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## From Partisans to Housewives: Representation of Women in Yugoslav Cinema

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*This paper will analyse ways in which representation of women changed from partisans as revolutionary subjects to housewives and consumers in the late 1960's. This transformation is linked with socio-political changes in the Yugoslav context and the abandonment of women's emancipation as it was framed and adopted initially during and after WWII. Namely, the partisan struggle for the liberation from Nazi occupation, as well as the socialist revolution were two foundational myths of Socialist Yugoslavia. Women played an active role in this struggle, both as fighters and through their work behind the lines (as logistical support, spying, nursing, etc.). Likewise, equality between men and women was an important part the country's official ideology. These narratives were later memorialized through literature, cinema, music as well as comic books.*

*In our work, we will explore five tropes of femininity in Yugoslav cinema: (1) the role of the partisan, (2) woman in the background, (3) collaborator, (4) worker and (5) housewife, in order to map out ways in which the representation of women between 1947 and the late 1960's corresponds to official emancipatory politics of the time and how these tropes related with everyday life in this period. Finally, this will lead to an analysis of cinema as a collection of stories Yugoslav women and men told themselves (and others) about themselves.<sup>1</sup> This approach has the potential to indicate the antagonisms within the social context in which these films were produced, by highlighting the unattained ideals of freedom and emancipation. Simultaneously, the goal of this analysis is not to merely open up another space for a more complex exploration of the past, but also to reconsider the emancipatory potential this exploration offers us today.*

<sup>1</sup> Even though cinematography was considered a powerful tool of propaganda, which was most common during the first decade following the end of the Second World War, storytelling was not relieved of state intervention. This was done either through the removal of films that were considered to transgress from socialist moral or through financing the filming of films that were considered to contribute to the upbringing of "new socialist man."

**Keywords:** woman, gender, socialism, Yugoslavia, film, representation

## Introduction

In this text, the ways in which representation of woman in Yugoslav film up until the end of 1960s corresponds with, on the one side, ideological frames of socialist Yugoslavia and its politics of emancipation; and on the other side with social reality and social practices of Yugoslav society and its changes in different time periods, will be analysed. In theory it relies on the tradition of women studies and cultural studies. Cultural studies consider representations<sup>2</sup> as a place on which, through interaction with the audience which adds its own interpretation to the discourse, social relations, including gender relations are established, regulated and normalized. In such way the existing social relations in a specific social context start to become self-understanding and “natural”, which leads to blurring of their connections with the social structure, and the division of power inside the society. Gender regime is a fundamental part of the structure of every society.<sup>3</sup> It also implies certain ideal model types of “manhood” and “womanhood” which are perceived as normal, natural and desirable and in relation to which members of society interpret their own gender experience. Gender regimes are not simply relations between men and women, but systems of power, expectations, roles, behaviour, attitudes and displays of gender differences between which a hierarchy is inscribed. It regulates relations between men and women, forms individual expectations and behaviours which are in unison with the social context. Gender is produced, practiced and affirmed on the level of everyday life. Patriarchy as well, as is defined by British sociologist Sylvia Walby, represents a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women, whereby Walby emphasizes that patriarchy must be conceptualized via different levels of abstraction. On the most abstract level, patriarchy exists as a system of social relations, while on a less abstract level it encompasses six basic dimensions regarding the way of production, paid work, state, male violence, sexuality and cultural institutions.<sup>4</sup> Cultural forms of patriarchy

<sup>2</sup> About representations as forms of selection and construction of meaning, see: Stuart HALL, “Representation, meaning, and language”, In: *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, (ed.) Stuart HALL, London: Sage Publications, 1997, 13-75.

<sup>3</sup> Here, term gender regime is used in a sense of relatively structured relations between men and women, in institutional and non-institutional environment, on the level of discourse and on the level of practices which are materialized in different gender roles, different identities and different gender representations (including different gender performance). Marina BLAGOJEVIĆ, “Žene i muškarci u Srbiji 1990-2000. Urođjanje cene haosa”, in *Srbija krajem milenijuma, razaranje društva, promene i svakodnevni život*, (eds.) Silvano BOLČIĆ, Anđelka MILIĆ, Beograd: Institut za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu, 2002, 311.

<sup>4</sup> Sylvia Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1990, 20. This author also differentiates between two basic forms of patriarchy, private and public, where the first refers to work in household and is characterized by patriarchal strategy of exclusion and direct control, while the second form refers to the domain of paid work and state, and is characterized by segregation and oppression. *Ibid*, 24, 178.

and gender (in)equality also refer to their representation in media texts. Construction of gender representations in a society most often reflects gender structure of that society, at the same time constituting and reproducing gender (in)equalities. Gender asymmetry in a patriarchal society, as a rule, positions women in a place of passive subjects whose social role is covered by biological, “natural” role. And representations of her are most often stereotypic images of women, conveyed to her social status (repressed, accentuation of sexual attractiveness, secondary position and role, motherhood, dependent position, emotionality, frivolity). As Goffman notices, although representations are often experienced as natural (which is why he uses the syntagm “doctrine of natural expression”), the substance is that not only that they reflect gender differences, but also constitute them through the very ability of persons to interpret, learn and adopt those representations of masculinity and femininity.<sup>5</sup> As films are created in concrete social frameworks and are exposed to different social influences, the assumption is that dominant social tendencies will inevitably, more or less (un)consciously and (un)intentionally, diffract through film. In that sense, films will be approached as forms of myths of contemporary society who deal with “telling tales”, and are at the same time being “more than the tales they tell”.<sup>6</sup> They represent symbolic constructions which offer a compass for the social world and contain claims which people create about themselves and others, about the ways in which they imagine themselves and others, the ways they think and feel.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, as Ana Banić Grubišić states, in contemporary films are “key cultural contradictions being expressed, or imaginary solutions to socio-cultural tensions being offered”.<sup>8</sup>

The films that were chosen, as a starting point for the research, were the films that were awarded in different categories at the Pula Film Festival. At the beginning, the films that were not dealing with socialist present in Yugoslavia or *The Peoples' Liberation Struggle* (Narodno-oslobodilačka borba - NOB) were excluded from the sample. More incisive film examples, such as illustration of observed tendentious regularities were chosen as part of the second step with conscious awareness that it carries a certain level of reduction. The illustrations had to fulfill at least one of the two criteria (best if both were fulfilled): that the film had received a social recognition and/or had high ratings. The analysis, in the third step, was focused on the certain existing representations in the films which corresponded with contradictions and changes that the society was experiencing at the time. The focus of this analysis will be the ways in which specific forms of film representation of gender correspond with the social (ideological, political, cultural) context of socialist Yugoslavia in periods from

<sup>5</sup> Erving GOFFMAN, *Gender Advertisements*, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1979, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Hortense POWDERMAKER, *Hollywood: The Dream Factory. An Anthropologist Looks at the Movie Makers*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1951, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Louise KRASNIEWICZ, “Round up the Usual Suspects”: Anthropology goes to the Movies. *Expedition* 48 (1)/ 2006, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Ana BANIĆ GRUBIŠIĆ, “Antropološki pristup medijima – kratak pregled (sa posebnim osvrtom na igrani film)”, *Antropologija* 13 (2)/ 2013, 143.

1945 to 1952 and from 1952 to 1965. Darko Suvin names the 1945-1965 period *les vingt glorieuses* (twenty glorious years) of Yugoslav history, during which Yugoslavia records great progress from undeveloped agricultural to middle developed industrial society, good international reputation and important step toward the economic welfare of wide social strata, but also progress in direction of achieving social justice and human emancipation.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, this is a period of considerable influence and great popularity of film, after which, from the mid-1960s, that place is gradually taken over by television. Films used as the basis of the analysis are those which deal with WWII in Yugoslavia or the socialist present. It needs to be said that this analysis does not intend to be comprehensive in its presentation of different levels, dimensions and complexities of social processes (and interactions) which deal with the way in which representations of women in Yugoslav film correspond with the changes in socio-cultural context of Yugoslavia. It represents setting out of basis for critical thinking on Yugoslav film heritage, which is today necessary not only to establish a more complex look on the past but also because of emancipatory potential which that rethinking can have.

### ***One day it shall be wonderful...*** **War, Revolution, Restructuring and Reconstructing**

It is important to keep in mind the complexity of a creation such as Yugoslavia, which went through significant changes from its inception and throughout its socialist history depending on social, political and economic processes which did not merely take place within the Yugoslav context, but also internationally. The founding myths of the new state were the war of liberation from fascist occupiers and the socialist revolution. The socialist order, as it was established after WWII, was based on equality, as well as *brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples*<sup>10</sup>. The basis of the identity and the legitimacy of the New Yugoslavia were sought in the kinship of the south Slavic peoples on the one hand and the more-or-less autochthonous national movement for the liberation of the country on the other. For Yugoslav communists, *The Peoples'*

9 Darko Suvin, SAMO JEDNOM SE LJUBI. Radiografija SFR Jugoslavije, 1945.-72. Uz hipoteze o početku, kraju i suštini, Beograd: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2014, 319.

10 According to Dejan Jović, the constitutive concept known as *brotherhood and unity* establishes the new Yugoslav identity and bases it on two elements - ethnic kinship of South Slavic nations and the socialist social order. Jović names a total of four different constitutive concepts which define different periods starting from initial unification in 1918, until the definitive collapse in 1992: 1) The concept of *national unity* (*narodno jedinstvo*); 2) The concept of *contractual Yugoslavhood* (*sporazumno jugoslovenstvo*); 3) The concept of *brotherhood and unity* (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*) and 4) The concept of *unity of Yugoslav nations and nationalities* (*zajedništvo jugoslovenskih naroda i narodnosti*). The first two concepts belong to interwar Yugoslavia; while the second two constitute social relations in socialist Yugoslavia. Based on this understanding, we can make a distinction between the *Third* and the *Fourth* Yugoslavia. The *Fourth* refers to the period from 1974, until the dissolution of the Alliance of Communists of Yugoslavia (Savez komunista Jugoslavije) in 1992. See more, Dejan JOVIĆ, *Jugoslavija- država koja je odumrla. Uspom, kriza i pad Četvrte Jugoslavije*, Zagreb: Prometej i Beograd: Samizdat B92, 2003, 103-154.

*Liberation Struggle* (*Narodno-oslobodilačka borba - NOB*) legitimized and provided a basis for the socialist revolution, while the Peoples' Liberation Army (*Narodno-oslobodilačka vojska - NOV*) and the Partisan Units of Yugoslavia (*Partizanski odredi Jugoslavije - POJ*), were institutions which embodied the ideal of brotherhood and unity.<sup>11</sup> In addition to being the political leader of *NOB*, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, also played an active and decisive role in shaping a new consciousness about the state, its character and its historical significance. The identity of the new state was not only promoted through official historiography and its "operationalized" version in the form history textbooks, but also through popular culture. The dominant narrative in post-war Yugoslavia brought the idea that the national (peoples') liberation war was fought by the partisan movement, which included men and women of all nationalities (ethnic groups). The cohesion factor was the heroic guerilla struggle against a more powerful occupiers from German, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria together with their local collaborators. Cinema played an important role in this process from the very beginning, because of its potential for communication and propaganda. Soon after liberation, each republic founded a central film studio. This period from 1945 to 1950, also known as *the administrative period* of centralized Soviet-style governance, was marked by the founding of state-owned production company "Zvezda" (which grew out of the propaganda department of the High Command of *NOV*, of the Federative National Republic of Yugoslavia - FNRJ, as it was called at the time). During this period, a monumental film studio "Košutnjak" was built in Belgrade, while the "Avala film" production company was founded in Belgrade as well as "Jadran film" in Zagreb, "Triglav film" in Ljubljana, "Vardar film" in Skopje and "Bosna film" in Sarajevo and "Lovćen film" in Budva.<sup>12</sup> The mission of these state-owned cinema production companies was to document war-time destruction, crimes and trials against the enemy, reconstruction of the country and feature films. During this stage, the studios were staffed by personnel from *NOB*, while the cameras and other technology came from reparations and the executives were high-ranking military or party

11 Mari-Žanin ČALIĆ, *Istorija Jugoslavije u 20. veku*, Beograd: Clio, 2013, 205-209.

12 Richard TAYLOR at al., *The BFI Companion to Eastern European and Russian Cinema*, London: British Film Institute, 2008, 268. The development of Yugoslav cinema is most often described in relation to production models, ie ways of financing films; administrative period (1947-1951), period of free film workers (1952-1956), producer's period (1957-1962), and finally a cinema that included the first works of the directors of the so-called Black wave movement, followed by the works of the members of the so-called Czech film school. On the other hand, Tomislav Šakić states that, regardless of the changes in production models, the period from 1945 to the beginning of the 1960s in the poetic and aesthetic sense should have been considered as a unique period which he calls "the classic period", ie "the period of predominantly narrative style". See: Tomislav ŠAKIĆ, „Hrvatski film klasičnoga razdoblja: Ideologizirani filmski diskurz i modeli otklona“, *Hrvatski filmski ljetopis* 38/ 2004, 6-34. According to Šakić's changes in the aesthetic sense only started taking place after 1961, when the first modernistic performances such as *Dance in the Rain/ Ples v dežju* (Boštjan Hladnik, 1961), *And Love Has Vanished / Dvoje* (Aleksandar Saša Petrovic, 1961) or omnibus *Drops, Water, Warriors / Kapi, vode, ratnici* appeared in the Yugoslav film (Marko Babac, Živojin Žika Pavlović, Vojislav Kokan Rakonjac, 1962). See: Tomislav ŠAKIĆ, „Filmski svijet Veljka Bulajića: poprište susreta kolektivnog i privatnog“, *Hrvatski filmski ljetopis* 57-58/ 2009, 14-16.

officials.<sup>13</sup> These early films were technically modest and lacking in terms of cinematic craft. The directors were war veterans, partisans, such as Vjekoslav Afrić, Vojislav Voja Nanović, Vatroslav Mimica, Žorž Skrigin, Nikola Popović, Radoš Novaković, Vicko Raspor and Stole Janković. Cinema historians Mira and Antonjin Lim vividly described this phase of Yugoslav cinema “from mountains to film studios.”<sup>14</sup> Andrew Horton succinctly said that Yugoslav national identity was similarly tied to war and cinema, while partisan films (*red western*) as a genre played a similar role to western movies in American cinema.<sup>15</sup> Early partisan films share an essential characteristic with their (early) western counterparts: narratives of national genesis. They served to “take a group of settlers of various nationalities, languages, religions and ethics [...] and create an integrated society, a new nation, a new order.”<sup>16</sup> Yugoslav cinema was a dominant part of the cultural production which supported and affirmed the narrative of Yugoslavhood as a supranational phenomenon, achievable in a new social order seeking to establish a classless society, communism. Women’s active role in this struggle, both as fighters and through their work behind the lines (as logistical support, spying, nursing, etc.), was an important part of that rhetoric, while, equality between men and women represented an important part the country’s official ideology. As such, these narratives had their place in Yugoslav cinema.

The context in which the Kingdom of Yugoslavia finds itself at the beginning of WWII is best described as an industrially weak capitalist country with an overwhelmingly agrarian economic structure. For example, in 1931, 76% of all economically active persons worked in agriculture, forestry or fishing, while only 11% were involved in industrial or craft jobs.<sup>17</sup> According to the same census, 44,6 % of the population was illiterate, while this rate was 56,4% among women over the age of 10, compared to 32% of illiterate men.<sup>18</sup> Most women live in rural areas where physical labour is combined with reproductive work and various forms of violence.<sup>19</sup> Although women’s lives were

13 This is period of emphasized ideological control over film making. in Yugoslavia, official censorship was introduced immediately after WWII, in 1945. The Official Gazette of (then) Democratic Federative Yugoslavia (DFY) published a “Directive on censorship of cinematographic films.” Commissions were made of party and state officials, and military and police officers. See more on this topic at Goran MILORADOVIĆ, “Lica u tami. Društveni profil filmskih cenzora u Jugoslaviji 1945-1955”, *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, XI (2-3)/2004, 101-122. Also see, Goran MILORADOVIĆ, *Lepota pod nadzorom : sovjetski kulturni uticaji u Jugoslaviji : 1945-1955*, Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2012.

14 Antonjin LIM i Mira LIM, *Najvažnija umetnost: Istočnoevropski film u dvadesetom veku*, Beograd: CLIO, 2006, 124.

15 Andrew Horton in Stephanie BARIC, „Yugoslav War Cinema: Shooting a Nation that No Longer Exists“, MA thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 2001, 33. <http://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/1507/1/MQ64011.pdf> (20.5.2017).

16 Hrvoje TURKOVIĆ, *Filmska opredjeljenja*, Zagreb: Meandar, 1985, 140.

17 *O privrednoj aktivnosti žena Jugoslavije od 1918. do 1953.* according to Lydia SKELVICKY, *Konji, žene, ratovi*, Zagreb: Druga - Ženska infoteka, 1996, 93.

18 For a detailed overview of population structure in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, see Ibid, 93-96 i 103-107.

19 Regarding the position of women in the interwar period, see more, Vera ST. ERLICH, *Jugoslavenska porodica u transformaciji, studija u trisotinu sela*, Zagreb: Liber, 1971.

vastly different depending on their ethnicity, religion and country in which they lived prior to the creation of the new state, they shared a position of subjugation in a legal<sup>20</sup> and social<sup>21</sup> sense. According to Jelena Petrović, this economic and political inequality could be seen through “deprived political and civil rights (the right to vote, to own property, to inherit, etc.), limited choice of profession ( teachers, lower ranking clerks in civil service - typists, telephone operators, cashiers - professions which were available to only a small number of women, or textile workers, workers in the tobacco industry and, of course, housewives), exploitation (significantly lower wages compared to men doing the same jobs, as well as the worst jobs, while simultaneously performing all the household work, and difficult seasonal work in rural areas), ownership of women (ownership of the father, then husband, especially in rural areas where 76% of population lives according to the 1931 census), cultural and public exclusion of women (with few exceptions, whose “femininity” in public space was tolerated as a handicap), etc.”<sup>22</sup> In spite of all of this, a number of women’s organizations and magazines was active during the interwar period, ranging in ideological conviction, from socialist to clero-fascist, and, for the most part, they worked legally.<sup>23</sup>

Women’s organizations stopped their work when WWII started, but a significant number of women joined and actively participated in the armed resistance, and through providing support *behind the lines*.<sup>24</sup> Women’s Antifascist Front (*Antifašistički Front Žena - AFŽ*) grew out of a network of women’s organizations which were formed in most of the liberated territories and was officially formed in 1942. Josip Broz Tito attended the first Congress of AFŽ (from 5. to 7. of December), which is symbolically significant. He remarked on the historical importance of the even for women’s struggle for equality and emphasized women’s contribution to the liberation struggle: “ Everything that is done by our army today is 90% the achievement of our heroic women of Yugoslavia.” Also, he spoke of the goals of AFŽ, beyond winning against the

20 Kingdom of Yugoslavia throughout its existence never had a unified Civic code, there were six different legal areas strongly influenced by official religious organizations instead, and those were, amongst other things, determining laws regarding marriage, divorce and annulment of marriage. Women were given no rights in any of these legal system, they were not recognized as legal subjects at all. The only exception was criminal law, where it was recognized that women are capable of committing crimes and that they can be held legally responsible for those same way the men could. SKELVICKY, *Konji, žene, ratovi*, 88, 90.

21 On status of women in the lands that entered Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (that became Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929), see more, Neda BOŽINOVIĆ, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku*, Beograd: Devedesetčetvrti: Žene u crnom, 1996, 91- 103.

22 Jelena PETROVIĆ, „Društveno-političke paradigme prvog talasa jugoslovenskih feminizama“, *ProFemina*, 2/ 2011, 63.

23 Ibid, str. 59-80. Regarding the history of women organizing between the wars in Yugoslavia, also see, BOŽINOVIĆ, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku*, 104-133; SKELVICKY, *Konji, žene, ratovi*, 79-81.

24 Quoting Jere Vodušek-Starić, Mari Žanin Čalić claims that PLA has 800 000 men and women under arms. ČALIĆ, *Istorija Jugoslavije u 20. veku*, 207. During the war 305 000 fighters lost their lives, with another 425 000 wounded. Ibid, 209. It has been estimated that there were over 100 000 female fighters in Yugoslavia during WWII, 25 000 of whom got killed, 40 000 wounded, and 3 000 survived with some sort of heavy disability. 90 women have been awarded with People’s Hero medal. *Žena u privredi i društvu SFR Jugoslavije, osnovni pokazatelji*, Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1975, 3.

occupiers, but as a struggle for the final liberation of women.<sup>25</sup> Considering the role of AFŽ, Lydia Sklevicky maintains that there were two large interconnected groups of tasks. The first involved the people's liberation movement in general, such as providing aid to the army (gathering food, material goods, charity work, etc.) and organizing life behind the lines, ensuring that normal life continued in liberated territories, including social policies (such as care for the children, the sick and the ill). The second group of tasks of AFŽ encompassed political and cultural emancipation of women and their equal inclusion into the liberation struggle and the reconstruction of postwar society.<sup>26</sup> Even during the Fifth State Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (*Komunistička partija Jugoslavije - KPJ*) in 1940, two women were voted as members of the Central Committee, Spasenija Babović and Vida Tomšič, who later went on to serve as presidents of AFŽ. As Tomšič demanded in her speech, "all party organizations need to devote utmost attention to working with women", and these efforts should actively include men.<sup>27</sup> She repeated previous demands of women's civil and workers' movements, which had not been accomplished by this point, and added them to the Communist Party program, "protection of motherhood, elimination of duplicitous morality in public and private life, economic equality and the right to vote."<sup>28</sup> Education was a particularly important condition for achieving equality. According to Sklevicky "AFŽ directed many of their activities in that direction, and we can see multiple levels at which this task was accomplished. The basic level consisted of literacy courses and general education, which later continued into political education - as upbringing for politics, while writing for women's magazines and propaganda to read it, signified a call to create a new activist identity for women."<sup>29</sup> AFŽ press played an important role in this process. According to Gordana Stojaković, around 30 women's magazines were published from time to time between 1942 and 1945 within AFŽ and KPJ, in parts of Yugoslavia where the people's liberation movement (*NOP*) was active.<sup>30</sup>

25 „Drug Tito nama i o nama“, *Žena danas*, 31/ 1943. br. 3 according BOŽINOVIĆ, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku*, 147.

26 SKELVICKY, *Žene, konji, ratovi*, 25-28.

27 Ljubinka ČIRIĆ-BOGETIĆ, „Odluke Pete zemaljske konferencije KPJ o radu među ženama i njihova realizacija u periodu 1940-1941. godine“, in *Peta zemaljska konferencija KPJ: zbornik radova*, (eds.) Zlatko ČEPO, Ivan JELIĆ, Zagreb: Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta Hrvatske: Školska knjiga, 1972, 94. <http://www.znaci.net/00003/661.pdf> (19. 5. 2017)

28 PETROVIĆ, „Društveno-političke paradigme prvog talasa jugoslovenskih feminizama“, 76.

29 SKELVICKY, *Konji, žene, ratovi*, 30.

30 Gordana STOJAKOVIĆ, *Rodna perspektiva novina Antifašističkog fronta žena (1945-1953)*, Novi Sad: Zavod za ravnopravnost polova, 2012, str. 37- 38. System of AFŽ press was based on the kind of hierarchy in which *Žena danas* (*Woman today*) was a monthly issue which transmitted the axiomatic messages to the leaders of the middle and lower class AFŽ boards, and all other papers would then, as per the matrix thus created, convey their vision of reality on both macro (political plan) as well as micro (everyday life) level. At the same time, they were creating a whole new reality based on those new roles that women were supposed to take on. Women being portrayed as active actors in the transformation of social and political context in factories, on the fields, farmers unions but also in Peoples Liberation Boards (*narodno-oslobodilački odbori - NOO*) where they partake in government is highly characteristic for the post-war papers in 1946-1950 period. At the same time, role of women in care and nutrition economy, as well as the role of a mother (whether it be to its own or adopted, war orphaned children) is still very important. Ibid, 169-173. See also, Ksenija VIDMAR-HORVAT, *Imaginarna majka – Rod i nacionalizam u kulturi 20. stoljeća*, Zagreb: Sandorf i Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 2017, 45-58.

Women's Antifascist Front provided a channel for women to articulate their demands for equality with men across all segments of society. For many women, participation in antifascist resistance and the movement to liberate their country, as well as participation in "organs of people's government" („organi narodne vlasti“) (where they had the right to vote and to be voted for, even during the war) signaled they started to be politicized and to become political subjects.

In addition to the numerous tasks AFŽ took on in the post-war rebuilding and construction of the state, their focus was on legislation which would embody and ensure equality between women and men. Yugoslav women took part in the election for a Constitutional parliament for the first time in 1945. Turnout for women was exceptionally high, which can be seen from the report at the Third Congress of Yugoslav AFŽ, which stated that 88% of women voted.<sup>31</sup> The Constitution from 1946 affirmed equality between women and men in spheres of social and political life. It is important to note that this Constitution did not introduce a practice of equality between men and women regarding voting rights, rather, these Constitutional principles came out of a previously established practice. All the legislation that followed strictly adhered to this principle.<sup>32</sup> It was promoted as one of the central principles on which the new state was to be based, and it reflected the radical revolutionary attitudes that all inequalities based on class, nationality and gender should be abolished. In addition to education, women's economic independence was seen as a key prerequisite for women's emancipation. Women and men were becoming equal, first and foremost, as members of the working class. As Gordana Stojaković states, "Socialist ideology did not consider women's emancipation outside of its (working)class framework which dictated the measure of women's emancipation in relation to the sphere of labor."<sup>33</sup> Immediately after the war, due to the urgent need for construction and rapid modernization, ingrained attitudes regarding women's inferiority came to be treated as a measure of political and social backwardness. This in turn meant made the issue of women's equality a political question whose solution became necessary if society was going to transform in the new revolutionary direction. At the same time, the so-called *women's issue*, although insecure and partial, possessed a singular and autonomous status through AFŽ. In this

31 "Politika", 28. oktobar 1950. prema Vera GUDAC – DODIĆ, „Položaj žene u Srbiji (1945–2000)“, in *Žene i deca - Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima XIX i XX veka*, (ed.) Latinka Perović, Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2006, 35.

32 Through marriage law (1946) position of women and men in marriage has been made equal, and the family law legislation introduced in 1947 made rights of children born out of wedlock the same as those of legitimate children. Insurance against all risks has been introduced through legislation on social security, which included paid maternity leave as well as pension rights which are same for both men and women (although women would retire earlier). Law introduced in 1951 guaranteed the right to abortion. 1974 Constitution made sure women are guaranteed a full right to free birth, and since 1977 there were no limitations on abortions within first 10 weeks of pregnancy. Ibid, 33; BOŽINOVIĆ, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku*, 161-163.

33 Gordana STOJAKOVIĆ, „Antifašistički front žena Jugoslavije (AFŽ) 1946–1953: pogled kroz AFŽ štampu“, u *Rod i levica*, (ed.) Lidija VASILJEVIĆ, Beograd: Ženski informaciono-dokumentacioni trening centar (ŽINDOK), 2012, 13.

organization, women took charge of their own emancipation as active subjects playing their part in building the new socialist society.

Films that were produced immediately after the war featured a prototypical revolutionary female subjectivity whose key references were women's active participation in the armed struggle and their work behind the lines. A good example can be found in the film *Živjeće ovaj narod!* *This people Shall Live* written by Branko Ćopić and directed by Nikola Popović made in 1947.<sup>34</sup> The above mentioned revolutionary female subjectivity is clearly located as exclusively proletarian and rural, while gender and class are also closely intertwined. The story takes place in Bosanska krajina, under the mountain Grmeč during an early uprising against German occupiers and the Ustaša in 1941. Jagoda (Vera Ilić), who happens to be a young Serbian peasant woman, falls in love with Ivan (Siniša Ravasi), a Croatian young partisan Commissar and specialist in mining railways, who comes from a nearby town. The opening of the film shows Jagoda speaking to a soldier of the Yugoslav army which just capitulated, in order to hint to the audience that there is still resistance. As she gives him water, she inquires why he is still carrying rifles if the army capitulated, and his response is "Who else will defend you? We will wage war again". ["A ko će vas braniti? Mi ćemo tek ratovati."] The film follows the process of preparing for the uprising, which involves most of the other peasants. A dialogue between Jagoda and her grandfather Ilija (Fran Novaković) in which she asks "Grandpa, how does one overthrow the state?" ["Dede, kako se ruši država?"] and he responds "Oh no, since when do you care for the state?" ["Zar i ti vodiš brigu o državi, jadan sam ti ja?"] early in the film indicates that she does not accept limitations based on gender which would keep women out of politics and major historical events such as the war. Similarly, in the scene where her grandfather asks her about dressing up nicely, Jagoda replies "I am going to the Committee. I will drive food to the army" ["Idem do odbora. Voziću hranu vojsci."] and Ilija maintains "You? What is woman doing with the army?" ["Ama, zar ti? Šta ima žensko s vojskom?"]. The grandmother (Milica-Carka Jovanović) who is baking bread, joins the conversation, "Oh, my crazy granddaughter, they're shooting there. You might pay with your life" ["E, moja luda unuko, pa tamo se puca. Možeš glavom platiti"] and adds that it would be better if her younger brother (a boy) went than "her, lass!" ["nego ona, curetina!"]. Another way in which Jagoda steps out of her traditional patriarchal role is her thirst for knowledge. After she finds out that the recently liberated older man is a university professor and scholar, she asks him to teach her to read. In return, she offers to mend and wash his clothes, which allows her to establish a relationship based on equality and exchange, rather than a relation in which she is begging for charity. Later in the film, the teacher gives a speech on the occasion of the end of the literacy

<sup>34</sup> For more detailed analysis of this film, see, Nebojša JOVANOVIĆ, "Gender and Sexuality in the Classical Yugoslav Cinema, 1947-1962", PhD dissertation, Central European University Department of Gender Studies Budapest, 2014, 94-99.

course, and we see an audience full of women with joy on their faces. There is a wide range of female characters, from more traditional women (usually older) to younger women who are becoming emancipated and politicized through their involvement in the struggle. Jagoda is the symbolic representation of women's emancipation as a herald of the present and the future. Another reason why we chose this film (instead of for example, *Slavica* by Vjekoslav Afrić, made in the same year) is the representation of women as a collective, peasant women as a revolutionary force, whose capacity for enacting change comes from their oppressed position in a rural patriarchal context. Women are the ones who cross ethnic boundaries. During a village meeting, one of the peasants (man) expresses doubts that Ivan is probably ustaša, but Jagoda, who is already falling in love with him, is not the only one to defend him. Other women rebel against this assumption, and they do so as a group. Their involvement and contribution to the whole struggle is more heart-felt than men, who let their habitual ethnic distrust and dispiritedness guide their doubts. Women's massive involvement in the rebellion can be seen in a series of scenes, in which the peasants organize to transport wheat to the partisans. A village meeting where peasants (men and women) discuss this, precedes these scenes. The men, both peasants and the partisans in the mountains, express doubt about the feasibility of this endeavour, because there is a blizzard and "neither the sled, nor the horses can pass across the mountain" ["ni saonice, ni konji ne mogu prijeći preko planine"]. Jagoda is the first to react: "Neither the sled, nor the horses, but a person can! We will break through to Drvar!" ["Ni saonice, ni konji, ali može čovjek! Mi ćemo se probiti do Drvara!"]. She is immediately joined by other women. And what follows is a memorable scene. A long scene depicting the blizzard, in which we see dark skirts in the wind against the backdrop of the white snow in the storm, as the women walk in line and carry the wheat. The other memorable scene is the battle against Germans. Peasants join the partisans in battle, and women are on the frontlines again, at first with agricultural tools, and then, as they progress, they take weapons from dead soldiers. These images combine the representation of the nation in rebellion and the revolutionary femininity. It is abundantly clear after the battle, that victory was not possible without the women.

Later films very rarely depict women as a collective revolutionary subject, but still, the trope of the individual partisan/female fighter persists in the representation of women in *NOB*. At this point, it is important to differentiate between the first phase of partisan films (1947-1960), which is dominated by narratives about the beginning of the revolution and relatively modest tasks. While the second phase (1960-1990) of partisan films already represents a genre in its own right, and the narratives are larger-than-life mythologies about spectacular battles and impressive action scenes. Women remain in these narratives, as partisans and fighters, which later contributes as a factor of their emancipation. This kind of adventurous crossing of boundaries only serves to further show social mobility and a release from

patriarchal shekels.<sup>35</sup> This trope is most clearly seen in films depicting military offensives, which is a sub-genre of partisan films. In other words, “the seven largest military operations of the German army and its collaborators against Yugoslav partisans during World War II”<sup>36</sup> were made into epic films which took a significant place in the official ideological discourse of Yugoslav socialism. Also, these were state projects which took up considerable material and human resources.<sup>37</sup> According to Nemanja Zvijer, over time, narrating *the seven offensives*<sup>38</sup> became a “significant place of memory and one of the important segments through which the complexity of WWII in Yugoslavia could be reduced and simplified.”<sup>39</sup>

In this text, we are briefly going to consider the character of Danica (Sylvia Koscina) from the partisan spectacle *Battle on the Neretva / Bitka na Neretvi* (1969), directed by Veljko Bulajić, which according to Zvijer, can be seen as “an blatant example of film-making practice of war spectacle in socialist Yugoslavia.”<sup>40</sup> The movie portrays a series of military operations aimed at destroying partisan forces which were undertaken by German, Italian, Ustaša and Četnik armed forces in the beginning of 1943 throughout the territory of today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina. Socialist historiography named this *The Fourth Enemy Offensive* or *The Battle for the Wounded* because the partisan army retreated with around 4000 wounded and sick (mainly from typhoid). As in many other films (especially filmed offensives), the main character is the collective, in other words, the partisan army. Various fictional characters and their personal dramatic stories are combined into a mosaic which serves to paint the true hero, the multiethnic multitude which is fighting for their freedom and their future. The partisan army, which includes the typhoid sufferers and refugees, actually constitutes the image of “nation in rebellion.” This army is made up of both men and women. In the film, one can see women in traditional roles, as peasant-women carrying their children as they flee, also as nurses and doctors, but more importantly in new roles as uniformed and armed fighters, taking an active role in the struggle. This comes across most expressively in one of the first images in the beginning of the film, when Danica is taking a picture with her brothers Novak (Ljubiša Samardžić) and Vuk (Radko Polič). All three of them are wearing uniforms. Another memorable scene takes place during a particularly strong attack from German,

35 Comp. Renata JAMBREŠIĆ KIRIN, “Moderne vestalke u kulturi pamćenja Drugog svjetskog rata”, in *Dom i svijet*, (ed.) Sandra PRLENDA, Zagreb: Centar za ženske studije, 2008, 27.

36 Nemanja ZVIJER, „Koncept neprijatelja u filmovanim ofanzivama – Prilog sociološkoj analizi filma”, *Sociološki pregled*, XLIV (3)/ 2010, 419.

37 Ibid, 421.

38 The offensives were made into films in the following order: *Kozara* (1962), *Raid on Drvar / Desant na Drvar* (1963), *The Battle on the Neretva / Bitka na Neretvi* (1969), *Sutjeska* (1973), *The Republic of Užice / Užička Republika* (1974), *The Fall of Italy / Pad Italije* (1981) and *The March on Igman / Igmanski marš* (1983).

39 ZVIJER, „Koncept neprijatelja u filmovanim ofanzivama”, 421 i dalje;

40 Nemanja ZVIJER, „Ideologija i vrednosti u jugoslovenskom ratnom spektaklu: prilog sociološkoj analizi filma na primeru Bitke na Neretvi Veljka Bulajića”, in *Hrvatski filmski ljetopis* 57-58/ 2009, 27. For more detailed analysis of this film, Ibid, 27-40.

Italian, Ustaša and Četnik forces. The sound of the song “Fall, oh force and injustice” [Padaj silo i nepravdo] is mixed with the sound of artillery canon fire and the sound of Church bells, until the sounds become indistinguishable. With this sound, we see images of partisans and wounded, intertwined with fight scenes against an overwhelmingly more powerful enemy. Danica is on the front line in the battle. We want to draw attention to her face, and to the tears running down her cheeks as she shoots from the machine gun. A second later, we see her charge into battle and shout “Charge!” Having in mind that tears are traditionally associated with weakness which is a constitutive part of stereotypical femininity, it is possible to read this scene as a hint at overcoming the traditional hierarchical male/female and strength/weakness dichotomy.

Although there are multiple ways to read this, cinematic representations of femininity in WWII offer a contrast the partisan woman as an embodiment of the female revolutionary subject on the one hand, and the decadent femininity which is often directly linked with female collaborators.<sup>41</sup> In this context gender is closely linked to class. The film *Abeceda straha / Alphabet of Fear* (1961), directed by Fadil Hadžić is a good example. It follows one episode in the life of partisan undercover operative Vera (Vesna Bojanić), who poses as Katica and gets a job as maid in the household of the banker Molnar (Josip Zappalorto), a high ranking sympathizer of the Ustaša government in Zagreb in 1943. Vera/Katica’s job is to get a list of planted Ustaša informants. *Alphabet of fear* continues a trend of *urban guerrilla* movies, which begin with *Don’t Look Back, My Son / Ne okreći se sine* (1956), directed by Branko Bauer. As a character, Vera represents an emancipated young woman who participates in planning and carrying out actions equally with her male comrades. This film is interesting because the number of female and male characters is almost equal (thirteen male compared to ten female characters). Additionally, the (“bourgeois”) women are portrayed more negatively than Molnar, even though he is an Ustaša officer who actively collaborates with the Ustaša for ten years, as the movie reveals. Molnar lives with his wife and two daughters, the younger one being fifteen. Throughout the whole film, a clear contrast is drawn between Vera and the other female characters, and it is constituted on (at least) two levels: concerning gender and concerning class. The world of the bourgeois wife is delineated by marriage as a business agreement. She organizes social occasions that can help her husband’s career, she chooses dresses, spends time with other wives, in trivial conversation (usually about other men) and gossip. The representation of the bourgeois woman corresponds with the traditional negative female stereotypes. This representation includes superficiality, selfishness, focus on fulfilling their own desires, lack of political consciousness and moral considerations and an inability to understand a larger picture.<sup>42</sup> In this sense, their collaboration can be understood as a consequence of a lack of intellectual and moral capacity. An

41 See more JOVANOVIĆ, „Gender and Sexuality in the Classical Yugoslav Cinema, 1947-1962”, 100- 108.

42 At one point, Molnar describes his wife by saying the way “she gossips is a form of political work” [„da se bavi tračem kao jedinim političkim radom“].

example of this can be seen in Mrs. Molnar's (Nada Kasapić) tea party, which she organizes for the wives of the other Ustaša officers. One of the guests asks about news, and then begins by her own "You should see the Jewish set that I have received" [„Imaš li šta novo? Da vidiš kakvu sam ja židovsku garnituru dobila“] and then continues with a mixture of gossip about sexual adventures of one of the husbands, mocking, discussing servants and information about an absent friend who is "higher up now" [„sada visoko odskočila“] because "her Victor just burned fifty villages and became an important person over night" [„njen Viktor je zapalio pedeset sela i preko noći postao velika ličnost“]. This does not imply anything about the nature of femininity, but rather only about socially constructed pressures of bourgeois society in which these women were socialized. The best example for this is the representation of Saša (Jasenka Kodrnja), Molnar's younger daughter. Unlike Elza (Tatjana Beljakova), the elder daughter, whom we see in an Ustaša uniform as she is getting ready for work one morning, Saša is still young, spoiled and has not had a chance to be corrupted. As she speaks to Katica/Vera, she mentions she would like to meet partisans, because "there are young women among them" [„kažu da ima i devojaka među njima“]. Although her daydreams revolve around love and young men, she shows a curiosity about the world and issues outside the narrow life of her family, her social circle and a fate that is intended for her.

Here it should be kept in mind that the idea of woman's economic independence, as the primary condition of her emancipation, is in the basis of the socialist ideology of women's emancipation; therefore the question of change of women's position was primarily linked with the women's already implemented right to work. After the war, this did not simply emanate from the ideology of the newly established government, but also from the need to engage as many people as possible in the restoration of the war-torn country, and later from the ambitious demands of the five-year plan's realization. Hence the state's and AFŽ's efforts to employ as many women as possible and integrate them into different economic activities, including those in which, in pre-war Yugoslavia, only or mainly men had been employed. The time period immediately after the war is defined by intense social restructuring and the struggle for the meanings of the new social (and gender) order, whereas the war heroism was replaced by work heroism. Socialism needed to be stabilized and a destroyed country rebuilt. Almost 400 000 people were left homeless and the damage was measured to around 2,3 billion US dollars. The first period which in economic terms represented a period of centralized administrative government (1945-1952), was marked by a complex system of savings measures (coupons for consumption rationing) and planned production (first five year plan 1947-1951). Right after the war, UN and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) donated 416 million worth of goods (mainly food) to Yugoslavia.<sup>43</sup> For women in the first decade of post-

43 Igor DUDA, "Uhodavanje socijalizma", *Refleksije vremena 1945. – 1955.* 10–40. Zagreb: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2013, 25.

war restoration of society the place among workers-udarniks/shock workers was reserved, and they needed to participate on the same level as men in every form of collective activity. On the one hand poverty and rationing additionally motivated women to compete for the status of udarnik/shock worker in order to secure additional food, clothes and textile coupons<sup>44</sup>; on the other hand the intense agitation of AFŽ, primarily through the press, worked on construing a woman-worker as a key protagonist in the successful realization of the socialist project. The struggle did not only signify the struggle for emancipation but also the struggle for implementation of the five year plan (from 1947 to 1951). Women were mobilized on several levels: through work actions, alphabetic courses, as well as tailoring and sewing courses, as workers and udarniks, but were all the while also expected to take care of the household. State politics used the New woman as a symbolic bearer of modernization<sup>45</sup>, and women's visibility in socio-cultural sphere of the new state should have marked the accomplished progress in this new reality. As Ksenija Vidmar-Horvat states, for understanding complex socialist gender politics and the definition of woman's role in socialism three basic fields of establishment of woman's position are important: work domain, marital-family life, and in relation to children. And the socialist project called for a radical shift from bourgeois oppression of women on all three fields.<sup>46</sup> Vladimir Pogačić's film "Priča o fabrici" (The Factory Story) shows that this was not a simple task.<sup>47</sup> The story is set in a textile factory in Zagreb shortly after the liberation of the country. The problems which the factory faces include not only deficiency, difficulties in production, work with the machines and procurement of materials, but also the plan of its former pre-war owner Gartner (Tito Stroci) to sabotage the factory. Two parallel strands shape the narrative. One follows the dilemmas of the engineer Branimir Vrtar (Strahinja Petrović) whom Gartner plans to draw in in his sabotage plans, which meets the approval of Vrtar's wife who cannot reconcile with their losing of pre-war privileges. The protagonist of the other strand of the story is Marija Mlinarić (Marija Crnobori), a textile worker, who wants to solve the production problems by showing that one female worker can work on six machines simultaneously. The one thing in common is the unhappy marriages of the two protagonists. Vrtar's wife, a glamorous beauty, cannot find a way to make peace with losing pre-war privileges and therefore pressures Branimir to take part in the sabotage of

44 Coupons r1 and r2 for workers and coupon 0 for all others, while peasants had no right to coupons. Also, r1 coupons could have been used in different stores in relation to r2 coupons. Renata JAMBREŠIĆ KIRIN, "Žene u formativnom socijalizmu", *Refleksije vremena 1945. – 1955.* (ed.) Jasmina Bavoļjak, Zagreb: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2012, 193.

45 Comp. JAMBREŠIĆ-KIRIN, "Moderne vestalke u kulturi pamćenja Drugog svjetskog rata", 19-54.

46 VIDMAR HORVAT, *Imaginarna majka – Rod i nacionalizam u kulturi 20. stoljeća*, 46. On the politics of representation of motherhood in socialism, see: *ibid*, 46-67. On the politics of motherhood, see: Rada DREZGIĆ, "Bela kuga" među "Srbima". *O naciji, rodu i radanju na prelazu vekova*, Beograd: Albatros Plus: Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, 2010, 17-51.

47 For a more detailed analysis, see: JOVANOVIĆ, "Gender and Sexuality in the Classical Yugoslav Cinema, 1947-1962", 138-141.



the factory. On the other side, Marija's marital problems are in connection to the refusal of her husband Ferd (Branko Pleša), a model worker himself, to accept Marija's dedication to work. During her testimony at the Gartner's and his accomplices' trial about the circumstances which preceded the sabotage, she starts to talk about Ferd's behaviour. On the reaction of one of the jurors that Marija is disclosing details of her personal life "which have nothing to do with the subject of the trial" [koji nemaju veze sa predmetom rasprave] Marija replies: "Private life? Do you really think that life can be divided?" ["Privatni život? Zar vi zbilja mislite da se život može dijeliti?"]. In one of the scenes we are shown how Ferd accuses her of neglecting the marriage in order to work. While she is doing the laundry, in his complaints the anger ("I've had enough of your conferences, your jobs outside the house. Do I have a wife?...Is this a home? Is this a marriage?" ["Meni je već preko glave tvojih konferencija, tvojih poslova izvan kuće. Imam li ja ženu? ... Zar je ovo kuća? Zar je ovo brak?"]) and pleas ("Am I a bad worker? But who can demand from me to renounce everything? Listen, for my love, you are going to leave those damned six machines" ["Zar sam ja loš radnik? Ali tko može od mene zahtijevati da se odrekнем baš svega? Slušaj, meni za ljubav, ti ćeš ostaviti tih prokletih šest strojeva"]) take turns. We are here able to see directly the conflict between revolutionary emancipation and patriarchal woman's gender role. Through the expectation that woman's primary responsibility lies in the private domain, marriage and family, patriarchy survives the revolution. Woman's exit from the private domain (which traditionally belongs to women) into the public domain, the possibility to work and economic independence are not enough for a complete transformation of woman's position – the patriarchal order continues to live in the private and family domain.<sup>48</sup>

### ***Do you really think that life can be divided?...*** **The Big Turn Over**

The event which, in the long run, has set the course of development of Yugoslavia and announced a radical transformation of all spheres of Yugoslav society is the conflict with the Cominform in 1948. It was one of the hardest periods in the socialist history of Yugoslavia. Economic blockade in the East, strong political pressure from the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist bloc, the danger of the occupation of Yugoslavia, made the government reach for mass mobilizations and employment of all available hands. This kind of government initiative was supported by the official press, which in that period especially highlighted the role of female udarniks and women who

48 Although it factually marks the end of her marriage, Marija chooses work. The end of the film is also very interesting. Instead of exhausted from work and sadness as we see her in the most part of the film, Marija is represented in a new dress and exudes freshness and optimism. To be without a man does not automatically mean to be miserable.

broke traditional stereotypes of how woman should look and behave with their endeavours in industry and restoration of the country.<sup>49</sup> On the other side, the split-up with Soviet Union, made the management of the country turn for help (loans and commerce) to their ideological counterparts – the capitalist West.<sup>50</sup> An adequate model, which was far enough from the countries of the so called real socialism but also not threatening for the reputation in international workers movement, was needed. The new identity of the state was developing on the idea of diversity, the search for the "third way" in regard to SSSR and the Soviet bloc, and to pre-war Yugoslavia and liberal democracy in general (where liberal democracy and capitalism were used as synonyms). On the international plane, the specifics of that Yugoslav "third way" built in conditions of bloc division, were manifested through the *Non-Aligned Movement*<sup>51</sup>, on the interior plane it was manifested through the invention of socialist self-management (as a counterpoint to state planned economy of the countries of the East, but also to the free market of the West).<sup>52</sup> At the beginning of the 1950s the government had already tested the first self-managing units in production, and in the summer of the same year came the first confirmation of the foreign help. It seemed as the situation had normalized. Mass mobilizations were switched for the gradual introduction of self-management units from the start of the 1950s.<sup>53</sup> The state started the process of decentralization on all levels, first in the economy, and then in the whole society. Companies were managed by workers councils, although in practice in the most part, especially in the beginning, only notionally. The main decisions on companies business conduct were still made by the state.<sup>54</sup> Parallel with the growing independence of economic organizations as the bearers of economic growth, the autonomy

49 GUDAC-DODIĆ, "Položaj žene u Srbiji (1945–2000)", 60.

50 About the relations with the USA and the Soviet Union in 1948-1963 period, see: Tvrtko JAKOVINA, *Socijalizam na američkoj pšenici: (1948-1963)*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2002.

51 During the meeting of Tito, Egyptian president Nasser and India's prime-minister Nehru in Brioni in 1956, the draft was made of what is to become the official declaration of the Non-Aligned Movement after the Belgrade conference in 1961. The declaration states: condemnation of the bloc division of the world, complete removal of the causes of wars, support for the disarmament, need for nuclear energy used for peaceful purposes, economic help for underdeveloped countries and mutual cooperation. Ibid, 121-124.

52 Todor Kuljić has succinctly formulated in an interview: "The whole Yugoslav ideology of self-management was a sort of a "third way", which Yugoslav socialist officials always highlighted. It wasn't planned socialism, but also not capitalism. We are somewhere in-between these opposites; we do not represent the extremes; we are the real self-managing democracy. Exactly this ideology of the "third way" enabled very flexible foreign policy, which was useful to the eastern and the western bloc." Todor KULJIĆ, "Jugoslovensko radničko samoupravljanje", 2003, <http://eicp.net/transversal/0805/kuljic/sr> (30.05. 2017).

53 First, in June 1950 with the enactment of the "Basic law on the management of the state companies and higher business associations by the working collectives", which was later confirmed by the "Constitutional law on the basis of social and political organization of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and federal authorities" from January 1953. In his speech in the Parliament on the occasion of the enactment of the "Self-management law", Josip Broz Tito highlighted three key moments in future development of Yugoslavia: process of "withering away of the state", distancing of the Party (KPJ) from the state apparatus and transformation of state into social property, which will be governed by the direct manufacturers. Dušan BILANDŽIĆ, *Hrvatska moderna povijest*, Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999, 321-334.

54 The "Law on planned management of national economy" was adopted already in 1951. Ibid, 327.

of the local authorities as the bearers of social growth was strengthened.<sup>55</sup>

Socialist democracy was in the case of Yugoslavia first of all understood as economic democracy based on national equality and social parity. The personal contribution to the development of the country, the ability to govern the process of production, and thereby the process of social modernization meant to be an actor, autonomous subject of your own development. The role of the worker was central to the construction of the “cosmopolitan, international, modern and supranational identity of the citizen of Yugoslavia in the time of socialism”<sup>56</sup>. When it comes to women’s socialist ideology, it did not contemplate emancipation of the women outside the work system (working class). As Ksenija Vidmar-Horvat states, as “friends” they were an integral part of the proletariat and it was considered that they have no other special rights which would be separate from the rights and demands of the working class. Gender discourse in SFRY was mainly focused on the role of women in national industry, while in the aspect of private and family life (marriage, motherhood, and gender roles) the traditional model was considerably kept. In the socialist model an attempt was made on harmonization and integration of working functions and functions which women perform in the private domain, with the emphasis on motherhood. Although the state had introduced measures which should have facilitated women in connecting public (the domain of work and political engagement) and private (primarily linked to motherhood, like paid maternal leave, almost free kindergarten, hot meals for children in school etc.<sup>57</sup>) domains, the attitude that women as a social group were not different from men prevailed.<sup>58</sup> “Self-cancellation” of the Women’s Antifascist Front in 1953<sup>59</sup> also marks the abolition of the independence of the

55 Regarding this the most important was “The Law on people’s committee’s”, which was adopted in 1952. Ibid, 334-339.

56 Tanja PETROVIĆ, *Yuropa – Jugoslovensko nasleđe i politike budućnosti u postjugoslovenskim društvima*, Beograd: Fabrika knjiga, 2012, 158 (u fusnoti).

57 According to the Regulation on the protection of employed pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers, the 90 day maternal leave was predicted, and in some cases shorter, four hour work day was provided, until the child was three years of age. For the employed breastfeeding mothers interruption of work in every three hours was provided, due to feeding of the child, and that right was available until sixth month after the birth. During the maternal leave full cash compensation was provided. Mothers (single parent or those whose children needed additional care) who worked shorter, four hours shifts after the cessation of that leave, had a right to monthly pay in amount of 75% of the income. In later stages of social development, in Yugoslavia the duration of paid maternal leave was extended on several occasions, until the child was one year old. GUDAC-DODIĆ, “Položaj žene u Srbiji (1945-2000)”, 37.

58 VIDMAR HORVAT, *Imaginarna majka – Rod i nacionalizam u kulturi 20. stoljeća*, 47-49.

59 Women’s Antifascist Front (AFŽ), as a separate women’s organisation was abolished on the IV congress in 1953. Different organisations and associations which dealt with the questions of interest to women united in the Alliance of women’s associations of Yugoslavia, from which the Conference for social activity of women of Yugoslavia arose (established in Zagreb in 1961.). It acted within SSRNJ – Alliance of socialist working people of Yugoslavia (Savez socijalističkog radnog naroda Jugoslavije). Neda Božinović, former partisan (bearer of the Commemorative Medal of the Partisans of 1941.) and active member of AFŽ after the war, states that “conclusion on abolition of AFŽ, and on the establishment of Alliance of women’s associations, was experienced as degradation of women’s organisations and women themselves by a great number of delegates. And many AFŽ activists stopped working as a response”. BOŽINOVIĆ, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku*, 174.

so called women’s question, the way to the gradual return of the women to the household, political passivation for a great number of women<sup>60</sup> and an end to the intense interest for the change of gender relations in the family and society. The women’s question from that point on is treated as integral part of the class question, which is presented as a key social problem on which all others can be reduced to. Somewhat simplified, starting from the viewpoint that the essence of the social injustice is in the unfair economic distribution (and its typical example is class inequality), the solution to the class question is simultaneously the solution to the “women’s question.” A little differently formulated: “Starting from the Marxist standpoint that women’s liberation can be achieved only on the realization of the ‘association of the free manufacturers’, women’s question is a component of the class question”. As the class question in Yugoslavia had been considered as solved, it was possible to claim “that the woman today is actually and formally equal in our society”.<sup>61</sup>

In general, the period from the year 1950 to the year 1970 is the period of economic prosperity and growth of the standard of living in SFRY; and from the 1960s the period of opening of the borders and total liberalization of the society. Specifics of the Yugoslav “third way” after the conflict with Stalin in 1948, in first line partial democracy (institutionalised in the form of “self-managing socialism”), a relatively wide space for creative freedom in arts and sciences<sup>62</sup> and relative openness of the country to the West (which secured continual circulation of goods, people and ideas), painted one peculiar landscape. The period from 1953 and especially from 1957 to 1961 was marked by high rate of industrial and agricultural production and the rise of the number of people employed, with strong transfer of people from agricultural to non-agricultural sector and mass migrations to the cities. Not equally fast, but in those years the standard of living also rises, first of all because of significantly larger total production, the rise of the national income, larger employment and productivity of work, the rise of net personal incomes in the social economic sector, real purchasing power of the population and available consumer goods. A significant change in structure of personal consumption occurred, in food, clothing, habitation, education, satisfaction of cultural and health needs, improvement of social security and others. Changes were moving in the direction of a reduction of costs of nutrition, and a rise of costs of industrial consumer goods and other services. Lowering of the

60 Participation of women in the decision-making bodies constantly diminished from the end of the war. In the year 1949/50 in elections for national committees there were two thirds more women than in the elections two years later. Already in 1963 in the Federal Parliament percentage of women was only 15.2. Six years later the number fell to 6.3%. *Žena u privredi i društvu SFR Jugoslavije, osnovni pokazatelji*, 4; BOŽINOVIĆ, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u 19 i 20 veku*, 249.

61 Vjekoslav KOPRIVNJAK, “Uvodnik u temat”, *Žena*, 4-5/ 1980, 10.

62 Under the assumption that some central system and ideological categories are not to be questioned, like: general historically progressive character of socialism in relation to capitalism, personality and work of Josip Broz Tito, one party system and absolutely positive role of the partisan movement during the Second World War. Mladen LAZIĆ, *Promenei otpori - Srbija u transformacijskim procesima*, Beograd: Filip Višnjić, 2005, 66-70.

nutrition costs is the basic reason for the raising of costs for other purposes which are the characteristics of the structure of personal consumption of a higher standard.<sup>63</sup> Because of the economic model of self-management which in itself contained elements of capitalism (autonomy of the company) and of ethatism (centralized planning), Yugoslavia did not only get out of the crisis but also entered the most prosperous period of its existence. The 1950s were also a period of intensive social transformation from the imperative of production towards the imperative of consumption<sup>64</sup>, and the transformation of Yugoslavia to a consumerist society with the elements of a market economy. Social values in Yugoslavia became increasingly determined by purchasing power and material property, and new and modern became the goals to strive for. The trend of growth of citizens' purchasing power from the 1950s on, and with it of total quality of life was followed by a growing belief that it is a need of the modern times, but also a human's right.<sup>65</sup> Except for opening to the economic influences from the West, the split-up with Stalin and the East bloc lead to the increasing openness to the cultural influences and products of western popular culture (like film, magazines, literature, music and fashion) which often promoted values different from those of the socialism. Janjetović visually describes this change as jumping "out of Stalin's overcoat into Elvis's jacket" ["iz Staljinovog šinjela u Elvisovu jaknu"], and explains: "The split with the Soviet Union and a gradual closeness to the West, in connection with the economic success during the 1950s, finally made conditions for popular culture to not only develop but gradually gain its independence as an autonomous cultural segment which, as time passed by, had less and less in common with the official cultural politic and more with the free market of entertainment – still remaining in one part tied to the social system and its values".<sup>66</sup> According to the same author, a big role in spreading the influence

63 BILANDŽIĆ, *Hrvatska moderna povijest*, 383-396; Takođe, Ibrahim LATIFIĆ, *JUGOSLAVIJA 1945-1990 (razvoj privrede i društvenih djelatnosti)*, 22-23. <http://www.znaci.net/00001/120.htm> (15. 05. 2017).

64 As Jambrešić Kirin and Blagaić formulate, one macro social change when it comes to the turn from "the world of production" to "the world of consumption". Renata JAMBREŠIĆ KIRIN, Marina Blagaić, "The Ambivalence of Socialist Working Women's Heritage: a Case Study of the Jugoplastika Factory", *Narodna umjetnost* 50/ 2013, 59.

65 "New economic policy which would be more oriented toward consumption" and that it is time for a generation that carried out the revolution to "enjoy life" and to improve its "quality of life", was announced by Josip Broz Tito in 1955: "Today's generation invested much effort into rebuilding of the country, now it deserves to live better and some tasks need to be given to future generations". According to: Ivana DOBRIVOJEVIĆ, "Industrijalizacija", in *Nikad im bolje nije bilo? Modernizacija svakodnevnog života u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji*, (ed.) Ana PANIĆ, Beograd: MIJ, 2015, 35. Igor Duda states that Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from 1958 foresees "more comfortable life", property "over various products of consumption", achieving "better servicing of consumers with goods" and care for their "everyday needs and supply, for their relaxation and entertainment". Igor DUDA, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 70-ih i 80-ih*, Zagreb: Srednja Evropa, 2010, 18.

66 Zoran JANJETOVIĆ, *Od „Internacionale“ do komercijale: Popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945–1991*, Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011, 17. This process as the process of americanisation of Yugoslav society in detail analyses Radina Vučetić in her book *Koka-kola socijalizam. Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*. Videti: Radina VUČETIĆ, *Koka-kola socijalizam. Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*, Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012.

of popular culture was (in particular) by the entertainment press whose content looked increasingly like the content of the western press.<sup>67</sup> From the early 1950s comic books with American heroes are being published, while in the 1960s titles from popular literature, like westerns, love, crime and detective novels had huge circulation.<sup>68</sup> Practically everything from the US literal and fine art scene, including works of top contemporary authors and artists were also available for the people of Yugoslavia. During the 1950s so called popular music is being developed, and jazz, not long ago considered "a product of degeneration of USA bourgeois culture" and according to Maksim Gorki "music of the greasy and fat capitalists", also arrives.<sup>69</sup> And at the end of the decade also rock'n'roll.<sup>70</sup> Radio broadcasts of western music (from the beginning of the 1960s also rock'n'roll), and the production of records grows, and gramophone houses like RTB and Jugoton are publishing foreign musicians' hits (singers and bands). A domestic music scene is being developed, first through the covers of foreign hits and later through original works. The development of television<sup>71</sup> in the 1960s, when due to weak technical and insufficient personnel the lack of content was compensated with live Italian programs and transmission of entertainment and revue TV shows (like San Remo music festival), introduced pictures of abundance and glamour in growing number of homes across the country and served for copying of music and fashion styles. Frames of new consumerist ambient, and new consumerist imaginarium, are drawn by openings of supermarkets, organizations of fairs in which goods of wide consumption were being presented (wash machines, refrigerators, TVs, electrical stoves...), and by the end of the 1960s products of brands such as *Coca cola*, *Nestle*, *Dr. Oetker*, *Nivea*, *Dior*, *Helena Rubinstein* and others have long been available. The number of foreign tourists rapidly grows. And the interest for learning English language grows year after year. The 1960s are also the time of total domination, and great popularity of foreign,

67 Ibid, 77-84. It needs to be said that this didn't go without resistance. Intellectual public and official instances often labelled these contents as worthless, decadent, but also justified it by commercial reasons, as the ground for the survival of journalist-publishing houses. More: Reana SENJKOVIĆ, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu: pop iskustvo soc kulture*, Zagreb: institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2008, 51-82.

68 For example, crime and detective novels were printed in millions. Predrag Marković states that only daily newspaper Politika published around 150 of such titles yearly, during the mid-1960s. Predrag MARKOVIĆ, *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada, 1948-1965*, Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 1996, 483.

69 VUČETIĆ, *Koka-kola socijalizam. Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*, 166. See also JANJETOVIĆ, *Od „Internacionale“ do komercijale: Popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945–1991*, 112-137.

70 In regard to Elvis Presley, it is interesting that he becomes popular already in the 1950s, and in 1956 *Borba* prints an article about him. In the same year Ivo Robić tries himself in the new genre. VUČETIĆ, *Koka-kola socijalizam. Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*, 187-188 i 194-195. See also, JANJETOVIĆ, *Od „Internacionale“ do komercijale: Popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945–1991*, 138–171.

71 On development of television in Yugoslavia, see: Ildiko ERDEI, "Novi život na "malom ekranu" i oko njega: počeci televizije u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1955–1970)", in *Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology*, 10 (2)/ 2015, <http://www.anthroserbia.org/Content/PDF/Articles/93969b31c0d740bf96f851e5aca9ecea.pdf>. (12. 05. 2017.)

most of all US TV shows and films, Disney characters, cowboys, and Indians, of stories and pictures which played a big part in acceptance of new values and views on life of all generations of Yugoslav society, by daily introduction of Yugoslav citizens to the American dream. In particular a large role in the reception of those influences, without a doubt, was film.

As it was already mentioned, almost right after the war central movie studios were being established, so that in 1951 in each of six republics there was one film centre, and the number of movie theatres doubled to up to around 920.<sup>72</sup> Watching movies was a favourite entertainment after the war and the number of movie goers has continuously rose – from 31 520 000 in 1946 to almost double - 67 926 000 at the end of 1950.<sup>73</sup> After a conflict with Cominform (Information Department of Communist and Working Parties) in 1948 instead of Soviet films which dominated by then, importation of movies from the West starts, enabled by the financial aid from the USA.<sup>74</sup> Introduction of socialist self-management for the young film industry meant dissolution of the Committee for Cinematography which was built after the war and establishment of *Association of Film Workers of Yugoslavia*. Since then the production groups of the Association had, in theory, the ability to establish their own financial means through distribution contracts, renting and leasing, income from co-production and alike. Even though due to a lack of development in the film industry that did not come to life up to 1956 when *Basic Law on Film* was adopted, which changed state subventions with tax on cinema tickets (17-20%)<sup>75</sup> that also influenced the larger commerciality of domestic film production. The taste of the audience and the marketability of the movies either filmed or imported became an increasingly important factor. One of the most symbolic milestones when it comes to film, represents the screening of the American musical “Bathing Beauty” in 1950. “Bathing Beauty”, from 1944, by the director George Sidney with Esther Williams in the main role, was for Yugoslavs the representation of opulence and material wealth which was a far cry from the life in general destitution in which the people still lived. With this film, its pretty girls in bathing suits and jazz music, first pictures of western consumerist world entered Yugoslav everyday

72 Dejvid A. KUK, *Istorija filma II*, Beograd: Clio, 2007, 526.

73 Ibid.

74 Ljubodrag DIMIĆ, *Agitprop kultura. Agitpropovska faza kulturne politike u Srbiji 1945-1952*, Beograd: Rad, 1988, 179.

75 Ibid, 527; Even though the workers in the film industry had a legal freelance status from the fifties, hence the directors had to always look for new projects and were responsible for the economic success of the film, they were not completely left to the market. They used social infrastructure of the studio and laboratories, institutions funded art movies, not only entertainment. Some movie directors have established independent film companies during the sixties, which provided them with economic independence (for example *Neoplanta*) and became source of income, so we can talk about the establishment of some kind of public-private partnership that produces and distributed films across Yugoslavia. Gal KIRN, “Crni talas kao umjetnički izraz ‘Praxisa’?”, in *Praxis : društvena kritika i humanistički socijalizam : zbornik radova sa Međunarodne konferencije o jugoslavenskoj ljevici: Praxis-filozofija i Korčulanska ljetna škola (1963-1974)*, (eds.) Dragomir Olujić Oluja, Krunoslav Stojaković, Beograd: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2012, 252-253.

life. The film had enormous popularity. People waited in lines for a movie ticket and many have seen it multiple times. It can be assumed that for the most of the viewers it represented, even for a short while, an escape from the dreaded reality of the post-war poverty and memories of war that were still fresh. Evaluating the reasons of the popularity of this film in Belgrade, Bogdan Tirnanić says: “(...) in that heroic time during which only one colour existed, when everything was uniformed, poor, without softness, time of epic greyness, ‘Bathing Beauty’ introduced the element that was just devastating. The first strike of that film, which was some kind of spirit atomic bomb that absolutely devastated everything”.<sup>76</sup> Along with the large viewership of the movies imported from the west<sup>77</sup>, with *Vesna* by František Čap in 1953 as one of the first films of “easy genre”, the production of domestic movies whose primary goal was to entertain the audience also starts.

Hider Petterson, speaks of Yugoslavia, from the end of the 1950s, as unique among “communist” countries in the time of the Cold War and its openness to mix cultural elements of socialism and capitalism. He highlights the meaning of liberal visa arrangements, travel and Yugoslavs leaving to work temporarily into western countries, but also the significance of western media in creating a consumer society, and evaluates the 1960s and 1970s as its golden era, when the economic miracle happened, though, at the expense of large debt and loans by the country, for the purpose of sustaining the living standard.<sup>78</sup> That economic miracle had its other face. The introduction of self-management demanded profitability from the companies, and the companies had to rely on income, from the subventions and from the market sales.<sup>79</sup> After tax deduction, the income stayed within the company, without interference from the state (except from abiding by the rule on minimal personal income according to level of education), but with strong participation from the municipalities.<sup>80</sup> During the other half of the 1950s comes a change in payment politics, so after 1955 a system of centralized salary determination is left behind, and in 1958 a system of payment according to performance was introduced, and the level of salaries of individual workers became dependant on the “success of the working place at the market” and incitement for competition among self-managers was provided „not only inside, but between working positions“.<sup>81</sup> In the beginning

76 According to DIMIĆ, *Agitprop kultura. Agitpropovska faza kulturne politike u Srbiji 1945-1952*, 179.

77 See more in VUČETIĆ, *Koka-kola socijalizam. Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*, 79-144. Radina Vučetić cites another and not meaningless information: defined in numbers, American movie was four to five cheaper than Soviet, and brought about twenty times more profit. Ibid, 103-104; Videti i JANJETOVIĆ, *Od „Internacionale” do komercijale: Popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*, 172.-218.

78 Patrick Hyder PATTERSON, *Brought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Ithaca, United States: Cornell University Press, 2011, 134.

79 Darko SUVIN, *SAMO JEDNOM SE LJUBI. Radiografija SFR Jugoslavije, 1945.-72. Uz hipoteze o početku, kraju i suštini*, Beograd: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2014, 231.

80 Ibid, 232.

81 Vladimir UNKOVSKI-KORICA, “Jugoslovensko samoupravljanje: upravljanje radništva ili upravljanje radništvom?”, in *E-zbornik: Nasleđe jugoslovenskog socijalizma. Promišljanje. Razgovor. Rasprava. Kritika*, (eds.) Marijana STOJČIĆ, Dragomir OLUJIĆ, Beograd: Forum za primenjenu istoriju, 2014. no longer available.

of the 1960s, after a decade of continuous economic growth, there was a crisis.<sup>82</sup> The solution was sought in the economic reforms in 1963 and 1965 in the direction of further weakening of the state's role, its decentralization and liberation of the market.<sup>83</sup> Gal Kirn cites that socialist companies entered into fierce competition which reflected increasing inter-regional differences. Yugoslavia faces, among other things, increasing dependence on foreign loans, a significant rise of social differences and increasing inequalities in society, an enormous rise of unemployment and from the middle of the 1960s occurrence of "workers temporarily working abroad" (i.e. *Gastarbeiter*).<sup>84</sup> According to Suvin, unemployment, if counting the number of workers abroad and persons looking for job, from 1960 when it was 10%, up to 1969, has risen to 13.5 %. Considering that the Yugoslav community was imagined as the community bound by work, unemployment meant exclusion from the full membership and social right, moral and material marginalization. The work force encompassed two large groups of workers: those who had a steady job and "those who from then on we started recognizing as 'precariat?': "people trapped for a long time between unemployment and staying at home from one side and from the other trapped by the insecure and unsteady jobs, paid poorly and poorly supervised, hence the places of the more cruel exploitation".<sup>85</sup>

Socio-economic, political and cultural processes through which the Yugoslav society went through inevitably reflected on the position of women. As mentioned previously, paid work and education for women (followed by very advanced legal regulation) were seen as the most important factors of women's emancipation. Yugoslav legislature gave guarantees of gender equality and within it were built all international conventions which regarded the position of women, and after WWII the number of women who were entering the work market constantly rose.<sup>86</sup> Mass penetration of women into the

82 Videti više, SUVIN, *SAMO JEDNOM SE LJUBI. Radiografija SFR Jugoslavije, 1945.-72. Uz hipoteze o početku, kraju i suštini*, 235-238.

83 Market reform of 1965 included so called 4D policy: decentralisation, removal of state control ("deetatizacija"), depolitisation and democratization. See, Gal KIRN, "Klasne borbe u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji", <http://tclinija.net/klasne-borbe-u-socijalistickej-jugoslaviji/> (17. 05. 2017). On goals of Economic Reform, see also MILENKOVICH in GANSCHOW, Thomas, BERTSCH, Gary (eds.), *Comparative Communism: The Soviet, Yugoslav, and Chinese Models*, San Francisco, CA: Freeman, 1976, 352-362. Also, SUVIN, *SAMO JEDNOM SE LJUBI...*, 238-239.

84 See more: Gal KIRN, "Klasne borbe u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji", <http://tclinija.net/klasne-borbe-u-socijalistickej-jugoslaviji/> (17. 05. 2017). On phenomenon of *Gastarbeiter* see: Boris BUDEN, "Gastarbajteri, glasnici budućnosti", <http://www.slobodnifilozofski.com/2012/08/boris-buden-gastarbajteri-glasnici.html> (10. 05. 2017). On educational structure of migrant workers in that period see SUVIN, *Samo jednom se ljubi*, 293.

85 Ibid, 294.

86 From the mid-1950s, the average rate of women employment growth was higher than the average rate of employment growth of all people. The percentage of women participating in total employment in Yugoslavia in 1954 was 24,8%, in 1964 it was 29,2% and in 1974 – 33,9%. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the highest percentage of women employed were of a lower education, followed by middle level education, and as a third category women with higher education. At the beginning of the 1970s this category grew the fastest. Total employment rate in former Yugoslavia from the 1950s to 1990s increased 4,5 times. However, participation of women in total number of employed people is very diverse when different parts of the country are considered. The biggest percentage of women employed was in Slovenia (45,7%), while the lowest was in Kosovo (22,9). GUDAC-DODIĆ, "Položaj žene u Srbiji (1945–2000)", 66.

economy of socialist Yugoslavia brought with it a new situation, where women were active in regular jobs, as socio-political workers and active at home. On the other side, social and political engagement of women started to decrease already from the 1950s. Already then activists of the AFŽ started to record an increase in attitudes about how "we developed socialism in such great measure that woman can go back home and raise children"<sup>87</sup>, and weakening of ideological enthusiasm in combating patriarchal attitudes which were earlier harshly judged as backwards and counter-revolutionary.<sup>88</sup> According to Stojaković's opinion, some of the reasons could be found in the lack of need for major work force engagement. Also, with the introduction of self-management, pressure on companies to show positive results influenced a reduction of subventions for social standard institutions (kindergartens and nurseries) and a discharge of the work force with lower qualifications (which were dominated by women).<sup>89</sup> Along with that, mass migrations into the cities were not followed by adequate measures which would make women from the rural places employable in urban areas<sup>90</sup>, which made them structurally excluded from the public domain, and left them without a possibility to acquire economic independence and burdened with children care. While until then realized social care for children and mothers<sup>91</sup> becomes too expensive, leaving work for one part of women also meant liberation from double burden – in the work place and in household. Although some attempts were made on socializing of jobs which are done at home through opening of services for women, their services were used by a very low number of women.<sup>92</sup> A similar situation was with the restaurants of social nutrition which were mainly used by single men.<sup>93</sup> In a survey conducted by the magazine "Practical woman" (*Praktična žena*) in June 1956 one of the questioned women describes the situation like this: "You say that my work day lasts 13 hours. Thank you a lot! For me it lasts almost 18. I'm exaggerating? I would like you were in my place... First, I'm on my feet for 8 hours, on the counter. Then there's cooking, washing, darning, cleaning. Double shifts, four times going to work and back. And my husband won't even take the laundry to wash or to go to the market when he has time". Another statement is also very illustrative: "I often listen

87 Ibid, 64.

88 Karl KAZER, *Porodica i srodstvo na Balkanu, Analiza jedne kulture koja nestaje*, Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2002, 441.

89 STOJAKOVIĆ, *Rodna perspektiva novina Antifašističkog fronta žena (1945-1953)*, 69.

90 Anđelka MILIĆ, "Preobražaj srodničkog sastava porodice i položaj članova", in *Domaćinstvo porodica i brak u Jugoslaviji: društveno-kulturni, ekonomski i demografski aspekti promene porodične organizacije*, Anđelka MILIĆ, Eva BERKOVIĆ, Ruža PETROVIĆ (eds.), Beograd: Institut za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta, 1981., 157.

91 Videti: Sanja PETROVIĆ-TODOSIJEVIĆ, "Analiza rada ustanova za brigu o majkama i deci na primeru rada jaslica u FNRJ", in *Žene i deca - Srbija u modernizacionim procesima XIX i XX veka*, (ed.) Latinka Perović, Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2006, 176-187.

92 Vera GUDAC DODIĆ, *Žena u socijalizmu - Položaj žene u Srbiji u drugoj polovini XX veka*, Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2006, 107.

93 Ibid, 108.

to a customer on the counter but I don't hear them... I wasn't on a syndicate meeting for four years. I am approximately on the same level (or even lower) on which I was when my first child was born..." For many of them the exit was going back home to the place which "naturally" belongs to them. Or in one of the survey's participant's words: "Now it's like this: if she wants to be good at work she needs to neglect her family; If she does a good job at home than she's not good at work. Therefore it is better for her to go back to the family. Or that we men take over that duty. But we are really not good at that. Just to be clear! I am not generalizing, but in my case it will be exactly like that. Though she does protest, but I doubt that it will help her."<sup>94</sup> Mitra Mitrović, among other, a pre-war communist and one of the prominent members of later abolished AFŽ, writes about this with exasperation: "And maybe as in no other question – suddenly one great span: from full civilization to full discrimination. Nothing unusual. Like from great fortune to total misery, or from completely developed country to total backwardness. But it seems like here, regarding this problem, almost more than in the racial and class issue, enslaving is more obvious, more complex, because it doesn't depend only on the powerful, it doesn't depend on distant and foreign, rich or white, but also on those closest, man, individual, father and brother, even son, who themselves cannot brake the chains of prejudices and attitudes, which are imposed on them too, understandably sometimes long ago, but which became an integral part of life and customs and house rules."<sup>95</sup>

Already from the 1950s the occurrence of a trend different from one during and after the war can also be identified in the press. While the subjects of magazines during and after the war were mainly in connection to the people's liberation struggle, political situation, but also to a new role and equal contribution of women first in the war, and then in the restoration of the country, from the 1950s the cult of femininity and beauty, the culture of dressing and fashion, rejected after the war, are starting to revive. Domestic illustrated and fashion magazines, which share images and news from the fashion world, are starting to be published, imitating their foreign role models.<sup>96</sup> Daily newspapers gradually introduce their *women pages*, women columns which contain mainly advices for managing household, hygiene, and fashion and care. Representation of women as subjects, young and old, from the cities and villages, educated and just newly literate who with their personal effort do something for themselves in the domain of women's rights and common good (whether they are in active women roles or roles from economy of care) which was dominant after the war, is changed with gradual reaffirmation of traditional women roles. Basic subjects of the women's press

94 For all cited statements from the survey "Kako da se pomogne zaposlenoj ženi" (*Praktična žena*, jun, 1956) we owe our gratitude to Jelena Tešija who turned our attention to them.

95 Mitra MITROVIĆ, *Položaj žene u savremenom svetu*, Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1960, 8.

96 VUČETIĆ, *Koka-kola socijalizam. Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*, 32-40.

in the late 1950s are home as a paradigm of bliss and body as a paradigm of a more open sexuality and more direct seduction.<sup>97</sup> This process can also be followed through the representation of women on film, especially in films that were made for wide audiences. Exactly because they interpreted contemporary reality in an easy and unpretentious way with the main goal to entertain, they simultaneously illustrated and followed the changes of Yugoslav society and changes in its orientation and values. Nebojša Jovanović notes that already in the early 1950s the figure of proletarian woman is gradually being changed with the figure of a housewife. As he states, that change is announced by the film "Lake" (*Jezero*, 1950) from the author Radivoj "Lola" Đukić. This film has a specific narrative which varies in future films<sup>98</sup>. For the purpose of this text, we will simplify this narrative thus: male protagonist is a social-realist hero who through devoted work gives his contribution to the restoration of the country and its bright future. In most cases he comes from the city to the village or to another backward part of the state which was not yet touched by the blessing of industrialization and socialist modernization. That mission requests sacrifices which his partner (wife or girlfriend) does not understand and/or is resisting them. Contrast between him and her (devoted only to realization of her own demands and trivial wishes, without a conscience and responsibility to the society, often spoiled, "hysterical" and demanding), are the base of this pattern. Image of women/housewives completely relying on men was no longer reserved for "bourgeois" women, but spreads on women in general. Image of marriage is in the spirit of conservative, monogamous model: man remains a worker and a provider for the family, and woman can be happy only with her man – she is no longer put in relation to work. She is a housewife with the entire burden that this stereotype traditionally bares.<sup>99</sup>

From the mid-1950s, image of a woman is ever more similar to western consumerist representation of femininity in which the level of beauty and attractiveness plays dominant role. From that standpoint is the analysis of the film "Love and Fashion" (*Ljubav i moda*, 1960) from the author Ljubomir Radičević very interesting.<sup>100</sup> Heroine of the film is Sonja Ilić (Beba Lončar) a modern student from a big city whom we see in the introductory scenes of the

97 Neda TODOROVIĆ-UZELAC, *Ženska štampa i kultura ženstvenosti*, Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1987, 113-133.

98 Like films "Zenica" (Zenica) from 1957 from the authors Miloš Stefanović and Jovan Živanović, "It Was Not in Vain" (Nije bilo uzalud, 1957) from the author Nikola Tanhofer, "Only People" (Samo ljudi, 1957) from the author Branko Bauer and "On That Night" (Te noći, 1958) from the author Jovan Živanović.

99 For more, see: Nebojša JOVANOVIĆ, "Gender and Sexuality in the Classical Yugoslav Cinema, 1947-1962", Chapter 4: "How the love was tempered: Labour, romance, and gender asymmetry in the construction cycle 1948-1958", 131-179.

100 Here only a short review of this film will be made, first of all because of cult status which it almost immediately acquired. For a more detailed analysis, see: Maša MALEŠEVIĆ, "Iskušenja socijalističkog raja – refleksije konzumerističkog društva u jugoslovenskom filmu 60-ih godina XX veka", *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU* 57(2)/ 2012:114-115; Takode, Branko Dimitrijević, *Potrošeni socijalizam – Kultura, konzumerizam i društvena imaginacija u Jugoslaviji (1950-1974)*, Beograd: Fabrika knjiga: Peščanik, 2017, 104-113.

film as she drives her *Vespa* through Belgrade's downtown in her pepito dress with a petticoat. In this film, Belgrade looks like any other western metropolis as presented in tourist promotional videos. Displays of wide streets with a picture of airport from which Belgraders fly to Rome and other destinations, young people dressed in the latest fashion and pictures of *Kalemegdan terrace* on which dances are being organized take turns. It is a modern carefree city of joy, music and glamour. The story has two narrative streamlines. First one describes Sonja's and her friends' efforts to get money for summer vacation, because aero club to which they belong cannot provide it for them. Second narrative line follows the effort of Belgrade fashion house *Jugošik* to organize in a short time a fashion show before their completion - fashion house *Jugomoda* which has betrayed their agreement on working together. Chief designer of *Jugošik*, Bora (Rade Bulajić) has a creative block. Inspired by his love for Sonja, he manages to design models for the show. And due to the web of circumstances, *Jugošik* is going to hire a group of young people from the aero club to present fashion collection to the audience instead of fashion models who did not arrive from Italy. In the final of the film we see a spectacular fashion show on the ship, with fireworks and contemporary top stars of Yugoslav popular music. As Maša Malešević states: "The subject of the film itself – fashion, as one of the most explicit products of consumer culture, and practically everything else, from the competition of two companies, or market business, to the complete omission of any reference to political organization of the country and its symbols (only indication is addressing with "friend" ("druže" and "drugarice")), clearly shows to which measure has the idea of consumer society in socialist conditions become acceptable and affirmed practically without restraint".<sup>101</sup> When we think about representation/s of women, the question which should be asked is: what is the place of women in the world whose image this film offers? In this framework, the world of work is a man's world. Although, through the film, we find out that the girls are studying, the fields in which they study are, at least colloquially, connected to aesthetics, like architecture or art history. Studying in this context is not in the function of work, but in "getting a degree". (Or how young men in the film formulate it: "Oh, come on, please don't, Žizabel! Like it's a real science – art history." "I'm telling you a tale. Frescoes, monasteries, Sponza [gothic-renaissance palace in Dubrovnik (comment by M. S.)... and a degree" ["Ma, nemoj, molim te, Žizabel! K'o da je to sad neka nauka - istorija umetnosti." "Pričam ti priču. Freske, manastiri, Sponza [gotičko-renesansna palača u Dubrovniku prim. M.S.]... i diploma"). If a stewardess and a secretary were excluded, whose vocations are in big part a continuation of traditional woman gender role from the private domain, there are no female characters in the movie who are in a relation to work. The secretary, whom we only see in the work place, is presented in situations where she technically assists men in their work, paints

<sup>101</sup> Maša MALEŠEVIĆ, "Iskušenja socijalističkog raja...", 115.

her nails, is making herself pretty or takes out food. Main female character, Sonja, is beautiful, young and nourished, dressed by the latest fashion, object of male desire, inspiration and a muse. Her world is framed by her romance with Bora, her hobby and social events. She is a personification of a woman of the new age and very fast becomes a model to strive to.

It should be mentioned again that this process of reaffirmation of traditional gender stereotypes has developed gradually and it is not singular in its meaning. It is characterized by various contradictions and oscillations between efforts for women emancipation and perpetuating of gender essentialism and it reflected ambivalence of Yugoslav socialism when it comes to women's position. Due to circumstances, entering the Second World War, and after that the participation in rebuilding the country for significant number of women represented the path of politicization and political subjectivization. Their participation was necessary for those activities. The official stance during all the time of the existence of Yugoslav Socialism was that women right to work and to participate in political life is non-questionable attainment of war and revolution. At the same time, representation of the woman's double role as worker and mother, as the one who is primarily responsible for reproduction and family, was never actually questioned. That inevitably led to double burden for women. With the development of "market socialism"<sup>102</sup> and consumer society, one of the results of these processes in the 1960s is that we can talk about two parallel representations of woman being sustained and connected – a woman as a "socialist working human" in public domain, i.e. official discourse with western consumerist representation of femininity in private domain. Dominant ideology of the everyday life is consumerist. Woman-role model is the one who successfully balances between caring mother, homemaker, wife and working woman, at the same time not questioning her own beauty, sexual attraction and femininity. Deep conflicts between the demand for equality of men and women in theory and implicitly encouraged deep gender asymmetries, can be recognized in popular culture of that time. Interesting illustration of this in film can be found in an unpretentious comedy, "Men – yesterday, today and...", directed by Milo Đukanović in 1963 which deals with marital life and male-female relations. Mira (Olivera Marković) is a medical doctor who struggles with constant balancing between her job and household care, her addle-headed husband Žika (Slobodan Perović) and their four children. Outlines of the life of one "average Yugoslav family" can already be seen in opening credits which lead us into the place of events. It is a big, modern residential building on whose terraces we see women shaking carpets, spreading laundry, washing windows and taking children away from the fence. While she's getting ready for work, Mira simultaneously prepares breakfast, tries to prepare two youngest kids for the kindergarten, makes beds and assists Žika in his preparations. While she's taking the kids to the kindergarten, Žika notices that she has no make-up and

<sup>102</sup> About „market socialism“, see more: Gal KIRN, „Klasne borbe u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji“, <http://tclinija.net/klasne-borbe-u-socijalistickoj-jugoslaviji/> (17. 05. 2017)

no nail polish and adds that it wasn't like that when "they got married" ["kad su se uzeli"], that she used to "sleep on the mirror" ["spavala na ogledalu"] in those days. Mira's response is that she "didn't have four children" ["nije imala četvero dece"] when they got married. She takes her kids to the kindergarten where we see other women too giving their children to the kindergarten teacher (who is also a woman). In her office, after an exam she yawns weary. Žika's work place is an office in which we see secretaries diligently typing and managers who are, without exception, all men. On her way home, Mira goes to pick up her children and to the groceries store. While she's preparing lunch, she simultaneously explains to her boss that she is certain that "the records remained in the chamber" ["snimci ostali u komori"] because, unfortunately, she had to hurry home to "make lunch" ["spremi ručak"]. After the lunch with which Žika is not satisfied, Mira vacuums the apartment while Žika reads the papers. Under the excuse that he needs to go to a meeting, in the evening Žika goes to a pub with his colleagues who are all men. On his way back, tipsy Žika hugs his wife who is already asleep in their bed, and says that he would like another kid which Mira refuses with the words: "Žika, please, leave me alone, I am sleepy and tired" ["Žiko, pusti me, molim te. Spava mi se, umorna sam"]. Rest of the film develops in the same direction. Among other things, with the humorous miniatures like the one where Žika tries to explain to his son the difference between his mother and a maid, when the boy notices that his mother does all the tasks which usually does the maid. Or through the dialogue: "How can't you make a lunch when you've eaten so many times?" "I don't know." "But how does mom know?" "She's a woman" ["Kako ne znaš da spremiš ručak, a toliko puta si jeo?" "Ne znam" "A kako mama zna?" "Ona je žena"]. These humorous dialogues outline the horizon of the world in which household care is a "natural" woman's responsibility. After a failed attempt to hire a maid and a quarrel (in which Mira explains to Žika that she is dead-tired, and he complains that she is acting like a "martyr"), Žika makes a suggestion that he takes a month off on sick leave and take care of the house and children. Shortly after this event the tables turn: Žika is no longer interested in nights out because he is too tired in the evening, he spends his time exclusively with the neighbours with whom he exchanges advices concerning household and marital life, and Mira completely overtakes his earlier ("male") behaviour.<sup>103</sup> After many complications in which we see a marital crisis and a social pressure on Žika to behave as "a man should" ["kako se ponaša muškarac"] (a ridicule of the neighbours, threats of being fired, because he "will ruin them all" ["sve će ih upropastiti"]<sup>104</sup>), the denouement which film gives is very interesting. The solution is not in going back, but in a different division of tasks where work in a household will be a responsibility of

103 Which can be interpreted as a sort of acknowledgement that male and female roles (as expected behaviour) are closely connected to, in this case, gender division of labour.

104 Colleague Rade (Bata Živojinović) warns Žika to get himself straight: "If our wives see this, we are bound to wear an apron" ["Ako ovo vide naše žene, ne ginu nam kecelje"].

men and women. In the final of the movie, colleagues from the beginning of the film can be seen as they wash dishes or make desserts, and on the buildings terraces men and women working together.

Regarding the position of women in Yugoslavia it is important to understand that the chasm between centre and the periphery is one of the key matters for understanding their position. Position of a woman in Yugoslavia varied considerably in relation to, not only their education and ability to travel, but also on the part of Yugoslavia in which they lived in and was it an urban centre or not. Simultaneously there were significant differences in the level of development of different Yugoslav republics, in possibilities and quality of life in developed and undeveloped, rural and urban areas of the country. Representation of a Yugoslav woman as "emancipated" and "westernized" illustrates the experience only of middle and higher middle class women from urban centres. Experience of most of the people (men and women) from rural and people living between rural and urban areas, as a rule, did not find its place in mythologized image of social progress in socialist Yugoslavia. Image of people on the margins of Yugoslav socialism was introduced in a significant measure by directors of the *New Yugoslav Film* (so called *Black Wave*).<sup>105</sup> While on the one hand, Black Wave expanded the repertoire of male characters and the ways in which they were presented, there is an impression<sup>106</sup> that in the representation of women stereotypical characters of women-victims dominated. Even when female characters are presented through various radical strategies in relation to representation of female body and sex, they do not go too far from stereotype displays of femininity, remaining in the frames of patriarchal pattern where female attempts on resistance are punished with violence, death and insanity. In a sense, anticipating the decades which were to come.

## Summary and concluding remarks

The purpose of this essay was the analyses of the ways in which change in film representation of women from partisan as a revolutionary subject into house keepers and consumerists at the end of the 60s, related to changes in the socio-political context of socialist Yugoslavia and to abandonment of the issue of the emancipation of women as a social and political issue. It started from the simple assumptions that films occur in a certain socio-political context and that some value orientations are necessarily transcoded<sup>107</sup> into specific

105 *New Yugoslav Film* (for which later the name *Black Wave* was established) is regarding films created from 1961 to 1972. As an expression of rebellion against unachieved ideals of Yugoslav socialism it points to the cracks in an idealized image of socialist system: drawing attention to unemployment, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, economic poverty, marginalization of different social groups and similar. For a short review, see: KUK, *Istorija filma II*, 530-537. Videti više na primer: Greg DE CUIR, *Jugoslovenski crni talas*, Beograd: Filmski centar Srbije, 2011.

106 Any real conclusion demands deeper research.

107 Here the expression transcoding is used as determined by Douglas Kellner as processes and ways of transmitting social discourses into media texts. Douglas KELLNER, *Medijska kultura*, Beograd: Clio, 2004, 95.



films. From that perspective, film representations of women also provide the space for evaluating success but also the limits of the emancipatory politics of the socialist Yugoslavia when it comes to achieving full equality between men and women. At the same time, in the limited domains of female emancipation during socialism, the weaknesses of the Yugoslavian emancipatory project in general are being interloped.

An important part of the socialist project of modernization whose goal should have been *freeing the work and the man* and society based on solidarity, the value of work itself and autonomy of individual and society on the whole, was the liberation of women. Accomplishing gender equality in all segments of social life on one side, should have been the confirmation of surpassing traditional (patriarchal) society and the successful overcoming of all the barriers on the road to modernization of Yugoslavian society; on the other side, the evidence of the righteousness of the Yugoslav road into socialism. Mass participation of women in the war and in the revolution and ideological framework of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia created a political environment where formal and legal equality of women became part of the general principles of the party state. Paid labour and education of women (followed by very advanced legal regulations) were seen as the most important factors of women's emancipation and it should have continued to be developed and to encompass all aspects of the social life. At the same time, women's primary responsibility for reproduction and care for the family and household was never questioned. In the situation where most women worked outside the home as well, that resulted in double burden for women and consequently their passivity, as well focusing on lesser paid positions with small social power. Abolishing Women Anti Fascistic Front (AFŽ) and making the issue of female equality into a "common social issue... the issue of a general fight, the strength of socialism which is led by the Communist Association and Social Association of the Working People, the bearer of the socialist education of masses"<sup>108</sup>, is coinciding with times of the introduction of market elements into the Yugoslav economy, sharper competition between companies and gradual development of the consumer society. The already achieved level of what was imagined as the "infrastructure of female liberation" (nurseries, kindergartens, public kitchens, cheap self-serving restaurants and alike) becomes too expensive. In the decades to come we witness the process of reaffirmation of patriarchal women gender stereotypes, accompanying roles and the area of social life. The primary domain of a woman is the sphere of private, family and home, house work, care for children, the old and weak. Her character is sexualized or transformed into a home angel who seeks its self-fulfilment in love, marriage and a perfectly equipped home. A homemaker is again discovered as a repressed subject whose unrecognized and unpaid (physical and affective) work enables

<sup>108</sup> From the *Resolution on creation of Yugoslav Women Association*, umbrella organisation which was to replace AFŽ, quoted according to Ivana PANTELIĆ, *Partizanke kao građanke. Društvena emancipacija partizanki u Srbiji 1945–1953*, Beograd: ISI and Evoluta, 2011, 127.

family functioning, but also the functioning of society as a whole. Already in the middle of the sixties we can locate the beginning of the period which Darko Suvinnames names as *les vingtminables* and finally even as *déshonorantes* (twenty inglorious and finally even despicable years).<sup>109</sup> According to him, in this period, the turn toward the market without planning and toward party territorially divided polyarchy represents a basic withdrawal from building a society based on justice, solidarity and human emancipation.<sup>110</sup> Instead, already in the seventies, turning toward traditional sentiments, from national to cultural traditionalism, in short, turning toward conservative cultural values and their political expression, nationalism, is visible.<sup>111</sup>

In that sense, in spite of huge steps that were made during the socialist Yugoslavia when it comes to improvement of women's rights, very early withdrawal from achieving full equality and equity between men and women, can be treated as anticipation of the giving up that came later. Inclusion into the fight to free the country as a fighter and worker in the background, then into building the country after the Second World War was for a lot of women a process of politicization and political subjectivation. Apart from realizing their own oppression, part of that process was realizing that for a change of their own position it was necessary to fight not only against occupiers, but often against the prejudices of comrades and their own friends (during and after the war). Transformation of the relatively autonomous AFŽ into mere transmission of the party's will and then its abolishment in 1953 is the sign of what remained the constant for the duration of the existence of the socialist Yugoslavia – lack of readiness of the paternalistic state-party structures to truly submit levers of control over society and incite more intensive development of the democracy from below in which the women would be the actors of their own freedom. The control of the women's organized activities and defining its activities from the party and state, has basically led to depoliticisation of women and so called women issues. Consequently, nominal social egalitarianism and patriarchal conscious which is built on hierarchies could co-exist without interference. Repressing the issue of equality and equity as second class in relation to the class issue, represented a lack of understanding that existence of appropriate institutional and normative framework and appropriate politics is necessary but not enough. Possibilities of creating a society based on equality and solidarity are in direct relation with the change of cultural patterns and

<sup>109</sup> Darko SUVIN, *SAMO JEDNOM SE LJUBI. Radiografija SFR Jugoslavije, 1945.-72. Uz hipoteze o početku, kraju i suštini*, 319.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid. Todor Kuljić thought that inside Yugoslavia decentralization and removal of state control and transmitting jurisdiction to republics instead of socializing of the state ("podruštvljavanje države") has led to essential strengthening of the republic bureaucracies which represent themselves as the protectors of the republic, and in time, of the national interests. In the decades to come the republic borders become ethnical, and the first carriers of these processes are the republic party oligarchies. Todor KULJIĆ, "TITO-sociološko istorijska studija", Zrenjanin: Gradska narodna biblioteka "Žarko Zrenjanin", 2004, 108-126.

<sup>111</sup> See more: Boris BUDEN, Želimir ŽILNIK, *Uvod u prošlost*, Novi Sad: kuda.org, 2013, 103-111. [http://www.kuda.org/sites/default/files/Uvod%20u%20proslot\\_web.pdf](http://www.kuda.org/sites/default/files/Uvod%20u%20proslot_web.pdf) (12.05.2017).

values whose basis is the belief in hierarchy between human beings of unequal characteristics and unequal possibilities for access to social power. Power inequality between men and women is the first relationship of domination and exclusion with which the persons during socialisation encounter. In that sense, it is a model for accepting as “natural” other systems of domination and diverse hierarchies of power<sup>112</sup> which share the same cultural basis – belief that *superiors* should control the *inferiors*.

Re-examining the socialist project of women’s emancipation and its reach offers important lessons for rethinking today’s emancipatory projects. The issue of social justice is more relevant than ever. Every re-examination of possible alternatives demands the need to analyse the ways in which social structures reproduce the relationships between domination and exploitation, limiting the life chances of whole categories of people and keeping them in a repressed position. In addition, no less important, cultural patterns and narratives which justify such relationships, strengthen them and reproduce them continuously. Such re-examination would have to include various levels on which the structures of privilege and oppression are being reproduced, because they are complementary and inter-dependant. It is important to recognize the complexity of how class, gender, nation and lack of agreement to choose between injustices are interloped. Only then it is possible to open the space for political projects which aim for radical society change, revolutionary political movements that will transform the whole society which is not crossed with lines of class but also gender, racial and heterosexual and every other form of repression and exploitation. Only when approaching phenomena in their whole complexity, recognizing the ways the oppression is built into institutional and social structures, as well as the aspects of culture that make it possible and acceptable, the alternatives to hegemonic model based on the logic of profit, capital and nation, become possible – with the understanding that without creating a society of active citizens, who take and carry responsibility for political processes and solving social issues, that will just stay another unfulfilled promise.

112 John L. HODGE, *The Cultural Basis of Racism and Group Oppression: An Examination of Traditional “Western” Concepts, Values and Institutional Structures Which Support Racism, Sexism and Elitism*, Berkeley California: Two Riders Press, 1975, 233.

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## Sažetak

### **OD PARTIZANKI DO DOMAĆICA: PREDSTAVLJANJE ŽENA U JUGOSLAVENSKOM FILMU**

Marijana STOJČIĆ – Nađa DUHAČEK

Ovaj rad analizira načine na koje se predstavljanje žena promijenilo od partizanki kao revolucionarnih tema, do kućanica i potrošačica u kasnim 60tim godinama. Ova je promjena vezana uz društveno-političke promjene u jugoslavenskom kontekstu i uz napuštanje ideje ženske emancipacije koja je osmišljena i prihvaćena tijekom i nakon rata. Naime, partizanska borba za oslobađanje od nacističke okupacije te socijalistička revolucija dva su temeljna mita Socijalističke Jugoslavije. Žene su igrale aktivne uloge u toj borbi, kao borci ali i daleko od borbenih linija (logistička podrška, špijuniranje, liječenje i dr.). Također, jednakost između muškaraca i žena je bio važan segment službene ideologije države. Ovi su se narativi kasnije i zabilježili u kolektivnoj memoriji kroz književnost, film, glazbu i stripove.

U našem radu istražujemo pet načina prikazivanja ženstvenosti u jugoslavenskom filmu: (1) partizanka, (2) žena u pozadini, (3) suradnica, (4) radnica i (5) domaćica, kako bi prikazali načine na koje predstavljanje žena između 1947. i kasnih 60tih korespondira službenoj politici emancipacije te na koji način ovi prikazi korespondiraju svakodnevicu tog vremena. Nadalje, ovo predstavlja analizu filma sagledanog kao skup priča koje su jugoslavenski muškarci i žene sami iznosili o sebi. Ovakav pristup ima potencijal ukazati na antagonizme unutar društvenog konteksta u kojem su ovi filmovi nastajali, tako što naglašava nedostižne ideale slobode i emancipacije. Istovremeno, cilj ove analize nije samo otvoriti još jedan vid istraživanja prošlosti, već također ponovno razmotriti emancipacijski potencijal kojeg ovakvo istraživanje pruža danas.