, you can count on that]

This theme reflects a pattern of respect and adoration towards women being linked to perceptions of their feminine virtue, loyalty, and innocence. In response to women's conformity to expected behaviors, male identity is constructed through the lens of provision, sacrifice, and traditional gender expectations.

4.4. Theme 4: Masculine Responses to Heartbreak

The fourth theme captured a pattern of distinct male emotional and behavioral responses to the heartbreak that emerged across the lyrics. This pattern revealed a cluster of reactions including emotional distress, alcohol use, romantic substitution, and narratives of perseverance (Levant, 1992). Male artists often articulated their post-breakup experience by combining expressions of vulnerability with efforts to reclaim control.

The most prominent pattern involved the use of alcohol as a coping mechanism. References to drinking appeared repeatedly throughout the lyrics, associated with emotional suffering and attempts to forget or suppress their heartbreak:

Smejem se, a plače mi se
Tražim lek u vinu
Vino pijem da ubijem istinu (Kitić, 2000)
[I'm laughing, but I want to cry
Looking for a cure in wine
I drink wine to kill the truth]

Similar associations appeared in other songs, including:

Kad mislim o tebi puna mi je čaša (Šaulić, 2003)

[When I think of you, my glass fills up]

and

Samo pijan mogu da prebolim (Bojanić, 2002)

[Only drunk can I get over]

These lyrics depict alcohol consumption as an integral part of heartbreak processing, particularly in cases where romantic loss was described as overwhelming or unresolvable.

A second pattern within this theme refers to men engaging with multiple women as interchangeable and temporary distractions, rather than meaningful connections:

Prva, druga, peta

Samo su krevet grejale

Posle tebe sve su

Iste meni postale (Rokvić, 2009)

[First, second, fifth one –

They only warmed the bed

After you, they all

Became the same to me]

Often, these depictions characterize the “other” women as unimportant, revealing that the real emotional focus remained on the former partner, indicating the inability to move on.

Svaka koju ljubim me podseća na nju (Bojanić, 2002)

[Every woman I kiss reminds me of her]

This tendency to compare women resulted in statements that none of the new women compared to “the one”, implying that emotional detachment from the “other” women served to highlight the significance of the lost love.

Nisam našao mir

Ni sa jednom od sto

Samo dublji je vir

Što me vuče na dno (Đani, 2005)

[I’ve found no peace

Not with even a hundred others

The whirlpool is only deeper
It drags me down]

These patterns ultimately served to depict men's emotional suffering stemming from heterosexual intimacy or the resolution of romantic relationships:

Otkad te nema ja nemam sna
I svaki dan je k'o godina (Šaulić, 2002)
[Since you've been gone, I haven't slept
And every day feels like a year]

Some lyrics include declarations of survival and emotional endurance despite the distress, indicating that proving women wrong was used as motivation to move on:

Da zbog tebe umrem, neću
Ne brini se preživljuću
[I won't die because of you
Don't worry - I'll survive]

and

Poludjuću, ne znam gde ću
Al' zapamti preživljuću (Đani, 2000)
[I'm going crazy, don't know where I'll go
But remember - I'll survive]

The theme of masculine responses to heartbreak revealed a consistent pattern of emotional turmoil managed through means that include alcohol, avoidance, and in some cases perseverance, oscillating between grief and resilience.

4.5. Theme 5: Female Experience of Sexism

The final theme captured the perspectives and experiences of female artists, whose lyrics reflected both conformity to and rejection of gender norms. The different patterns clustered in two sub-themes, including lyrics that challenge sexist expectations and behaviors, and those that reinforce traditional roles and reveal internalized gender norms.

4.5.1. Rejection of Sexist Norms

Several female artists articulated resistance to controlling or objectifying behaviors by asserting autonomy or rejecting male advances. These lyrics positioned the woman as independent and unwilling to comply with traditional romantic expectations and gender norms. One example depicts the woman's refusal of a man's attempts at seduction and clearly defines the boundaries of interaction:

Ne naručuj piće da mi donesu za stol
Tvoje vino sigurno mi ne bi prijalo
Posete su zabranjene, cveće ne primam
Pevaću ti al' s gostima ne razgovaram (Jana, 2002)
[Don't send over a drink to my table
Your wine wouldn't suit me anyway
Visits are forbidden, I don't accept flowers
I'll sing to you - but I don't talk to guests]

Other artists challenged assumptions about female dependence or emotional weakness. One example depicts the woman being aware of her competency, and thus rejecting the man's condescending attitude:

Pa si se ti našao da mi soliš pamet
...
Neću da gubim vreme
Na jednoga slabića
Takvi ko ti se samo greškom rode (Lepa Brena, 2000)
[And you show up to lecture me
...
I won't waste my time
On a weakling like you
Guys like you are born by mistake]

Another, more hypothetical form of resistance is present in the following lyrics:

Lutala bih sve do zore rane
Zbog mene bi radile kafane
Žene bi mi dolazile same

Da sam muško bila bih bez mane (Aleksić, 2002)

[I'd roam until the early dawn

Bars would stay open because of me

Women would come to me on their own

If I were a man, I'd be flawless]

This example shows how the artist imagines she would act if she were a man, confirming stereotypes and gender roles, including men being with multiple women and participating in the heavy drinking culture. These examples demonstrate female dissatisfaction with traditional gender roles and expectations.

4.5.2. Conformity to Sexist Norms

In contrast to rejecting gender roles, a prevalent pattern of artists adhering to conventional narratives about romance, emotional dependence, and gendered expectations emerged. Lyrics portrayed women as seeking male validation or expressing identity through their relationships. Playing into the expected or stereotypical female behavior in a relationship, lyrics describe women as desperate and needing male attention:

Šaljem poruke

Niko ne odgovara

Kucam na vrata

Niko ih ne otvara (Dara Bubamara, 2003)

[I send messages

No one replies

I knock on doors

No one opens them]

In other songs, women are pitted against one another, with lyrics often reflecting female rivalry and competition. The following extract depicts the artist contrasting herself with another woman, framing her as a replacement and reasserting her unique position in a man's life:

Ona misli da zna

Neke stvari ko ja

A ti naivan sam

Odmah postaneš plen (Đorđević, 2004)

[She thinks she knows
Things like I do
And you, so naïve
Become easy prey]

Some lyrics displayed internalized stereotypes and tropes, particularly around femininity, beauty, and emotional vulnerability.

Nisam to što misliš
Samo jedna plavuša
Ne gledaj u meni dobru priliku
Zaljubljenju slatku glupu barbiku (Jovanović, 2002)
[I'm not what you think
Just some blonde
Don't see a good opportunity in me
A sweet, lovestruck, dumb Barbie]

In this example, the artist leans into the “dumb blonde” stereotype, distancing herself from this expectation, but still repeating and reinforcing the idea to be accurate. If not reproducing derogatory terms and expectations, lyrics under this theme reaffirm emotional dependence on male partners and portray love as the woman's central purpose:

Sve što imam - ja sve dam
A šta mogu - takva sam
Sve što imam - to si ti
A šta drugo treba mi? (Stoja, 2001)
[Everything I have - I'll give
What can I do - it's who I am
Everything I have - it's you
What else do I need?]

Female voices in the analyzed songs oscillated between reinforcing and resisting traditional gendered expectations. While some lyrics reflected autonomy and critique, others depicted emotional reliance and conformity to conventional norms of femininity.

The five themes identified through this analysis reveal consistent patterns in how gender, intimacy, and power are portrayed in turbo-folk lyrics. While the lyrical content varied in tone and

intensity, references to ambivalent and hostile forms of sexism were pervasive across the dataset. Male perspectives were more prominently represented, particularly in themes such as heterosexual intimacy, hostile sexism, and responses to heartbreak, where women were frequently positioned as central to male emotional experience, either as objects of idealization or targets of blame. At the same time, female performers reflected both internalized norms and moments of resistance, illustrating the complex and sometimes contradictory ways women engage with gender expectations in the genre.

Though theme frequency varied, all five themes contributed meaningfully to the understanding of how sexism operates within turbo-folk music, and they are presented in a sequence that reflects their conceptual and narrative progression rather than strict occurrence. It is important to note that both hostile and benevolent sexism appeared simultaneously in ten of the thirty songs, all ten by male artists. This occurrence often followed the pattern of portraying women as deceitful while also romanticizing and glorifying heterosexual relationships in the majority of the songs. In songs performed by the female artists, the themes of hostile and benevolent sexism did not appear together as such, but rather benevolent sexism appeared with the female experience of sexism, which in many cases could be interpreted as internalized or hostile sexism. The following Discussion section will explore the significance of these findings in greater depth, referencing relevant psychological theory and cultural context.

Discussion

This study examined how ambivalent sexism is reflected in turbo-folk lyrics and its implications for Balkan gender relations. Building on AST and research showing that popular music can mirror and shape societal attitudes, the aim of the study was to identify lyrical patterns of hostile and benevolent sexism, and explore their implications for listeners and the broader society of the Balkan region, where turbo-folk remains an important cultural artifact. This study investigated themes of ambivalent sexism in turbo-folk lyrics using TA. The analysis yielded five primary themes: Heterosexual Intimacy, Hostile Sexism, Conditional Chivalry, Masculine Responses to Heartbreak, and Female Experiences of Sexism. Heterosexual intimacy was the most prominent theme to emerge, indicating the centrality of romantic relationships in shaping identities and emotional experiences in turbo-folk music. Hostile sexism was often present in the lyrics,

predominantly manifesting through blaming women for relationship-related issues and emotional turmoil. Conditional chivalry depicted the idealization and protection of women under the condition that the women in question conform to traditional gender roles, leaning on concepts of benevolent sexism, protective paternalism, and complementary gender differentiation. Masculine responses to heartbreak, a theme identified through inductive analysis, commonly referred to alcohol consumption and emotional detachment as coping mechanisms. Female experiences of sexism emerged as the subsequent inductive theme, revealing the complexity between conforming to traditional norms and expressing resistance to sexist expectations.

5.1. Interpretation of Findings

The findings mentioned above significantly contribute to understanding how ambivalent sexism is expressed within turbo-folk music, aligning closely with AST (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The simultaneous presence of hostile sexism, conditional chivalry and heterosexual intimacy vividly illustrates how hostile and benevolent sexism coexist (Neff, 2014). This dual presence highlights a significant psychological and social tension, reflecting how women are simultaneously devalued and idealized, and illustrating broader societal ambivalence towards gender roles (Glick et al., 1997). The co-presence of both hostile and benevolent sexism within the same song, in 10 out of 14 songs by male artists supports the idea that hostile and benevolent sexism not only coexist but reinforce each other, as defined within the Ambivalent Sexism Framework (Glick et al., 1997).

Heterosexual intimacy appearing dominantly across the lyrics highlights romantic relationships as a significant space for reinforcing traditional gender roles and expectations. Romantic narratives in turbo-folk are often marked with emotional dependence and an attachment that is judged in value by the intensity of the suffering it causes. This suffering was present across all lyrics coded with heterosexual intimacy, and the lyrics often equated it to the depth of love and commitment. Such a high prevalence of this theme suggests the reproduction of the same pattern across the majority of turbo-folk songs, and the internalization of messages of suffering as devotion in their listeners, aligning with studies that show how lyrics can profoundly influence listeners' identity formation (Barradas & Sakka, 2021). This dynamic, however, is not confined to turbo-folk, as the "pain-as-proof-of-love" trope in mainstream popular music has been documented in previous studies (Bretthauer et al., 2007). Similar themes of unrequited love, stalking, and

misogyny also appear in contemporary Bollywood hits, signaling the cross-cultural reach of these romanticized suffering narratives (Siddiqi, 2020).

The theme of masculine responses to heartbreak was characterized by alcohol use and emotional withdrawal, resonating with the historical and socio-cultural patterns identified in literature. Alcohol consumption, particularly prevalent in the post-war Balkan context, has been historically normalized and connected to traditional conceptions of masculinity and emotional resilience (Ćopić, 2004). The portrayals of men using alcohol as a coping mechanism for heartbreak reinforce traditional masculine identities and promote substance use as a legitimate emotional coping strategy. Additionally, women are often portrayed as a coping mechanism of sorts across genres, being a temporary replacement for the “main” woman who broke their heart (Jones & Deflem, 2022). This plays into not only AST that explains how men differentiate women based on their morality and purity but also goes in line with cultural expectations outlined in literature that glorify the ideal woman while vilifying the “other” women for their lower moral standards (Neff, 2014).

Female Experiences of Sexism painted a nuanced picture, demonstrating resistance and conformity. Women’s lyrics reflected an internalized struggle between traditional expectations and desires for autonomy, highlighting the complexity of women’s experience with cultural narratives about gender (Coffey-Glover & Handforth, 2019). Comparable research on hip-hop and R&B genres shows that female performers frequently oscillate between resisting and reinforcing patriarchal narratives, suggesting a wider cultural struggle over female agency in popular music (Bretthauer et al., 2007).

The overlap of codes, themes, and concepts in the analysis provides a deeper understanding of the nuanced manifestation of ambivalent sexism within the turbo-folk genre. The simultaneous appearance of both hostile and benevolent sexism in 10 songs confirms how challenging it can be to identify and define what form of sexism is being displayed, while also showing that they work in unison to maintain traditional gender roles and perpetuate sexist norms within the Balkan cultural narratives.

The co-occurrence of conditional chivalry and hostile sexism, while theoretically distinct, showed the intersection of how, once women do not conform to expectations of purity, loyalty, and fragility, the emotional responses from men are attributed entirely to the women. What was once a need to put someone on a pedestal and protect them quickly turns to overt and explicit

blame and disappointment. Men's masculinity is closely tied to their pride and perceptions of female fidelity and gratitude. Thus, their respect and idealization of women sharply decline if their pride is threatened, transitioning to hostility (Levant, 1992). In real-world consequences, the benevolent and hostile mechanisms through which these messages are shared communicate to women that their conformity to prescribed gender roles is essential and pivotal for maintaining positive male attitudes (Glick et al., 1997).

Intersections between female experiences of sexism and patterns of hostile and benevolent sexism in songs by male artists provided a glimpse into the complexity faced by female artists in turbo-folk. While some artists expressed conformity to expectations through devotion and suffering and centralizing men within their own identity, others expressed realization of gender roles and how they benefit men. Conformity to norms often took the shape of derogatory name-calling and comparison with other women, more explicitly passing judgment on women than most of the male artists' songs, consistent with internalized sexist beliefs and gender role conformity (Coffey-Glover & Handforth, 2019). In this way, female artists tend to reinforce problematic norms while navigating the complex expectations thrust upon them by their social environment, even in cases when they wish to articulate resistance. In the case of Seka Aleksic's song, which depicts her vision of what life would be like if she were a man, she confirms all the gendered expectations and roles. While she expresses that she did not have to comply with them, she recognizes that that is not a reality that would allow her to behave in the same manner as the men she sings about. This theme consistently illustrated the complex negotiation between cultural scripts and individual identity (Bracewell, 1996).

These themes and their intersections also reflect the broader cultural and psychological realities in the Balkans. Intertwining romantic devotion with pain and suffering suggests how turbo-folk lyrics normalize emotional turmoil as an integral part of heterosexual intimacy and reflect that this is the most common reality. This normalization of suffering could contribute to harmful relationship dynamics, where pain and potential abuse might be misconstrued as a sign of genuine love and commitment. In this way, lyrics become a significant cultural transmitter of harmful relationship norms and gender-based violence (Hyatt et al., 2017). Alongside these themes, consistent references to dysfunctional coping mechanisms give an insight into how masculinity is socially constructed and reinforced in the Balkans. While defining masculinity by masking vulnerability through these responses is ultimately harmful to women through

mechanisms of blame and shunning, it is equally harmful to the healthy emotional development of Balkan men.

5.2. Implications and Limitations

One primary strength of this study lies in its codebook TA approach, which provided the flexibility necessary for exploring an under-researched context such as the Balkans, allowing the unique sociocultural nuances present in turbo-folk lyrics to emerge. This approach enabled a comprehensive and culturally sensitive analysis, which enhanced the reliability and validity of the findings. By utilizing deductive and inductive coding, this study effectively balanced theory-driven analysis with sensitivity to emergent cultural themes. The familiarity of the researcher and collaborator with the cultural context significantly enriched interpretive accuracy, allowing a deeper understanding of societal norms. The inclusion of a native Montenegrin and Serbian co-analyst ensured interpretative reliability, reducing potential biases and enriching the analysis with additional reflexivity.

A central contribution of this study is empirical support for the co-presence of hostile and benevolent sexism in turbo-folk. The findings showed that benevolent sexism is culturally weighted with intimate interdependence being dominant, while protective paternalism and complementary gender differentiation often appeared to overlap and were comparatively muted. This supports the assumption of AST that these subcategories are not necessarily equally salient in all contexts (Glick & Fiske, 1997). The lyrics also showed how benevolent protection can turn into overt blame once women breach gendered expectations predominantly in songs by male artists, illustrating how protection is readily withdrawn when benevolent sexism's conditions are violated (Glick & Fiske, 2011). The simultaneous presence of hostile and benevolent sexism in one third of the songs mirrors the positive correlation between the two, confirming that the two ideologies function as complementary, supporting patriarchal narratives (Glick & Fiske, 2011). Turbo-folk's pervasive trope of devotional suffering reveals an affective pathway through which benevolent sexism normalizes women's endurance of pain in relationships, expanding literature on the unique harms of benevolent sexism when overt sexism is absent. This study treated hostile sexism as one construct, consistent with the factor-analytic work which showed the three hostile sexism subcategories including dominative paternalism, competitive gender differentiation, and heterosexual hostility cluster together (Glick & Fiske, 1997). However, the findings offer an

insights into a pattern of pride to hostility pathway, as men in the turbo-folk songs turn to victim-blaming or policing non-conforming women once their masculine pride is portrayed as wounded. Whether this pathway is culturally specific or a more universal trigger and mechanism requires additional investigation.

Despite these contributions, several limitations must be acknowledged. Firstly, the research focused specifically on the Montenegrin and Serbian contexts due to the personal familiarity and cultural background of the researcher and collaborator. While providing deeper cultural insights, it inherently limited the generalizability of the findings to other Balkan countries or broader global contexts.

Secondly, analyzing lyrics exclusively without considering other musical elements, such as title, melody, rhythm, intonation, or visual performances, limited the findings. As previous research indicated, the multimodal nature of music's psychological influence, focusing solely on lyrical content may have overlooked new dimensions of meaning and impact (Kimmel, 2019). Although rigorous attempts have been made to control for bias, the researcher's identity as a woman with personal experiences within the described context may have influenced interpretations outside of the initial analysis of the results. Although measures such as involving a second analyst and maintaining reflexive notes may have mitigated this issue, absolute objectivity remains a challenge.

5.3. Future Research

Future research should investigate these findings by examining listener perspectives to gain a deeper understanding of how audiences internalize and respond to turbo-folk music and lyrics. Conducting focus groups or surveys would allow additional research to capture perceptions and experiences of listeners comprehensively, contributing to a holistic understanding of the psychological effects of the turbo-folk lyrics.

Evidence from other popular genres, such as hip-hop, pop, country, and Bollywood music points to pervasive patterns of objectification and male entitlement in song lyrics (Bretthauer et al., 2007). Findings from these studies show that repeated exposure to misogynistic lyrics predicts higher endorsement of hostile sexist beliefs (Hyatt et al., 2017). What may set turbo-folk apart, however, is the genre specific ethnonationalist framing which amplifies the benevolent tropes of "protecting our women" while simultaneously justifying hostility towards those women who do

not conform to gendered expectations. Future research should test whether the mere presence of a romantic storyline is sufficient to elicit sexist themes, or whether specific narratives within different genres intensify sexist messaging.

Addressing the multimodal aspects of music limitation, future studies might explore other aspects of turbo-folk music, including performance styles and visual representations. This approach would enable us to examine how these elements interact with the lyrical content and determine whether they reinforce or challenge the identified themes.

This research can also be extended geographically within the Balkans or comparatively across cultures to explore how context-specific or universal these themes are through TA. Further exploration would be necessary to reveal nuanced differences and similarities in how sexism is culturally embedded and transmitted through music.

Finally, although AST was highly informative for the present analysis, it may not be sufficient on its own in capturing the intersection of nationalism, post-conflict identity and gender that characterizes turbo-folk. Future studies could do so by combining it with complementary perspectives addressing dominant masculinities, objectification, and the intersections of gender with broader social identities and national narratives.

5.4. Conclusion

This study contributes to the understanding of ambivalent sexism in turbo-folk lyrics, emphasizing how lyrical content reinforces the gender dynamics prevalent in Montenegro and Serbia. Identifying themes of heterosexual intimacy, hostile sexism, conditional chivalry, masculine responses to heartbreak, and female experiences with sexism emphasizes the importance of examining seemingly subtle cultural artifacts like musical lyrics and their effect on societal norms. Addressing these sexist patterns, however seemingly benign, is essential. Such cultural analyses contribute to recognizing how ambivalent sexism lays the groundwork and foundation for broader patterns of gender inequality and violence, exposing real-world consequences. Future research, particularly that which focuses on listeners' perspectives, is crucial for deepening our understanding and identifying potential pathways for addressing and challenging gender attitudes and societal norms.

References

- Banović, J., & Banović, B. (2024). Polno selektivni abortusi u Crnoj Gori—pravno-antropološka analiza. *Етноантрополошки проблеми/Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology*, 19(2), 459-481.
- Barradas, G. T., & Sakka, L. S. (2022). When words matter: A cross-cultural perspective on lyrics and their relationship to musical emotions. *Psychology of Music*, 50(2), 650-669.
- Betti, L., Abrate, C., & Kaltenbrunner, A. (2023). Large scale analysis of gender bias and sexism in song lyrics. *EPJ data science*, 12(1), 10.
- Bracewell, W. (1996, January). Women, motherhood, and contemporary Serbian nationalism. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 19, No. 1-2, pp. 25-33). Pergamon.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Bretthauer, B., Zimmerman, T. S., & Banning, J. H. (2007). A feminist analysis of popular music: Power over, objectification of, and violence against women. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy*, 18(4), 29-51.
- Bretthauer, B., Zimmerman, T. S., & Banning, J. H. (2007). A feminist analysis of popular music: Power over, objectification of, and violence against women. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy*, 18(4), 29-51.
- Byrne, D. (2021). A worked example of Braun and Clarke's approach to reflexive thematic analysis. *Quality & quantity*, 56(3), 1391-1412.
- Chao-Fernández, A., Chao-Fernández, R., & López-Chao, C. (2020). Sexism in lyrics of children's songs in school and family environment. *Education Sciences*, 10(11), 300.
- Chen, D., Satish, A., Khanbayov, R., Schuster, C. M., & Groh, G. (2024). Beats of Bias: Analyzing Lyrics with Topic Modeling and Gender Bias Measurements. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2409.15949*.
- Cobb, M. D., & Boettcher III, W. A. (2007). Ambivalent Sexism and Misogynistic Rap Music: Does Exposure to Eminem Increase Sexism? 1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 37(12), 3025-3042.
- Coffey-Glover, L., & Handforth, R. (2019). Discourses of (hetero) sexism in popular music: The legacy of Blurred Lines. *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 8(2), 139-165.

- Cooper, H. E., Camic, P. M., Long, D. L., Panter, A. T., Rindskopf, D. E., & Sher, K. J. (2012). *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol 2: Research designs: Quantitative, qualitative, neuropsychological, and biological* (pp. x-701). American Psychological Association.
- Ćopić, S. (2004). Wife abuse in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. *Feminist Review*, 76(1), 46-64.
- Cvoro, U. (2012). Remember the nineties? Turbo-folk as the vanishing mediator of nationalism. *Cultural Politics*, 8(1), 121-137.
- Davidović, J. (2023). "My dear unwanted": media discourse on sex-selective abortion in Montenegro. *Feminist Media Studies*, 23(3), 937-959.
- Dumančić, M., & Krolo, K. (2017). Dehexing postwar West Balkan masculinities: the case of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia, 1998 to 2015. *Men and Masculinities*, 20(2), 154-180.
- Gërbeshi Zylfu, B., & Xhoni, A. (2024). Understanding gender roles and stereotypes through song lyrics in Kosovar society. *RAST Musicology Journal/Rast Muzikoloji Dergisi*, 12(2).
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. In *Social cognition* (pp. 116-160). Routledge.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1997). Hostile and benevolent sexism: Measuring ambivalent sexist attitudes toward women. *Psychology of women quarterly*, 21(1), 119-135.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2011). Ambivalent sexism revisited. *Psychology of women quarterly*, 35(3), 530-535.
- Glick, P., Diebold, J., Bailey-Werner, B., & Zhu, L. (1997). The two faces of Adam: Ambivalent sexism and polarized attitudes toward women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23(12), 1323-1334.
- Greitemeyer, T., Hollingdale, J., & Traut-Mattausch, E. (2015). Changing the track in music and misogyny: Listening to music with pro-equality lyrics improves attitudes and behavior toward women. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 4(1), 56.
- Grujić, M. (2009). Community and the popular: Women, nation and turbo-folk in post-Yugoslav Serbia. *CEU, Budapest: PhD Thesis*.
- Haider, H. (2017). Gender and conflict in the Western Balkans.

- Hyatt, C. S., Berke, D. S., Miller, J. D., & Zeichner, A. (2017). Do beliefs about gender roles moderate the relationship between exposure to misogynistic song lyrics and men's female-directed aggression?. *Aggressive behavior*, 43(2), 123-132.
- Jelača, D. (2017). Towards a reparative reading of the sponzoruša. *Mediating Post-Socialist Femininities*, 36.
- Jerković, S. V., & Alihodžić, D. (2020) Gendered Superpower: The Representation of Gender and Sexuality in Superhero Movies. In *English–Views, Voices, People and Places: Conference Proceedings* (p. 182).
- Jones, N. C., & Deflem, M. (2022). Sexism and Traditional Masculinity in Country Music: Practicing Inclusivity and Innovation in Research and Education. *EDUCATION SCIENCES AND SOCIETY*, (2022/2).
- Jurčić, D. (2020) Gender Discourse In Serbian Turbo-Folk Lyrics. In *English–Views, Voices, People and Places: Conference Proceedings* (p. 30).
- Kimmel, B. (2019). The effects of reading song lyrics on prosocial and aggressive behaviour, and on homophobic attitudes.
- Levant, R. F. (1992). Toward the reconstruction of masculinity. *Journal of family psychology*, 5(3-4), 379.
- Maguire, M., & Delahunt, B. (2017). Doing a thematic analysis: A practical, step-by-step guide for learning and teaching scholars. *All Ireland journal of higher education*, 9(3).
- Neff, S. (2014). Sexism across musical genres: A comparison.
- Ninković, A. (2022, February). *Eksplikacija ispitnog rada iz predmeta Pop kultura: Od digitalnog do transmedijalnog*. Fakultet dramskih umetnosti, Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu.
- Noor, R., & Missal, M. (2024). Deconstructing Gender and Marital Stereotypes: Critical Analysis of Song Lyrics in Pakistan. *Journal of Media and Entrepreneurial Studies*, 4, 73-96.
- Osuna, B. L. (2011). *Psychological Effects of Music with Lyrics: A Methodological Study*. Fielding Graduate University.
- Prentiq, V., Kalimeri, K., & Saitis, C. (2022). " More Than Words": Linking Music Preferences and Moral Values Through Lyrics. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2209.01169*.

- Ramet, S. P. (Ed.). (2010). *Gender politics in the Western Balkans: women and society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav successor states*. Penn State Press.
- Ruth, N., & Schramm, H. (2021). Effects of prosocial lyrics and musical production elements on emotions, thoughts and behavior. *Psychology of Music*, 49(4), 759-776.
- Šentevska, I. (2014). Turbo-Folk as the agent of empire: on discourses of identity and difference in popular culture. *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 44(3), 413-441.
- Siddiqi, N. (2020). A thematic analysis of sexist Bollywood songs. *Multidisciplinary Journal of Gender Studies*, 9(2), 111-136.
- Slavková, M. (2010). Echoing the beats of turbo-folk: popular music and nationalism in ex-Yugoslavia. *Lidé města*, 12(2), 419-439.
- Volčič, Z., & Erjavec, K. (2010). The Paradox of Ceca and the turbo-folk audience. *Popular Communication*, 8(2), 103-119.
- Zeković, B. (2015). *Monitoring of the domestic violence protection strategy 2011–2015* [Research report]. JUVENTAS.

Appendices

Appendix A

Transcriptions of Song Lyrics (Serbian)

1. Dejan Matic - Pola Pola

Rekla si mi delicemo
u zivotu sve
sada kad nam nije lako
ti ostavljas me
Rekla si mi delicemo
i dobro i zlo
sada kada tesko nam je
zaboravljas to
Ref. 2x
Tamo gde si posla ti
ponesi i deo bola
kad smo mogli delit' srecu
delimo i bol na pola
Rekla si mi delicemo
nasu srecu znaj
sada kad nam nije lako
ti bi htela kraj

2. Darko Filipovic - Ona Ona

Uzalud je, uzalud je
Da mislim na nju
K'o da nikad nije bila tu
Nije ona nevernica srca kamenog
Zasto, zašto uze mi je Bog
Kao mrlju iz sećanja svog
Izbrisala me je dana tog
Kao da se prošlo ne broji
K'o da juče i ne postoji

Ona, ona, ona mi je srce slomila
Ona, ona, ona me u crno zavila
Ona, ona, ona je kriva
Što sam pijan i lud
I što je volim, volim uzalud
Uzalud je svako jutro koje osvane
Od kada se ne budim kraj nje
Nije bila zavodnica, a ni prevara
Ali je da voli prestala
Kao mrlju iz sećanja svog
Izbrisala me je dana tog
Kao da se prošlo ne broji
K'o da juče i ne postoji
Ona, ona, ona mi je srce slomila
Ona, ona, ona me u crno zavila
Ona, ona, ona je kriva
Što sam pijan i lud
I što je volim, volim uzalud

3. Neda Ukraden - Ne Da, Ne Da

U pravo vrijeme dođeš, baš u dobar sat
Pa mi kroz kosu prođeš, poljubiš mi vrat
Lopov si stari, znaš ti kad je pravi čas
Postoje stvari koje jače su od nas
Sat noćas neću naviti
Do jutra ćemo slaviti
Ne da, ne da, tebe tvoja Neda
Ja sam ona što se zadnja preda
Ne da, ne da, tebe tvoja Neda
Ti si sve što mome srcu treba
Tajni si gost zbog kojeg još zadrhtim sva
Postoji nešto tako divlje u nama

Sretan si kad kraj mene jutrom budiš se
Volim te, dušo, zašto tome čudiš se
Sat noćas neću naviti
Do jutra ćemo slaviti
Ne da, ne da, tebe tvoja Neda
Ja sam ona što se zadnja preda
Ne da, ne da, tebe tvoja Neda
Ti si sve što mome srcu treba
(Ne da, ne da) x2

4. Viki Miljkovic - Mahi, Mahi

Mahi-mahi-mahi-mahi-mahinalno
Okrenem te usred noći i tako stalno
Radim li to iz ljubavi ili možda stvarno?
Mahi-mahi-mahi-mahi-mahinalno
Svima sam rekla da nisam sa tobom
Al' kako da raščistim sama sa sobom?
Neka tajna sila ka tebi me vuče
I na srcu stoji mi datum od juče
Takve kao ja na greškama ne uče
Mahi-mahi-mahi-mahi-mahinalno
Okrenem te usred noći i tako stalno
Radim li to iz ljubavi ili možda stvarno?
Mahi-mahi-mahi-mahi-mahinalno
Svima sam rekla da mogu sve sama
Al' promenim mišljenje svakoga dana
Malo, malo pa te vidim kraj sebe
I duh iz prošlosti na vrata grebe
Zovem pomoć, naravno, dobijem tebe
Mahi-mahi-mahi-mahi-mahinalno
Okrenem te usred noći i tako stalno
Radim li to iz ljubavi ili možda stvarno?

Mahi-mahi-mahi-mahi-mahinalno

5. Dara Bubamara - Javite mi, javite

Saljem poruke
niko ne odgovara
kucam na vrata
niko ih ne otvara
Pitam za tebe
sve prijatelje nase
svi beze od mene
istine se plase
Javite mi, javite
je li s drugom ili sam
istinu mi recite
da o njemu nesto znam
Javite mi, javite
s drugom kad ga vidite
bicu jaka, sve izdrzacu
ne lazite
Mojim si zeljama
ti najdrazi plen
vrati se ljubavi
makar i na tren
Pitam za tebe
sve prijatelje nase
svi beze od mene
istine se plase

6. Stoja - Gori stara ljubav

Pored jedne reke
Volelo se dvoje
Prvi put se srele usne
Njegove i moje

Sve je bilo k'o u priči
A sada na tugu liči
Gori, gori stara ljubav
Još u srcu mom
I goreće sve dok voda
Teče Dunavom
Gori, gori stara ljubav
Jedna reka sna
Volelo se dvoje
A sad volim samo ja
Pored jedne reke
Volelo se dvoje
Za ljubav su hteli dati
I živote svoje
Sve je bilo k'o u priči
A sada na tugu liči
Gori, gori stara ljubav
Još u srcu mom
I goreće sve dok voda
Teče Dunavom
Gori, gori stara ljubav
Jedna reka sna
Volelo se dvoje
A sad volim samo ja
Pored jedne reke
Tragovi još stoje
Sećaju na srećne dane
Njegove i moje
Sve je bilo k'o u priči
A sada na tugu liči
Gori, gori stara ljubav

Još u srcu mom
I goreće sve dok voda
Teče Dunavom
Gori, gori stara ljubav
Jedna reka sna
Volelo se dvoje
A sad volim samo ja

7. Djani - Otišla si, e pa neka

Otišla si, e pa neka
E pa neka, e pa neka
I tuga je za čoveka
Za čoveka, za čoveka
Otišla si jednog dana
Osta mi na srcu rana
Odnela si moju sreću
Al' se nadam preživljuću
Otišla si, e pa neka
E pa neka, e pa neka
I tuga je za čoveka
Za čoveka, za čoveka
Otišla si, e pa neka
E pa neka, e pa neka
I tuga je za čoveka
Za čoveka, za čoveka
Otišla si, sve se ruši
Ostao mi bol u duši
Da zbog tebe umrem, neću
Ne brini se preživljuću
Otišla si, e pa neka
E pa neka, e pa neka
I tuga je za čoveka

Za čoveka, za čoveka
Otišla si, e pa neka
E pa neka, e pa neka
I tuga je za čoveka
Za čoveka, za čoveka
Otišla si nekom drugom
Ostao sam sâm sa tugom
Poludeću, ne znam gde ću
Al' zapamti preživću
Otišla si, e pa neka
E pa neka, e pa neka
I tuga je za čoveka
Za čoveka, za čoveka
Otišla si, e pa neka
E pa neka, e pa neka
I tuga je za čoveka
Za čoveka, za čoveka

8. Marta Savic - Dijamanti, Brilijanti

Da mi kupiš ceo grad
Zlatan prsten, zlatan sat
Da na kocku staviš sve
To za ljubav malo je
Da mi zlato krasi dom
Da na telu sija mom
Da mi zvezde skineš sve
To za ljubav malo je
Dijamanti, brilijanti
Kraj tebe mi neće sjati
Koliko god da su pravi
Lažni su bez ljubavi
Dijamanti, brilijanti

Kraj tebe mi neće sjati
Koliko god da su pravi
Lažni su bez ljubavi
Da mi staze svilom tkaš
Svo bogastvo da mi daš
Da po svetu vodiš me
To za ljubav malo je
Da uz tebe sanjam san
Da mi s tobom sviće dan
Da tvoj osmeh budi me
To za mene ljubav je
Dijamanti, brilijanti
Kraj tebe mi neće sjati
Koliko god da su pravi
Lažni su bez ljubavi
Dijamanti, brilijanti
Kraj tebe mi neće sjati
Koliko god da su pravi
Lažni su bez ljubavi x2

9. Mile Kitic - Smejem se, a place mi se

Nekom sam sve - tebi ne
Nisam ti ni gost
Ko si shvatam zadnji, nažalost
Ženo, bio sam ti kao grad
Velik kao i on sad
Setiš li se toga ponekad?
Ženo, bio sam ti kao grad
Velik kao i on sad
Setiš li se toga ponekad?
Smejem se, a plače mi se
Tražim lek u vinu

Vino pijem da ubijem istinu
Ne boli što nisam znao
Da te drugi meni krao
Boli što sam zadnji saznao
Ne boli što nisam znao
Da te drugi meni krao
Boli što sam zadnji saznao
Šta je bilo, bilo je
Ženo moga sna
Boli kad se voli pogrešna
Ženo, bila si mi ceo svet
Sad sve puca kao led
I na tugu došao je red
Ženo, bila si mi ceo svet
Sad sve puca kao led
I na tugu došao je red
Smejem se, a plače mi se
Tražim lek u vinu
Vino pijem da ubijem istinu
Ne boli što nisam znao
Da te drugi meni krao
Boli što sam zadnji saznao
Ne boli što nisam znao
Da te drugi meni krao
Boli što sam zadnji saznao x2

10. Nikola Rokvic - Koliko sam Usana Poljubio

Odavno video te nisam
Ne pitam čak ni gde si ti
Ali samo ja znam
Svake noci kako falis mi
Prva, druga, peta

Samo su krevet grejale
Posle tebe sve su
Iste meni postale
Koliko sam njih ja do sad' imao
Svaku sam izdao
Ni pola mi k'o ti nisu znacile
A sve su mi dusu dale
Koliko sam usana poljubio
Da bih to shvatio
Tvoj sam bio i ostao
Odavno video te nisam
Cuo sam da si srećna s njim
A ja sve bih dao
Samo jednom da te zagrlim
Prva, druga, peta
Samo su krevet grejale
Posle tebe sve su
Iste meni postale
Koliko sam njih ja do sad' imao
Svaku si izdao
Ni pola mi k'o ti nisu znacile
A sve smo ti dusu dale
Koliko sam usana poljubio
Da bih to shvatio
Tvoj sam bio i ostao

11. Djani - Sam sam

Ostani zbogom nek te sreća prati
A ja ću negde naći svoju sreću
Sve što je lepo život mi uskrati
Zašto te nema, izdržati neću
Sve što je lepo život mi uskrati

Zašto te nema, izdržati neću
Sam sam dok te ljubi drugi neko
Ti si sad za mene samo san
Znam da si od mene sad daleko
Neću da preživim ovaj dan
Sam sam dok te ljubi drugi neko
Ti si sad za mene samo san
Znam da si od mene sad daleko
Neću da preživim ovaj dan
Ni jednu više ja neću voleti
Ja sam odavno prežalio od sebe
Šaljem ti suzu, nek te ona seti
Na dane kad sam žive za tebe
Šaljem ti suzu, nek te ona seti
Na dane kad sam žive za tebe
Sam sam dok te ljubi drugi neko
Ti si sad za mene samo san
Znam da si od mene sad daleko
Neću da preživim ovaj dan x3

12. Saban Saulic - Ti me varas najbolje

Sad da te vidim ne bih te poznao
Lepote tvoje željan sam ostao
Da'l me još ima u tvojim grudima?
Da li me tražiš u drugim ljudima?
Otkad te nema ja nemam sna
I svaki dan je k'o godina
Ma samo da si sa mnom dao bih sve
Jer i kad me varaš, ti me varaš najbolje
Otkad te nema ja nemam sna
I svaki dan je k'o godina
Ma samo da si sa mnom dao bih sve

Jer i kad me varaš, ti me varaš najbolje
Znam da sa tobom sve sam izgubio
Al' kad te sanjam ne bih se budio
Da'l me još ima u tvojim grudima?
Da li me tražiš u drugim ljudima?
Otkad te nema ja nemam sna
I svaki dan je k'o godina
Ma samo da si sa mnom dao bih sve
Jer i kad me varaš, ti me varaš najbolje
Otkad te nema ja nemam sna
I svaki dan je k'o godina
Ma samo da si sa mnom dao bih sve
Jer i kad me varaš, ti me varaš najbolje
Otkad te nema ja nemam sna
I svaki dan je k'o godina
Ma samo da si sa mnom dao bih sve
Jer i kad me varaš, ti me varaš najbolje
Otkad te nema ja nemam sna
I svaki dan je k'o godina
Ma samo da si sa mnom dao bih sve
Jer i kad me varaš, ti me varaš najbolje

13. Saban Saulic - Sadrvani

Kad mislim o tebi puna mi je čaša
Dotukla me treznog tužna priča naša
Ne proklinjem tebe, bila si mi draga
Napusti nas ljubav, nestade bez traga
Ne proklinjem tebe, bila si mi draga
Napusti nas ljubav, nestade bez traga
Neću da ti priznam, ti mi srce rani
Iz bašte me tvoje zovu šadrvani
Otvorićeš prozor sama i bez sreće

Upalićeš fenjer, al' me biti neće
Otvorićeš prozor sama i bez sreće
Upalićeš fenjer, al' me biti neće
Čujem da se kaješ, zato Bogu hvala
Da bude k'o nekad sve bi sada dala
Kraj kapije čekaš jer znaš da ću proći
Ako te pozovem, da l' ćeš sa mnom poći
Kraj kapije čekaš jer znaš da ću proći
Ako te pozovem, da l' ćeš sa mnom poći
Neću da ti priznam, ti mi srce rani
Iz bašte me tvoje zovu šadržvani
Otvorićeš prozor sama i bez sreće
Upalićeš fenjer, al' me biti neće
Otvorićeš prozor sama i bez sreće
Upalićeš fenjer, al' me biti neće

14. Djani - Sve mi tvoje nedostaje

Sanjao sam da si kraj mene
I da mi opet pripadaš sva
Sanjao sam to i molio nebo
Da me ne budi iz sna
Sad odlazim pod prozore tvoje
Da ugledam te samo na tren
Da ogrejem dušu, da oteram tugu
Tako sam i ostavljen
Nisam našao mir
Ni sa jednom od sto
Samo dublji je vir
Što me vuče na dno
Sve mi tvoje nedostaje
Od kad se bez tebe budim
Sve mi tvoje nedostaje

Bojim se da ne poludim
Sve mi tvoje nedostaje
Tražim oči kao tvoje
Sve mi tvoje nedostaje
Vrati mi se, milo moje
Vrati mi se, milo moje
A činio sam gluposti mnoge
Da oteram te od sebe ja
Ni slutio nisam da volim te više
Od života, malena
Sad odlazim pod prozore tvoje
Da ugledam te samo na tren
Da ogrejem dušu, da oteram tugu
Tako sam i ostavljen
Nisam našao mir
Ni sa jednom od sto
Samo dublji je vir
Što me vuče na dno
Sve mi tvoje nedostaje
Od kad se bez tebe budim
Sve mi tvoje nedostaje
Bojim se da ne poludim
Sve mi tvoje nedostaje
Tražim oči kao tvoje
Sve mi tvoje nedostaje
Vrati mi se, milo moje
Vrati mi se, milo moje

15. Lepa Brena - Kolovodja

Prošla sam pola sveta
Videla sve i svašta
A ti se nađe pamet da mi soliš

Možda je svemu kriva
Ta tvoja bujna mašta
Na kraju ćeš za ljubav da me moliš (Da me moliš)
Ne uči kolovođu kolo da povede
Kolo da povede, kolo da povede
Ni zavodnicu kako da zavede
Kako da zavede, kako da zavede
Kolovođu kolo da povede
Kolo da povede, kolo da povede
Ni zavodnicu kako da zavede
Kako da zavede, kako da zavede
Nema gde nisam bila
Probala svetska pića
A ti bi mene žednu preko vode
Neću da gubim vreme
Na jednoga slabića
Takvi ko ti se samo greškom rode
Ne uči kolovođu kolo da povede
Kolo da povede, kolo da povede
Ni zavodnicu kako da zavede
Kako da zavede, kako da zavede
Kolovođu kolo da povede
Kolo da povede, kolo da povede
Ni zavodnicu kako da zavede
Kako da zavede, kako da zavede x2

16. Darko Lazic - Idi drugome

Mogao sam, devojko, sve ja da razumem
Da si mlada, da se brinu tvoji
Mogao sam samo ja da zbog tebe umrem
Jer, od mene, ljudi ne postoji
Jer, od mene, ljudi ne postoji

'Ajde, idi drugome
Ja imam svoje drugove
Noću lutaću, drugoj srce ukrašću
Opet iz mrtvih ustaću
'Ajde, idi drugome
Ja imam svoje drugove
Noću lutaću, drugoj srce ukrašću
Opet iz mrtvih ustaću
Mislila si da ćeš me uzeti pod svoje
I da ćeš me promeniti lako
Nisi znala, malena, kako stvari stoje
Da, ustvari, gubiš me polako
Da, ustvari, gubiš me polako
'Ajde, idi drugome
Ja imam svoje drugove
Noću lutaću, drugoj srce ukrašću
Opet iz mrtvih ustaću
'Ajde, idi drugome
Ja imam svoje drugove
Noću lutaću, drugoj srce ukrašću
Opet iz mrtvih ustaću
'Ajde, idi drugome
Ja imam svoje drugove
Noću lutaću, drugoj srce ukrašću
Opet iz mrtvih ustaću
'Ajde, idi drugome
Ja imam svoje drugove
Noću lutaću, drugoj srce ukrašću
Opet iz mrtvih ustaću
Opet iz mrtvih ustaću

17. Djani - Balkanac

Danas je normalno da se poludi
pola sveta se udara po nosu
duse se prodaju kupuju grudi
a ja jos sanjam tvoju crnu kosu
i jos bi hteo s tobom da se budim
moja malena

Ostajem Balkanac i provincijalac
putuj evropo sreću zelim ti ja
a ti mala kad ti zatreba muskarac
doci ces meni budi sigurna

Danas je normalno da se poludi
ljubav na kredit kupiti se moze
sve se promenilo vreme i ljudi
a ja jos cuvam tebe ispod koze
i jos bi hteo s tobom da se budim
moja malena

18. Indira i Alen - Lopov

Lopov lopova
Uvek oseti
Znaš ti ko sam ja
Znam ja ko si ti
Eh, hajde, dođi mi, djevojko, djevojčice
I ukradi mi sve
Oči veži mi, ruke zaveži mi, jer
Jer smo isti, zar ne?
Uzeću ti sve, uzeću ti sve
Moja duša je na to navikla
Plaši me što znam, prevarićeš me
Kao sudbina starog lopova
Lopov lopovu
Svaki pokret zna

Nema tajni tu
Nema kajanja
Eh, hajde, dođi mi, djevojko, djevojčice
Da ukradem ti sve
Tijelo, dodire, snove i poljupce, jer
Jer smo isti, zar ne?
Uzeću ti sve, uzeću ti sve
Moja duša je na to navikla
Plaši me što znam, prevarićeš me
Kao sudbina starog lopova
Uzeću ti sve, uzećeš mi sve
Moja duša je na to navikla
Plaši me što znam, prevarićeš me
Kao sudbina, kao sudbina

19. Slavica Cukteras - Zvaces je mojim imenom

Čujem, imaš novu ljubav
Zove se kao ja
Sudbinu njenu sam doživela
Neka te ime njeno
Na mene podseća
Nek ti bude ista kao ja
Hteo to ne hteo
Zvaćeš je mojim imenom
I dok je miluješ
U tebi živim skriveno
Uzalud je da ne misliš na mene
Uzalud, jer tečem ti kroz vene
Uzalud je sad ljubiš mesto mene
Uzalud, jer tečem ti kroz vene
Čujem, imaš novu ljubav
Voli te kao ja

Sudbinu njenu sam doživela
Neka te ljubav njena
Na mene podseća
Neka proba da je kao ja
Hteo to ne hteo
Zvaćeš je mojim imenom
I dok je miluješ
U tebi živim skriveno
Uzalud je da ne misliš na mene
Uzalud, jer tečem ti kroz vene
Uzalud je sad ljubiš mesto mene
Uzalud, jer tečem ti kroz vene
Hteo to ne hteo
Zvaćeš je mojim imenom
I dok je miluješ
U tebi živim skriveno
Uzalud je da ne misliš na mene
Uzalud, jer tečem ti kroz vene
Uzalud je sad ljubiš mesto mene
Uzalud, jer tečem ti kroz vene
Uzalud je da ne misliš na mene
Uzalud, jer tečem ti kroz vene

20. Natasa Djordjevic - Da umrem od tuge

Da s tobom budem nije mi se dalo
A tebi nije žao ni malo
Sa mnom se rastaješ, a ni da zaplačeš
Stalno se pitam ima li Boga
Da s tobom budem, a ništa od toga
Sa mnom se rastaješ, a ni da zaplačeš
Da umrem od tuge, eto mi dođe
A tebi, a tebi ni suza da pođe

Da umrem od tuge, e to mi dođe
A tebi, a tebi, ni suza da pođe
Da s tobom budem suđeno mi nije
Ne može srce tugu da krije
Sa mnom se rastaješ, a ni da zaplačeš
Da ima Boga sad me ubedi
Da s tobom budem, al' ništa ne vredi
Sa mnom se rastaješ, a ni da zaplačeš
Da umrem od tuge, eto mi dođe
A tebi, a tebi ni suza da pođe
Da umrem od tuge, e to mi dođe
A tebi, a tebi, ni suza da pođe
Da s tobom budem sad nema nade
Sve što sam htela u vodu pade
Sa mnom se rastaješ, a ni da zaplačeš
Kao da neće Bog da me gleda
Da s tobom budem, ma, zašto mi ne da?
Sa mnom se rastaješ, a ni da zaplačeš
Da umrem od tuge, eto mi dođe
A tebi, a tebi ni suza da pođe x4

21. Suzana Jovanovic - Plavusa

Nisam to sto mislis
samo jedna plavusa
koju ces da lako kupis
za par mindjusa
Nisam to sto mislis
samo jedna plavusa
kako samo mozes tako
gde li ce ti dusa
Tebi nocas treba neka naivna
plavusa za kojom tragas danima

ne gledaj u meni dobru priliku
zaljubljenju slatku glupu barbiku
ne, ja nisam ta
Nije svaka plava slepo poslušna
da sreću sa tobom gubi neduzna
ne trazi u meni sebi utehu
zaljubljenju slatku glupu barbiku
ne, ja nisam ta

22. Stoja - Evropa

Mala kuća, mali prag
Ti kô život meni drag
I u džepu stoja-dve
To za sreću dosta je
Nema niko, to da znaš
Ovaj život kao naš
Što je njima pusti san
To je nama svaki dan, hej
Još jednom pa, opa
Zajedno svi na sto
Ma, kakva Evropa
Na ovom svetu nema to
Još jednom pa, opa
Zajedno svi na sto
Ma, kakva Evropa
Na ovom svetu nema to
Sve što imam - ja sve dam
A šta mogu - takva sam
Sve što imam - to si ti
A šta drugo treba mi?
Nema niko, to da znaš
Ovaj život kao naš

Što je njima pusti san
To je nama svaki dan, hej
Još jednom pa, opa
Zajedno svi na sto
Ma, kakva Evropa
Na ovom svetu nema to
Još jednom pa, opa
Zajedno svi na sto
Ma, kakva Evropa
Na ovom svetu nema to x2

23. Mile Kitic - Zasto bas ti

Zašto baš ti, moja ikono sa zida
Sahrani me, tako izdade bez stida?
Zašto baš ti, pored koje sam se kleo
Život mi pretvori u pepeo?
Zašto baš ti, moja ikono sa zida
Sahrani me, tako izdade bez stida?
Zašto baš ti, pored koje sam se kleo
Život mi pretvori u pepeo?
Tebi, za koju sam stvorio sve
Sve što si htela i dalo ti se
Tebi, zbog koje sam sada na dnu
Dao sam da mi crnu krojiš sudbinu
Zašto baš ti da me poniziš zbog njega
Uništiš me, lako pređeš preko svega?
Zašto baš ti, kojoj sve sam nekad bio?
Kaži mi gde sam to pogrešio?
Tebi, za koju sam stvorio sve
Sve što si htela i dalo ti se
Tebi, zbog koje sam sada na dnu
Dao sam da mi crnu krojiš sudbinu

Tebi, za koju sam stvorio sve
Sve što si htela i dalo ti se
Tebi, zbog koje sam sada na dnu
Dao sam da mi crnu krojiš sudbinu
Tebi, za koju sam stvorio sve
Sve što si htela i dalo ti se
Tebi, zbog koje sam sada na dnu
Dao sam da mi crnu krojiš sudbinu

24. Seka Aleksić - Da sam muško

Hej da sam muško
Samo jedan dan
Samo jedan dan
Samo jedan dan
A da znam
Sve što žena zna
Sve što žena zna
Sve što žena zna
Lutala bih sve do zore rane
Zbog mene bi radile kafane
Žene bi mi dolazile same
Da sam muško bila bih bez mane
Lutala bih sve do zore rane
Zbog mene bi radile kafane
Žene bi mi dolazile same
Da sam muško bila bih bez mane
Hej da sam muško
Samo jedan tren
Samo jedan tren
Samo jedan tren
A da ova pamet ostane
Pamet ostane

Pamet ostane
Lutala bih sve do zore rane
Zbog mene bi radile kafane
Žene bi mi dolazile same
Da sam muško bila bih bez mane
Lutala bih sve do zore rane
Zbog mene bi radile kafane
Žene bi mi dolazile same
Da sam muško bila bih bez mane
Hej da sam muško trideset sekundi
Ti bi dragi pao već u prvoj rundi
Za sve one obmane i laži
Dobio bi šta ti grešna duša traži, o-o
Lutala bih sve do zore rane
Zbog mene bi radile kafane
Žene bi mi dolazile same
Da sam muško bila bih bez mane
Lutala bih sve do zore rane
Zbog mene bi radile kafane
Žene bi mi dolazile same
Da sam muško bila bih bez mane

25. Seka Aleksić - Crno i zlatno

Ne moraš da budeš lep
Da bi za mene bio pravi
Ne moraš da budeš moj
Svejedno bih te ukrala
Umetnik u ljubavi
Ako si, onda mi se javi
Da po meni slikaš ti
Pejzaže golim rukama
Pomešaj ove noći crnu i zlatnu

Po mojoj koži, slikaj kao po platnu
Diraj me usnama po telu i vratu
Pa onda stavi me u ram
Pomešaj ove noći crnu i zlatnu
Po mojoj koži, slikaj kao po platnu
Diraj me usnama po telu i vratu
Pa onda stavi me u ram
Da znam da tebi pripadam
Ne moraš da budeš jak
Ne treba ti brdo para
Ne moraš da budeš fin
Da bih te kući vodila
Dovoljno je da si tu
Kada mi treba malo žara
Naslikaj me ponovo
Pa makar bila kopija
Pomešaj ove noći crnu i zlatnu
Po mojoj koži, slikaj kao po platnu
Diraj me usnama po telu i vratu
Pa onda stavi me u ram
Pomešaj ove noći crnu i zlatnu
Po mojoj koži, slikaj kao po platnu
Diraj me usnama po telu i vratu
Pa onda stavi me u ram
Da znam da tebi pripadam
Pomešaj ove noći crnu i zlatnu
Po mojoj koži, slikaj kao po platnu
Diraj me usnama po telu i vratu
Pa onda stavi me u ram
Pomešaj ove noći crnu i zlatnu
Po mojoj koži, slikaj kao po platnu

Diraj me usnama po telu i vratu
Pa onda stavi me u ram
Da znam da tebi pripadam

26. Sanja Djordjevic - Ti zaplakaces na mojoj strani kreveta

Ona misli da zna
neke stvari ko ja
da te spremi za grad
da ti utoli glad
I kad otputujem
ona zna da si njen
a ti naivan sam
odmah postanesh plen
I taj crveni lak
miris suvise jak
novi trag svaki dan
kad se vratim u stan
Sve moje njeno je
da odem vreme je
a molices me
sve do kraja sveta
Jer znam
kad probudis se sam
ti zaplakaces na
mojoj strani kreveta
ne, sve moje njeno je
ne, da odem vreme je
sve moje njeno je
Ona umreti zna
kad nazovem te ja
da zacuti na cas
kad mi zacuje glas

Ona ne smeje se
zna sta sme, a sta ne
takva bila sam ja
takve bile su sve
I taj crveni lak
miris suviše jak
novi trag svaki dan
kad se vratim u stan

27. Bojan Bjelic, Indy - Ekspresno

Ekspresno
Ekspresno
U levoj ruci viski s ledom
U desnoj tvoja haljina
I šta da uzmem, kojim redom
Hop, hop - nisi ti naivna
Nemoj da glumiš mi neznanca
I ti si kao neshvaćen
Imam za tebe ženskog mamca
Hop, hop - i bićeš uhvaćen
Noćas mi se ne izlazi iz stana
Haljina mi zgužvana
Neki rekli bi da je pornografija
Ma, neka nam se desi dok smo mladi ti i ja
Daj da radimo te stvari nesvesno
A ujutru svako svojoj kući ekspresno
Ekspresno
Ekspresno
Ekspresno
Od donjeg veša nemam ništa
Želja me oblačila
A neka krpica na meni

Šta, šta, šta bi ti značila
Molim Boga da me smire
Samo tvoji dodiri
Al' ispod mire, đavo viri
Šta, šta da ti se uradi
Da mislim koja će doći posle tebe
Stvarno nema potrebe
Neki rekli bi da je pornografija
Ma, neka nam se desi dok smo mladi ti i ja
Daj da radimo te stvari nesvesno
A ujutru svako svojoj kući ekspresno
Neki rekli bi da je pornografija
Ma, neka nam se desi dok smo mladi ti i ja
Daj da radimo te stvari nesvesno
A ujutru svako svojoj kući ekspresno
Ekspresno
Ekspresno
Noćas mi se ne izlazi iz stana
Haljina mi zgužvana
Neki rekli bi da je pornografija
Ma, neka nam se desi dok smo mladi ti i ja
Daj da radimo te stvari nesvesno
A ujutru svako svojoj kući ekspresno
Neki rekli bi da je pornografija
Ma, neka nam se desi dok smo mladi ti i ja
Daj da radimo te stvari nesvesno
A ujutru svako svojoj kući ekspresno

28. Sejo Kalac - Kafanska Pjevacica

U sred dana sretih je, nije ličila na sebe
"Noćas", reče, "-sanjala sam tebe"
Bez šljokica i bez šminke, jedva je prepoznah ja

Imala je lice djeteta
"Crno vino, crne oči", tu mi pjesmu pjevala
Dok me je u oči gledala
Kafanska pjevačica moju dušu uzela
Da je dijete, ne bi uvela
"Crno vino, crne oči", tu mi pjesmu pjevala
Dok me je u oči gledala
Kafanska pjevačica moju dušu uzela
Da je dijete, ne bi uvela
Zore više ne vidim, oko mene staklo, dim
U kafani noći provodim
Njenom pjesmom očaran, ja se pitam da l' je san
Da li stvarno nju sam sreo neki dan
"Crno vino, crne oči", tu mi pjesmu pjevala
Dok me je u oči gledala
Kafanska pjevačica moju dušu uzela
Da je dijete, ne bi uvela
"Crno vino, crne oči", tu mi pjesmu pjevala
Dok me je u oči gledala
Kafanska pjevačica moju dušu uzela
Da je dijete, ne bi uvela

29. Jana - Sta ce ti pevacica

jos veceras u ovom sam gradu
pevam za sve dobre ljude
a vec sutra ko zna gde cu biti
nek mi bude kako bude
Sta ce ti pevacica pitam te pred ljudima
srecu nisam donela ni sebi, ni drugima
sta ce ti pevacica samo ime bez adrese
ja zivim u svome svetu, ja zivim od pesme
Ne narucuj pesmu koja tugu miluje

pevam je iz duse moze da te otruje
veruj mi na lepe reci nikad ne padam
samo mi ne reci kako ti se dopadam
Ne narucuj pice da mi donesu za stol
tvoje vino sigurno mi ne bi prijalo
posete su zabranjene, cvece ne primam
pevacu ti al' s gostima ne razgovaram

30. Bane Bojanic - Samo pijan mogu da prebolim

Bez nje bi sve u jednu čašu stalo
A s njom i dva života mi je malo
Svirajte meni samo tužne pesme
Jer ona bila mi je sve
Zbog nje bih ponos bacio u blato
Ona i kamen pretvara u zlato
Ne mogu život zamisliti bez nje
Jer ona bila mi je sve
Samo pijan mogu da prebolim
Ove noći duge i sudbinu zlu
Kradem dane Bogu, a još je volim
Svaka koju ljubim me podseća na nju
Samo pijan mogu da prebolim
Ove noći duge i sudbinu zlu
Kradem dane Bogu, a još je volim
Svaka koju ljubim me podseća na nju
Bez nje bi sve u jednu čašu stalo
A s njom i dva života mi je malo
Svirajte meni samo tužne pesme
Jer ona bila mi je sve
Zbog nje bih ponos bacio u blato
Ona i kamen pretvara u zlato
Ne mogu život zamisliti bez nje

Jer ona bila mi je sve
Samo pijan mogu da prebolim
Ove noći duge i sudbinu zlu
Kradem dane Bogu, a još je volim
Svaka koju ljubim me podseća na nju
Samo pijan mogu da prebolim
Ove noći duge i sudbinu zlu
Kradem dane Bogu, a još je volim
Svaka koju ljubim me podseća na nju
Samo pijan mogu da prebolim
Ove noći duge i sudbinu zlu
Kradem dane Bogu, a još je volim
Svaka koju ljubim me podseća na nju
Samo pijan mogu da prebolim
Ove noći duge i sudbinu zlu
Kradem dane Bogu, a još je volim
Svaka koju ljubim me podseća na nju

Appendix B

Transcriptions of Song Lyrics (English)

1. Dejan Matić – "Pola Pola" (Half and Half)

You told me we'd share
Everything in life
Now that things are hard
You're leaving me
You told me we'd share
The good and the bad
Now that it's tough
You forget all that
Wherever you're going
Take part of the pain with you
If we could share happiness
Then let's share the pain, half and half
You told me we'd share
Our happiness, remember
Now that it's not easy
You want it to end

2. Darko Filipović – "Ona Ona" (She, She)

It's pointless, it's pointless
To think about her
As if she was never there
She wasn't a traitor or cold-hearted
Why, why did God take her from me?
Like a stain from memory
She erased me that day
As if the past doesn't count
As if yesterday never happened
She, she, she broke my heart
She, she, she cloaked me in black

She, she, she is to blame
For me being drunk and mad
And for still loving her in vain
Every morning is pointless since she's gone
Since I no longer wake up beside her
She wasn't a seductress or a cheat
But she stopped loving me
Like a stain from memory
She erased me that day
As if the past doesn't count
As if yesterday never happened

3. Neda Ukraden – "Ne Da, Ne Da" (She Won't Let Go)

You come at the right time, just the perfect hour
Your hand runs through my hair, you kiss my neck
You're an old thief, you know just when it's right
Some things are stronger than us
I won't set the clock tonight
We'll celebrate until morning
No, no, she won't let you go – your Neda
I'm the one who gives in last
No, no, she won't let you go – your Neda
You are all my heart needs
You're a secret guest who still makes me tremble
There's something wild between us
You're happy when you wake up next to me
I love you, darling – why does that surprise you?

4. Viki Miljković – "Mahi, Mahi" (Automatic)

Mahi-mahi-mahi-mahi – automatically
I call you in the middle of the night, constantly
Do I do it out of love, or do I really mean it?
I told everyone I'm not with you

But how can I make peace with myself?
Some secret force pulls me toward you
And on my heart is yesterday's date
Girls like me don't learn from mistakes
Mahi-mahi-mahi-mahi – automatically
I call you in the middle of the night, constantly
Do I do it out of love, or do I really mean it?
I told everyone I can do it alone
But I change my mind every day
Every now and then, I see you next to me
And the ghost of the past scratches at my door
I call for help – and of course, I get you

5. Dara Bubamara – "Javite mi, javite" (Let Me Know, Let Me Know)

I send messages
No one replies
I knock on doors
No one opens them
I ask about you
Our mutual friends
They all avoid me
They're afraid of the truth
Let me know, let me know
Is he with someone else or alone?
Tell me the truth
So I can know something about him
Let me know, let me know
If you see him with another
I'll be strong, I'll endure everything
Just don't lie to me
You were the dearest prey to all my desires
Come back, love – even if only for a moment

I ask about you
Our mutual friends
They all avoid me
They're afraid of the truth

6. Stoja – "Gori stara ljubav" (Old Love Burns)

By the side of a river
Two people fell in love
For the first time, our lips met
His and mine
Everything was like a fairy tale
And now it looks like sorrow
Burns, burns – the old love
Still in my heart
And it will burn as long as
The Danube flows
Burns, burns – the old love
A river of dreams
Two people were in love
And now only I love
By the side of a river
Two people were in love
They were ready to give
Even their lives for love
Everything was like a fairy tale
And now it looks like sorrow
By the side of a river
Traces still remain
Reminding of the happy days
His and mine
Everything was like a fairy tale
And now it looks like sorrow

7. Đani – "Otišla si, e pa neka" (You Left, Well Then Let It Be)

You left – well then, let it be
Let it be, let it be
Even sorrow is for a man
For a man, for a man
You left one day
And a wound stayed on my heart
You took away my happiness
But I hope I'll survive
You left – everything is falling apart
Only pain is left in my soul
I won't die because of you
Don't worry – I'll survive
You left for someone else
I'm left alone with sorrow
I'm going crazy, don't know where I'll go
But remember – I'll survive

8. Marta Savić – "Dijamanti, Brilijanti" (Diamonds, Brilliants)

You could buy me the whole city
A gold ring, a gold watch
You could put everything on the line
But it's still not enough for love
You could fill my house with gold
Let it shine on my body
You could bring me down the stars
But it's still not enough for love
Diamonds, brilliants
Won't shine next to you
No matter how real they are
They're fake without love
You could weave my path in silk

Give me all your wealth
Take me around the world
Still not enough for love
To dream dreams with you
To wake up with you at dawn
For your smile to wake me
That, to me, is love

9. Mile Kitić – "Smejem se, a plače mi se" (I'm Laughing, But I Want to Cry)

I was everything to someone – but not to you
You don't even see me as a guest
I realize who you are now – too late
Woman, I was like a city to you
As grand as one is now
Do you ever remember that?
I'm laughing, but I want to cry
Looking for a cure in wine
I drink wine to kill the truth
It doesn't hurt that I didn't know
That someone else was stealing you
What hurts is that I was the last to find out
What's done is done
Woman of my dreams
It hurts when you love the wrong one
You were my whole world
Now everything's breaking like ice
And now sorrow has its turn

10. Nikola Rokvić – "Koliko sam usana poljubio" (How Many Lips I've Kissed)

I haven't seen you in a long time
I don't even ask where you are
But only I know
How much I miss you every night

First, second, fifth one –
They only warmed the bed
After you, they all
Became the same to me
How many women I've had till now
I betrayed every one
None of them meant even half as much as you
Though they gave me their whole soul
How many lips I've kissed
To realize this
I was yours and I still am
I haven't seen you in a long time
I heard you're happy with him
I'd give everything
Just to hug you once

11. Dani – "Sam sam" (I'm Alone)

Say goodbye, may happiness follow you
And I'll find my own joy somewhere
Life denied me everything beautiful
Why aren't you here? I won't be able to take it
Everything beautiful – life took away
Why aren't you here? I can't bear it
I'm alone while someone else kisses you
Now you're just a dream to me
I know you're far away from me now
I won't survive this day
I won't love another again
I gave up on myself long ago
I send you a tear, let it remind you
Of the days I lived only for you

12. Šaban Šaulić – "Ti me varaš najbolje" (You Cheat on Me the Best)

If I saw you now, I wouldn't recognize you
I've been longing for your beauty
Am I still in your heart?
Do you search for me in other men?
Since you've been gone, I haven't slept
And every day feels like a year
If only you were with me – I'd give everything
Because even when you cheat on me, you do it best
I know I've lost everything with you
But when I dream of you, I don't want to wake
Am I still in your heart?
Do you search for me in other men?

13. Šaban Šaulić – "Šadrvani" (Fountains)

When I think of you, my glass fills up
Our sad story broke me even while sober
I don't curse you – you were dear to me
Love left us, vanished without a trace
I don't curse you – you were dear to me
Love left us, vanished without a trace
I won't admit it, but you wounded my heart
The fountains from your garden call me
You'll open the window, alone and joyless
You'll light a lantern – but I won't be there
I hear you're regretful – thank God for that
You'd give anything to have things as they were
You're waiting at the gate, knowing I'll pass
If I call you – will you come with me?

14. Đani – "Sve mi tvoje nedostaje" (I Miss Everything About You)

I dreamed you were by my side
That you belonged to me again

I dreamed it and begged the sky
Not to wake me from the dream
Now I walk beneath your windows
Just to see you for a moment
To warm my soul, to chase away the sorrow
That's how I was left behind
I've found no peace
Not with even a hundred others
The whirlpool is only deeper
It drags me down
I miss everything about you
Since I wake without you
I miss everything about you
I'm afraid I'll lose my mind
I miss everything about you
I look for eyes like yours
I miss everything about you
Come back to me, my darling
I did so many stupid things
Just to push you away
I never guessed I loved you
More than life itself, little one

15. Lepa Brena – "Kolovoda" (The Leader of the Dance)

I've traveled half the world
Seen all kinds of things
And you show up to lecture me
Maybe it's your wild imagination
But in the end, you'll be begging me for love
Don't teach the dance leader how to lead
How to lead the kolo, how to lead the dance
Don't teach a seductress how to seduce

How to seduce, how to seduce
There's nowhere I haven't been
Tasted every drink
And you try to lead me over the water while I'm still thirsty
I won't waste my time
On a weakling like you
Guys like you are born by mistake

16. Darko Lazić – "Idi drugome" (Go to Another Man)

I could've understood everything, girl
That you're young, that your folks are worried
I could've been the one to die for you
Because no one is crazier than me
Go to another man
I've got my own crew
At night, I'll wander, I'll steal another's heart
I'll rise from the dead again
You thought you could tame me
That you'd change me easily
But little one, you didn't know
That in truth, you're slowly losing me

17. Đani – "Balkanac" (Balkan Man)

Nowadays, it's normal to lose your mind
Half the world's poking itself in the nose
Souls are for sale, breasts are bought
And I still dream of your black hair
And I still want to wake up with you
My little one
I remain a Balkan man and a provincial guy
Go on, Europe – I wish you happiness
And you, girl, when you need a real man
You'll come to me – you can count on that

Nowadays, it's normal to lose your mind
Love can be bought on credit
Everything's changed – the times, the people
And I still keep you under my skin
And I still want to wake up with you
My little one

18. Indira Radić & Alen Islamović – "Lopov" (Thief)

A thief always knows another thief
You know who I am
And I know who you are
Come on, girl, come to me
Steal everything from me
Blindfold my eyes, tie up my hands
Because we're the same – aren't we?
I'll take everything from you
My soul's used to it
It scares me that I know – you'll betray me
Like the fate of an old thief
A thief knows every move of another
There are no secrets, no regrets
Come on, girl, come to me
Let me steal everything from you
Your body, your touch, dreams, and kisses
Because we're the same – aren't we?

19. Slavica Ćukteraš – "Zvaćeš je mojim imenom" (You'll Call Her By My Name)

I hear you have a new love
She even has my name
I've lived through her fate
Let her name remind you of me
Let her be just like me
Whether you want to or not

You'll call her by my name
And while you're caressing her
I'll live hidden inside you
It's pointless not to think of me
Pointless – I flow through your veins
It's pointless you kiss her now instead of me
Pointless – I flow through your veins
I hear she loves you like I did
I've already lived her destiny
Let her love remind you of me
Let her try to be like I was

20. Nataša Đorđević – "Da umrem od tuge" (To Die of Sorrow)

To be with you – it wasn't meant for me
And you – you don't feel sorry at all
You're leaving me – without even crying
I keep asking myself: is there a God?
To be with you – but nothing came of it
You're leaving me – without even crying
To die of sorrow – that's what I feel
And you, and you – not a single tear falls
To die of sorrow – that's what I feel
And you, and you – not a single tear falls
To be with you – it wasn't destined
The heart can't hide sorrow
You're leaving me – without even crying
If God exists – convince me now
To be with you – but it's all in vain
You're leaving me – without even crying
To die of sorrow – that's what I feel
And you, and you – not a single tear falls
To die of sorrow – that's what I feel

And you, and you – not a single tear falls
To be with you – now there's no hope
Everything I wanted – fell apart
You're leaving me – without even crying
As if God doesn't want to look at me
To be with you – why won't He let me?
You're leaving me – without even crying
To die of sorrow – that's what I feel
And you, and you – not a single tear falls

21. Suzana Jovanović – "Plavuša" (Blonde)

I'm not what you think—
Just some blonde
That you can easily buy
For a pair of earrings
I'm not what you think—
Just some blonde
How can you even think that?
Where's your conscience gone?
Tonight you need some naïve blonde
One you've been chasing for days
Don't see a good opportunity in me
A sweet, lovestruck, dumb Barbie
No, I'm not that
Not every blonde is blindly obedient
To lose her innocence with you and call it happiness
Don't look for comfort in me
A sweet, lovestruck, dumb Barbie
No, I'm not that

22. Stoja – "Evropa" (Europe)

A small house, a small doorstep
You're as dear to me as life itself

Just a few bills in my pocket
That's enough for happiness
No one else has—know this—
A life like ours
What's just a dream for them
Is our everyday
Once more – opa!
Everyone up on the table
What Europe?
There's nothing like this in the world
Once more – opa!
Everyone up on the table
What Europe?
There's nothing like this in the world
Everything I have – I'll give
What can I do – it's who I am
Everything I have – it's you
What else do I need?

23. Mile Kitić – "Zašto baš ti" (Why You of All People?)

Why you, my icon on the wall?
You buried me—betrayed me without shame
Why you, the one I swore by?
You turned my life into ashes
You, the one I created everything for
Everything you wanted—I gave you
You, the one who now has me at rock bottom
I let you shape my fate in black
Why you—to humiliate me over him?
To destroy me, to walk over everything so easily?
Why you, to whom I once meant everything?
Tell me—where did I go wrong?

24. Seka Aleksić – "Da sam muško" (If I Were a Man)

Hey, if I were a man
For just one day
Just one day
And if I knew
Everything a woman knows
Everything a woman knows
I'd roam until the early dawn
Bars would stay open because of me
Women would come to me on their own
If I were a man, I'd be flawless
Hey, if I were a man
For just one moment
Just one moment
And if I could keep this brain
Keep this brain
Hey, if I were a man for thirty seconds
You, darling, would fall in the first round
For all the lies and deception
You'd get what your sinful soul deserves, oh

25. Seka Aleksić – "Crno i zlatno" (Black and Gold)

You don't have to be handsome
To be the right one for me
You don't have to be mine
I'd steal you anyway
If you're an artist in love
Then get in touch
Paint on me
Landscapes with your bare hands
Mix this night in black and gold
Paint on my skin like on a canvas

Touch me with your lips, on my body and neck

Then frame me—

So I know I belong to you

You don't have to be strong

You don't need a pile of money

You don't have to be polite

To get me to take you home

It's enough that you're here

When I need a little spark

Paint me again

Even if it's a copy

26. Sanja Đorđević – "Ti zaplakaćeš na mojoj strani kreveta" (You'll Cry on My Side of the Bed)

She thinks she knows

Things like I do

How to get you ready for a night out

How to feed your hunger

Even when I'm away

She knows you're hers

And you, so naïve

Become easy prey

That red nail polish

Scent far too strong

A new trace every day

When I come back home

Everything that's mine is hers now

It's time for me to go

But you'll beg me

Till the end of the world

Because I know

When you wake up alone

You'll cry on
My side of the bed
She knows how to act
When I call you
Goes quiet for a moment
When she hears my voice
She doesn't smile
Knows what's allowed and what's not
I used to be like that
We all were like that

27. Bojan Bjelica & Indy – "Ekspresno" (Expressly)

Expressly
Expressly
Whiskey with ice in my left hand
Your dress in my right
Which one should I grab first?
Hop, hop – you're not so innocent
Don't pretend you don't know me
You're just another misunderstood soul
I've got the perfect bait for you
Hop, hop – you're caught
Tonight I don't feel like leaving the apartment
My dress is wrinkled
Some would call it pornography
But let it happen to us while we're still young
Let's do those things unconsciously
And in the morning, go our separate ways – expressly
I'm not wearing underwear
Desire dressed me
That little thing on me
Doesn't mean a thing

I pray God calms me
Only your touch can
But beneath the peace, a devil lurks
What could be done to you...
I shouldn't even think about who comes after you
There's really no need

28. Sejo Kalač – "Kafanska Pjevačica" (The Tavern Singer)

I met her in broad daylight
She didn't look like herself
"Last night," she said, "I dreamed of you"
No glitter, no makeup
I barely recognized her
She had the face of a child
"Red wine, black eyes" – that's the song she sang
While looking me in the eyes
The tavern singer took my soul
If she were a child, she wouldn't have led me on
I don't see dawn anymore
Surrounded by glass and smoke
I spend my nights in the tavern
Enchanted by her song
I wonder if it was a dream
Did I really meet her the other day?

29. Jana – "Šta će ti pevačica" (What Do You Need a Singer For)

Just tonight, I'm in this town
Singing for good people
But by tomorrow – who knows where I'll be?
Let it be whatever it will be
What do you need a singer for? I ask you in front of everyone
I've brought happiness neither to myself nor others
What do you need a singer for—just a name without an address

I live in my own world; I live off music
Don't request a song that caresses sorrow
I sing it from the soul – it might poison you
Believe me, I don't fall for sweet words
Just don't tell me that you like me
Don't send over a drink to my table
Your wine wouldn't suit me anyway
Visits are forbidden, I don't accept flowers
I'll sing to you—but I don't talk to guests

30. Bane Bojanić – "Samo pijan mogu da prebolim" (Only Drunk Can I Get Over Her)

Without her, everything fits in a single glass
But with her, even two lives aren't enough
Play me only sad songs
Because she was everything to me
For her, I'd throw my pride into the mud
She turns even stone into gold
I can't imagine life without her
Because she was everything to me
Only drunk can I get over
These long nights and cruel fate
I steal days from God, and I still love her
Every woman I kiss reminds me of her

Appendix C

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Scale

Hostile Sexism:

1. Women exaggerate problems at work.
2. Women are too easily offended.
3. Most women interpret innocent remarks as sexist.
4. When women lose fairly, they claim discrimination.
5. Women seek special favors under guise of equality.
6. Feminists are making reasonable demands.*
7. Feminists not seeking more power than men.*
8. Women seek power by getting control over men.
9. Few women tease men sexually.*
10. Once a man commits, she puts him on a tight leash.
11. Women fail to appreciate all men do for them.

Benevolent Sexism:

Protective Paternalism:

12. A good woman should be set on a pedestal.
13. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
14. Men should sacrifice to provide for women.
15. In a disaster, women need not be rescued first.*

Complementary Gender Differentiation:

16. Women have a superior moral sensibility.
17. Many women have a quality of purity few men possess.
18. Women have a more refined sense of culture and taste.

Heterosexual Intimacy:

19. Every man ought to have a woman he adores.
20. Men are complete without women.*
21. Despite accomplishment, men are incomplete without women.
22. People are often happy without heterosexual romance.*

*Items are reverse coded