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<CN>**Chapter 8**

<CT>**Becoming Mediterranean**

<CST>**The Intangible Cultural Heritage of Klapa Singing in Identity-Building and Nation-Branding Discourses**

<FL>In critical heritage studies, heritage is approached as a complex phenomenon located at the intersection of diverse contemporary – and often competing – strivings of politics, community building projects, tourism and the globalized economy at large. One of the key questions in critical heritage studies is, 'What does heritage do?' – that is, how does heritage impact cultural meanings and people, and how does it produce action (Harrison 2013). This chapter explores the Croatian intangible cultural heritage of klapa singing, listed in UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2012, and its transformation into a new cultural expression conceptualized as neoklapa. Following the key question of critical heritage studies, the chapter focuses on the multilayered effects of meaning-making discourses entangled with heritagization of klapa singing in contemporary Croatian society. In these meaning-making discourses, scalar relations and politics of scale have central roles.

Klapa singing is a traditional singing style that was formed in the mid nineteenth century in the southern regions of Croatia. It is traditionally *a cappella* multipart homophonic singing performed by men. Also dubbed Dalmatian klapa singing, it is most closely linked to the region of Dalmatia. In the UNESCO listing, klapa is defined as 'multipart singing of Dalmatia, southern Croatia' and as 'a marker of identity for the people of Dalmatia' (UNESCO 2012: 31). Similarly,

the national heritage authorities bring forth the regional origin of klapa singing. According to the website of the Croatian Ministry of Culture (2017), 'Klapa singing is a multipart singing phenomenon of the urban Dalmatia. … The main aim of the singers is to achieve the best possible blend of voices. Topics of klapa songs usually deal with love, familiar life situations and the environment in which they live. Love, though, is the predominant theme.'

In ethnomusicological literature, klapa singing is often distinguished into three modes: traditional klapa, festival klapa (from the 1960s onwards and with a focus on performance and presentation) and contemporary, modern klapa marked by popularization and formal experimentation (Ćaleta 2003). The widening context of performance and the popularity of klapa singing are also explored. In today's Croatia, klapa singing can be readily placed into a category of popular music or popular heritage music. Klapa concerts fill football stadiums; klapa groups perform at political campaigns and special events, such as weddings and conference launches; and new, 'modern' forms of klapa music are widely circulated in the media. There has been talk of a boom in klapa singing since the early twenty-first century (Primorac 2008), with a number of existing klapas growing from a few dozen in the early 1960s to over 400 in today's Croatia (Ćaleta and Bošković 2011). The widening context and popularity of klapa has also been called 'the klapa movement' in the media as well as in academic discourse (ibid.). Buljubašić (2017) has used the concept of neoklapa to theorize the interdiscursive cultural expressions of contemporary klapa that are intertwined with the popularization, heritagization and political utilization of klapa's different musical forms.

Although the origin of klapa singing is commonly located in Dalmatia, the meaning-making discourses of klapa as an intangible cultural heritage entail also other geographical affiliations. These discourses participate in the creation of complex spatial positions, divisions

and hierarchies. The key aim of our chapter is to explore how meaning-making discourses and affordances of klapa are used to promote identities and feelings of belonging to different scalarly organized communities and how certain layers of meanings of klapa are activated in certain discourses at different scalar levels (see Lähdesmäki, Yujie and Thomas, this volume). Our examination focuses particularly on identity-building and branding discourses that utilize klapa's heritage value and the politics of scale that these discourses entail. Our study emphasizes neoklapa as a multi-scalar heritage phenomenon whose meanings function at several scalar levels at the same time and in which the dynamics between these levels turn it into an instrument of power and a tool for scalar rearticulations and repositions.

The discourses around klapa's heritage value stem from the dualistic representation of the Dalmatian identity as divided into the littoral – perceived as Mediterranean – and the hinterland – perceived as Dinaric or Balkan. The dynamics of this dualism impact the identity and branding discourses of klapa at the different scalar levels, as it enables positioning and repositioning of Croatia in relation to connotations and imaginaries of European subregions – and, thus, enables the relocation of Croatia in Europe and the EU. The focus of our chapter is particularly on the articulations of 'the Mediterranean' and how and why these articulations are used for identity building and branding practices. Through qualitative reading of diverse texts that discuss the meanings, origin and communal connections of klapa, the chapter seeks to understand the transforming and contesting affiliations and affordances of klapa singing as an intangible cultural heritage.

<A>**Setting the Scene: The Mediterranean Turn and Rearticulations of Identity**

<FL>Klapa singing and the region of Dalmatia (as the 'cradle' of klapa singing) are closely associated with a Mediterranean identity in Croatia. According to Croatian ethnomusicologist Ćaleta (1999: 193), the 'Southern Adriatic – Dalmatia – seems to be regarded as the most Mediterranean symbol among the Croats', while klapa singing is 'the most representative of the Mediterranean as far as the Croats are concerned'. On a symbolic level, thus, a close link between klapa, Dalmatia and the Mediterranean has been established (see Povrzanović 1989).

The Croatian national identity has often been perceived as a hybrid of Central European, Mediterranean and Balkan cultural traits (Luketić 2013; Pettan 1997). Historically, just as in some of its neighbouring countries, Croatian cultural and symbolic identification has been described with the metaphors 'crossroads' of and 'bridge' between East and West or 'bulwark' of Western culture and religion(s) (Žanić 2003). However, recent studies of political, cultural and tourism discourses (Luketić 2013; Rivera 2008; Škrbić-Alempijević 2014) have shown that the Croatian national identity is increasingly articulated as Central European and Mediterranean, both of which are often represented as uniformly Western and seen as positive sites of identification. Simultaneously, the perception of the Balkans is plagued by negative associations and stereotypes that portray the Balkans as Europe's internal Other or as primitive, backward, coarse, etc. (Bakić-Hayden 1995; Todorova 2009). Following the previous hegemony of the East-West divide (Wolff 1994), the Balkans in Croatian symbolic geography have in the wartime 1990s taken up the role of the demonized external Others (eastern neighbours) and, increasingly so after the 1990s, the internal Others (Jansen 2002; Obad 2011).

Events such as the break-up of Yugoslavia, the Homeland War, the transition to a capitalist economy and the development of democratic processes in the 1990s, followed by the accession to the EU in 2013, have required – and have been co-constructed by – a number of

discursive shifts. During the 1990s, the need for a unitary national narrative was commonly channelled to an emphasis on the Central European – i.e., continental, Pannonic identity of Croatia (Čapo Žmegač 1999; Pettan 1997). Simultaneously, and at an increasing rate to the end of the decade, Croatia's 'Mediterraneanness' was being rediscovered and reclaimed (Škrbić-Alempijević 2014). In an article entitled 'Why do we need the Mediterranean?' Škrbić-Alempijević (2014: 27) analyses contemporary Croatian academic, political and tourism discourses, concluding that 'the Mediterranean' is a signifier of Croatia's political and economic goals (to be achieved) within the EU. The author speaks of the 'Mediterranean turn' inasmuch as a Mediterranean identity is being 'revealed':

> <EXT>as a niche with the help of which Croatia is attempting to position itself on the global tourism market; as an indicator that Croatian culture belongs to the 'high cultures' and is by analogy associated with its neighbours on the northern coast of the Mediterranean, while no reference is made to the south; as an epithet describing the everyday social life, lifestyle and world view of the local population. (Škrbić-Alempijević 2014: 47, translation EB)

The 'Mediterranean turn' in contemporary Croatia can be seen as a set of discursive claims – speech acts in Austin's (1982) terms – indicative of what Herzfeld (2005) has dubbed 'practical Mediterraneanism'. Not synonymous with the elusive geographical 'Mediterranean', this symbolic construct of the Mediterranean is rather a 'civilizational ideal', albeit kept alive by its 'stereotypical permutations' (Herzfeld 2005: 48). A 'practical' claim for a Mediterranean identity, it follows, is thus a claim for/of Europeanness. As a cultural form carrying strong

(positive) Mediterranean connotations, heritagized and popularized (neo)klapa possesses suitable affordances to become the representable heritage of not only a region (Dalmatia) but also a nation (Croatia).

Before the Homeland War, tourism discourse representing Croatia revolved around the local distinctiveness and cultural hybridity of Croat, Slavic, European and Ottoman influences, while after the war the emphasis was laid on similarities between Croatia and Western Europe (Rivera 2008: 620–21). Today, branding and tourism discourses are the dominant fields where the Croatian Mediterranean identity is articulated. The implicit and explicit politicization of klapa's heritage value is inseparable from its discursive framing as a Mediterranean cultural form, and from the meanings – including romanticism, nostalgia and idealization – constructed within. This politicization of klapa's heritage value manifests the politics of scale in heritage: it brings forth the transformation of klapa's scalar meanings.

<A>**Klapa's Scalar Affordances and Symbolic Meanings**

<FL>Candau and Mazzucchi Ferreira use the notion of an 'affordance of cultural heritage' to explore and explain how certain cultural objects and expressions become declared as official cultural heritage. According to them, all cultural objects and expressions can be potentially declared as heritage, but the probability that an object or expression is considered as such depends on its element of affordance that induces heritagization actions (Candau and Mazzucchi Ferreira 2015: 25). The affordance of klapa singing as heritage may be categorized as falling roughly into two groups, one being more 'material' and the other more 'symbolic', even though in practice these affordances form a continuum rather than a dichotomy.

The ‘materiality’ of klapa singing that creates a ‘best possible blend of voices’, where multiple voices come together in harmony, may function on an audible level as a metaphor for communal unity, whether fostering local, regional or national cohesion. The word *klapa* in Dalmatian dialect denotes a group of friends and still nowadays continues to carry the connotations of friendship and comradeship (see Bohlman 2004). This connotation refers to the idea of traditional klapa singing during work or in a tavern. As a marker of the local identity, traditional (and festival) klapas have usually borne the name of the town they originated from, or the town’s symbol, or workplace names, such as factories, companies or universities (Povrzanović 1991: 114). Nowadays, in tune with the discourse of (restorative) nostalgia (Boym 2001), klapas are named after archaic words and objects. The metaphoric meaning of unity, harmony and friendship in (neo)klapa is taken a scalar move upwards – from local and micro-level unities to a national/macro-level unity. This upscaling (see Lähdesmäki, Zhu and Thomas and Zhu, this volume) of the communal meaning of klapa reflects the geographical widening of klapa activities outside Dalmatia, as klapas are increasingly being formed in the other regions of Croatia not traditionally connected to klapa singing (Ćaleta and Bošković 2011). Upscaling of klapa’s heritage value from a symbol of a region to a national symbol can be found particularly in the lyrics of klapa songs. In traditional klapas, local and regional identities are marked by singing about ‘my place’ or ‘my hometown’, expressing a tight bond to the geographical and cultural space (Povrzanović 1991: 114). In addition to this, in contemporary neoklapa songs, the communal meanings of klapa are extended to the national scale, whether by infusion with patriotic discourse or by explicit apostrophization/thematization of Croatia. In other words, heritagized and popularized neoklapa has moved beyond the borders of the region to become an all-Croatian symbol.

Another important 'material' attribute of klapa is its calm and composed performative stance. Klapa singers traditionally form a (semi)circle in which movement of the singers is restricted. Alternatively, klapa singers may exhibit their 'Dalmatian/Mediterranean temperament', such as sentimentality and passion, with their kinaesthetic hand and facial gestures. This is related to the Mediterranean/Western attributes of klapa (as it is ethnomusicologically and culturally defined) and can be connected to the political rearticulation of identities pertaining to the Mediterranean turn.

The symbolic meanings related to the klapa heritage entail various scalar divisions and polarities. According to Povrzanović (1991: 106, translation EB), '"[b]eing a Dalmatian" is often "proven" by a person's dedication to the klapas and the stereotypical imagery their lyrics invoke: the sun and sea, wine and song, the hard but simple way "our ancestors used to live", handsome and cheerful people, and macho men'. Already in the post-WWII period, Dalmatia and its Mediterranean ambiance were commonly established in Croatian symbolic imaginary as the 'Other' to the continental national centre in Zagreb (Žanić 2012; cf. Čapo Žmegač 1999). In this imaginary, Dalmatia with its cultural practices, such as klapa, music festivals and regional dialect, has since the 1960s carried the meanings of 'summery Arcadia' in comparison with the continental centre (Žanić 2012).

Heritage is an important aspect of the Mediterranean and Dalmatian identity, regardless of klapa. Croatian conceptualization of a 'Mediterranean heritage' relies heavily on Greco-Roman monuments and sacral Medieval and Renaissance architecture (Harrison 2013: 147; Škrbić-Alempijević 2014: 35). Close connections between the notions of heritage and Mediterraneanism are also found in Croatian poetry and literary criticism (Knežević 2013) and other discourses pertaining to the arts. Heritage discourse is an important part of Croatian

‘practical Mediterraneanism’. Heritage discourse and ‘the Mediterranean turn’ have cross-fertilized several attributes of klapa, such as its Mediterraneanism, urbanism, refinement, cultural cultivation and western aesthetics, and converged them with the Dalmatian regional identity (see Primorac 2008: 82). These attributes construct their counterparts with the following dynamics: littoral-hinterland; urban-rural; cultured-primitive; sophisticated-rough; Mediterranean-Dinaric/Balkan; and Western-Eastern. Whilst in Mediterranean studies some of these pairs are considered as common traits of Mediterranean societies, they also include a hierarchy of values (Herzfeld 2005: 54–56) that holds the pairs’ former attributes as superior.

Similar binary relations that are found on a regional level also impact at the national level, where they more palpably fall into the East-West dichotomy and its power relations (Pettan 1997). In this dichotomy, West stands for positive qualities, such as democracy, civilization and a free market economy, while East represents negative qualities of disorder, corruption, primitivism and backwardness. In the Croatian case, East also equals communism, Yugoslavia, the Balkans and Serbia (Luketić 2013). Particularly, ‘the Balkans’ and ‘the Mediterranean’ function in contemporary Croatia as two poles of cultural, political, economic and societal duality (Škrbić-Alempijević 2014: 44). As Luketić (2013: 186, translation EB) claims, ‘in the last two decades, Croatian official politics – but also media, print, science, culture – all have strongly fought to get the state outside of the Balkans in every way, geographically-, identity- and mentality-wise, to symbolically connect it to Europe, i.e. to Central Europe or the Mediterranean’. In this context, and considering the importance of tourism for the Croatian economy, which is predominantly based in the maritime regions, Pettan (1997) predicted already two decades ago the further Mediterranization of Croatia: ‘As a result, parallel with the growth of tourism along the coast, one can predict further “Mediterranization” of Croatia. This

“Mediterranization” will certainly emphasise Western values, at the expense of Croatia's Eastern cultural traits, here synonymous with the Dinaric heritage.’

In general, popular music tends to be the platform for marking political affiliations in ex-Yugoslav states (Baker 2011; Mijatović 2012). Klapa is not the only heritage music practice in Croatia that participates in the scalar positioning of meanings. Therefore, we briefly discuss klapa’s relation to tamburitza music and ojkanje singing. Ojkanje, a type of singing typical of the Dalmatian hinterland, might be posed as klapa’s intraregional (Dalmatian) counterpart. It is ojkanje that Pettan above refers to as a Dinaric heritage that is pushed back in national representations, being regarded as synonymous with unrefinement, rurality and the Balkans. Prica (2011: 40) has called this archaic, untempered singing style the national ‘stubborn otherness’, which ‘stays away from full national heritage affirmation, positioning itself simultaneously as a recognised folklore element, but also as the fundamental symbolic code of formation of “ganga territory” [non-European / Balkan] of Croatia’s belonging to Europe’ (Prica 2011: 42–43, translation EB). Although designated as a UNESCO heritage in need of urgent safeguarding in 2010, ojkanje’s support base and popularity are not as wide and institutionally organized as those of klapa. Thus, it might be concluded that in the present sociopolitical context of Croatia, the closer the symbolic meaning of heritage is to the desired image of the nation, the more ‘visible’, institutionally supported and used for nation building and branding it becomes.

While the relationship between ojkanje and klapa is characterized by a symbolic binary, the relationship between klapa and tamburitza music instead reflects a contest between two major regions/cities/sociolects – i.e. the Croatian North (tamburitza) and Mediterranean South (klapa). Tamburitza – folk songs played with a tambura, traditionally rooted in the northern regions of Croatia – has, in terms of media and symbolic presence, been superseded by klapa

singing since the 2000s. The cultural myth of tamburitza, prevalent in the 1990s, 'used the motive of Croatia as the bulwark of Europe, Christianity, democracy and/or the west' in addition to the tambura being regarded as a 'sacred national instrument' and a symbol of 'genuine Croatianness' by the first Croatian president F. Tuđman (Baker 2011: 73). Therefore, in the 1990s tamburitza music was instigated as the 'all-Croatian' musical symbol. While both klapa and tamburitza are primarily considered to be regional symbols, it is their involvement in political discourse that upscales this symbolism to a national level, for different purposes at different times.

<A>**Which Mediterranean? Heritage, Tourism, Nation Building and Branding**

<FL>Although a Mediterranean identity is today seen in a positive light in Croatia, this has not always been the case. As anthropologist Rihtman-Auguštin (1999: 112) argues, Dalmatia was previously seen as not more than a 'suspicious periphery' from the state's northern 'upper regions', especially for its 'particular connection with other nations and cultures across the sea and/or its independence from the neighbouring hinterland'. Therefore, a Mediterranean identity was seen as unsuitable for nation building due to the alleged lack of fidelity towards the imagined national core (see Frykman 1999: 284). Čapo Žmegač (1999) confirms this conclusion on the status of the Mediterranean, claiming that after independence neither Yugoslav nor Croatian political elites based their nation-building politics on a Mediterranean identity: 'the new state [Croatia] has an ambivalent relationship both with local cultural distinctions and with the founding of a national identity on the Mediterranean' (Čapo Žmegač 1999: 46). However, the attitude towards the Mediterranean has changed since the late 1990s.

Harrison (2013: 146–47) has discussed the connection between heritage and the nation state by applying Bauman's theorization of different phases of culture in the modern period. Within this theoretical frame, modernity is characterized as assuming a core role for heritage in the nation-building project, while late modernity is perceived as seeking to detach heritage from the nation-state project and instead turn it into a commodified object of experience economy. However, in some cases 'the state resists the dissolution of the link between nation building and heritage and tries to reassert control of heritage as part of the development of a "national story"', as Harrison (2013: 147) notes. In this context, Harrison briefly discusses the heritage discourse of the newly independent Croatian state as aimed at creating a 'monocultural national heritage' by strongly emphasizing Renaissance, Medieval and Roman monumental heritages (see Škrbić-Alempijević 2014: 31). The heritage Harrison discusses in his Croatian example can indeed be perceived as 'Mediterranean'.

The emphasis of heritage in national ideology is especially common in newly established states that are striving to acquire legitimacy (Mitchell 2001 in Rivera 2008). As a post-socialist country, the rearticulations of the Croatian national identity have taken place in a sociopolitical context laden with nation-branding strategies. As a 'new' country in Europe, Croatia has 'embraced the mania for self-branding with the enthusiasm of the newcomer' (Volčič 2008: 395). Nation-branding and tourism discourse are crucial sites of Croatian 'practical Mediterraneanism'. Indeed, the long-standing (2002–2015) slogan of the Croatian National Tourist Board has been: 'Croatia: The Mediterranean as it once was'. The discourse of this campaign represented Croatia as a mixture of European familiarity (to Western countries) and nostalgic exoticism (Rivera 2008). The latter was mainly achieved by rooting the Croatian identity in the Mediterranean past ('as it once was'), imagined as unspoilt, authentic, beautiful

and historic. The Mediterranean cultural heritage plays a key part in current Croatian attempts at nation branding (Škrbić-Alempijević 2014: 29–31), as this heritage carries connotations of Europeanness, urbanity and refinement. In this context, heritage discourse is incorporated as an aide in the branding/tourism discourse of Croatia's 'practical Mediterraneanism' as 'Europeanism'. However, framing the nation and its identity with historicity, nostalgia and authenticity by emphasizing the Mediterranean might also be interpreted as 'backwardness', stuck in the previous East-West division and attempting to 'change sides' within this division. The idea of the Mediterranean construed in Croatian branding/tourism discourses is simplified, homogenous and whitewashed, represented with a stereotypical imaginary of the 'warm South', rich in cultural heritage and classical history (Domšić 2013; Rivera 2008). The pitfalls of the postcard-like 'Mediterranean as it once was' are perhaps, from the nation-branding/building discourse perspective, a lesser concern than the symbolical detachment of the country from the Balkans.

Nation-branding and tourism discourses are 'located at the intersection of the economy, culture and politics' (Kaneva 2012: 5) and, thus, do not only affect foreign audiences but the citizens of the nation as well. If 'nation branding influences conceptions of a country both at home and abroad' (Clancy 2011: 282), it is all the more relevant when the state itself sanctions particular national narratives. Mediterranization of Croatia is such an example, and neoklapa discourse forms an important part of it. Indeed, neoklapa has recently represented Croatia in international events, sanctioned by the state. In 2013, the National Television Board selected a (neo)klapa song to represent Croatia at the Eurovision Song Contest in Malmö, Sweden. According to the Croatian Eurovision delegation manager, the UNESCO label given to klapa highly influenced this decision (HRT 2013). A one-time klapa comprising members of different

klapa groups represented Croatia with a video, made by the Croatian National Tourist Board, entitled 'Where is Klapa s Mora from?' and representing Mediterranean Croatia. After the unsuccessful result in the Eurovision Song Contest, the director of the Entertainment Unit of the Croatian National Television declared that the chosen klapa song nevertheless achieved its true mission of branding Croatia as a tourist destination by promoting its authentic heritage (Paić 2013). The following year (2014) a klapa song was selected as the official song of the Croatian football team in the Brazil World Cup.

<A>Conclusions

<FL>In the 1990s, Croatian nationalist discourse was matched with the popularity of tamburitza music, which 'served as the leading musical symbol of the national or state community during the twentieth century, a position acquired by a combination of political uses of their music, professionalization and mediatization' (Ceribašić and Ćaleta 2010: 340). The discursive upscaling shift towards klapa as an 'all-Croatian' musical symbol and its inherent Mediterranean imaginary can be explained through the context of social, economic and political changes in early twenty-first-century Croatia. The intertwined promotion of the klapa heritage and the neoklapa movement are manifestations of the 'Mediterranean turn' in Croatia's recent identity-building and nation-branding discourses.

In the neoklapa discourse, 'old' cultural tropes related to the ideas of heritage and identity are rearticulated, reasserted and transformed. Many of the characteristics of neoklapa, such as nostalgia, romantization, pathos, idealization of the 'golden age' of forefathers/grandparents and the traditional/conservative community, characterized klapa already in the early 1990s (Povrzanović 1991: 108) – that is, before the heritagization and popularization of klapa in the

‘klapa movement’. The Mediterranean turn and official heritagization of klapa have, however, invigorated these aspects and changed/rearranged their scalar meanings, bringing together ‘idealization’ and the nation-building and branding discourses.

The heritagization of klapa singing is intertwined with articulations and rearticulations of identities at different scalar levels. At the most intimate level, the heritage discourses of klapa reinforce an essentialist notion of identity in which klapa is connected to the individual’s inherited, authentic and innate cultural roots transmitted from generation to generation. This kind of testimony of klapa’s meanings can be found, for example, in the letters of support written by some of the key figures of current klapa organizations and attached to the nomination form for the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. At the local level, there are particularities in the klapa singing styles of different towns and parts of Dalmatia and along the coast (Ćaleta and Bošković 2011). These different ‘substyles’ are fairly invisible in neoklapa as a popular music genre. On the regional level, the neoklapa discourse circulates the binary of littoral versus hinterland and symbolic meanings related to this division. The cultural dualities it entails are utilized at the national level in nation-building, branding and tourism discourses. At the subnational level, also, the neoklapa discourse includes a ‘contest’ between regions. In these discourses, the klapa heritage and neoklapa are used to articulate Croatia as a Mediterranean country.

The articulation of Croatia’s Mediterraneanness through klapa is also about the politics of scale at the supranational level. It is about politics that seeks to rearrange the boundaries of European symbolical geography by utilizing the imaginaries related to different European subregions. These kinds of efforts construct and establish certain connotations and meanings of these subregions. The Mediterranean is, however, a fluid, transforming and symbolically

complex ideational-spatial entity in today's Europe. It is a Janus-faced 'cradle of civilization' that is also increasingly perceived in Central and Northern European media discourses as a 'subaltern' space of political unrest and economic and refugee crises. However, the 'practical Mediterraneanism' in Croatia enables selection and promotion of those symbolic meanings that are seen as most useful for national identity building and branding practices.

The rearticulation of the Croatian identity through the klapa heritage brings forth the dynamics of scale in action. It indicates how politics of scale in heritage is not only about the formation of one scale or the interaction of several scales, such as the local, regional, national and supranational. Politics of scale is also about the transformation of scales. The recent promotion of the klapa heritage and the emergence of the neoklapa movement have, by shifting the focus of heritage from one scale to another, enabled a 'new scaling' of klapa and the Croatian identity.

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