Styling Socialist Consumption:

Discourses of Sartorial Appearance

in the 1960s Yugoslav Women's Magazine *Bazar*

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Abstract:

This paper explores attempts to define a modern, socialist manner of consumption by analyzing representations and discussions of the Yugoslav women's magazine *Bazar*. In the socialist state, women's magazines were supposed to contribute to the socialization of women, educating the readers on what was valued in society. As the material conditions gradually improved in the postwar period, they assumed the role of navigating new lifestyles for women who appreciated material well-being. Fashion became one of their central concerns because sufficient clothing was to be granted to the population not only as an essential need but also as a token of civilization. Consumption of clothing can serve both as a marker of belonging to a group and as a mirror of social distinctions. Therefore, it turned out to be a field of vigorous attempts to establish a socialist style to demonstrate their achieved modernity, balancing the egalitarian principles and manifestation of individual and social distinctions. Through the analysis of their coverage, this study aims to investigate what was envisaged as the socialist style and why individuals, especially women in this case, were constructed as consumers in the socialist context of Yugoslavia.

Female concerns about outfits were involved in their advancement in society. As new entrants to public life, women were required to cultivate their aesthetic understanding and adapt their cultural sophistication into daily moderate forms, not threatening conventional ideals of feminine beauty. Thus, an appreciation of high aesthetic standards was embedded in the project of creating new socialist women. Yugoslav designers endeavored to incorporate the dominant, transnational influence of haute couture into the domestic context and to make them an essential component of the socialist expression of modernity. However, by celebrating haute couture as a peak of aesthetics, they practically justified the hierarchical structure of cultural dominance that seems antithetical to their egalitarian claims. Although socialist fashion needed to meet high-quality standards and to be accessible to everyone at the same time, Yugoslav production and retail systems were not coordinated to fulfill those requiring ideological tasks. The disparity between proposals in display and limitations in production and distribution was never bridged, which provoked severe discontent and frustration among the population. Nevertheless, the women's magazine continued raising the expectations for better quality and appearance of produced goods under the name of cultural education to cultivate the citizens' tastes in a proper, rational direction. The realization of the socialist fashion style was claimed as a right and a moral obligation for women. Therefore, the domestic industry was obliged to offer desirable products to meet the needs. When manufacturers could not fulfill their responsibilities, the editors criticized them instead of problematizing the increased demands from the readers. The needs and desires of contemporary consumers were turned into reasonable requests of socialist citizens in the magazine's narratives.

Table of Contents

Introduction:

> 'I hate it,' says Agnes, an editor at a scientific journal in Budapest, pointing to Vogue. 'It makes me feel so miserable I could almost cry. Just look at this paper – glossy, shiny, like silk. You can't find anything like this around here. Once you have seen it, it immediately sets not only new standards, but a visible boundary. Sometimes I think that the real Iron Curtain is made of silky, shiny images of pretty women dressed in wonderful clothes, of pictures from women's magazines.'[1]

Citing her friend's comment, Slavenka Drakulić, a journalist born in 1949 in Croatia, a part of Yugoslavia at that time, describes a striking contrast of a striking contrast of material experiences between the two sides of the Iron Curtain. The images in magazines, movies, or videos coming from the Western side stirred women's frustrations in Eastern Europe and their longing for a world of material abundance because, she claims, the socialist society created "the special kind of uniformity coming of an equal distribution of poverty and the neglect of people's real needs," where the pursuit of beauty was supposed to be abandoned.[2] However, on the other hand, spending her childhood under such circumstances, she recalled that as a small girl, she

[1] Slavenka Drakulić, *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* (New York: Haper Collins Publishers, 1993) 27.
[2] *Ibid*. 23.

dressed her dolls in brightly colored paper clothes copied from her mother's fashion magazine, wanting them to be pretty. If the state's ideology had not accepted the pursuit of beauty and created uniformity, what would the socialist fashion magazine convey to her? Why did she make her dolls dressed in a plentiful variety of beautiful clothes and accessories, "all in the latest style," whereas a Barbie doll represented "traps and cliches of the Hollywood idea of beauty"?[3] Her reflection shows her mixed feelings about beauty and material abundance but also indicates that she employed certain criteria for them.

Aesthetic practices in socialist Eastern Europe were not mere complete rejection nor a desperate imitation of the images from the other side of the Iron Curtain. The socialist society also discussed and shaped their own ideas, visions, and expectations of aesthetic and material culture responding to their changing environments. This paper explores attempts to define a modern, socialist manner of consumption by analyzing representations and discussions of Yugoslav women's magazines. In the socialist state, women's magazines were supposed to contribute to the socialization of women, educating the readers on what was valued in society. As the material conditions gradually improved in the postwar period, they, in fact, assumed the role of navigating new lifestyles for women who appreciated material well-being. Fashion became one of their central concerns because sufficient clothing was to be granted to the population not only as an essential need but also as a token of civilization. Consumption of

[3] *Ibid.* 60, 63.

clothing turned out to be a field of vigorous attempts to establish a socialist style to demonstrate their achieved modernity, balancing the egalitarian principles and manifestation of individual and social distinctions. What ought to be socialist fashion? How should a respectable socialist citizen be dressed? Through the analysis of popular magazines' coverage, this study aims to investigate what was envisaged as the socialist style of consumption and why individuals, especially women in this case, were constructed as consumers in the socialist context of Yugoslavia.

Scholarly interest in the history of consumption emerged during the latter half of the twentieth century. The term "consumption" literally means ingesting food or drink, purchase and use of goods or services, and reception of information or entertainment, but it also encompasses a broader range of activities related to production, distribution, evaluation, and acquisition. What attracts the interest of recent scholars is the idea that these practices entail symbolic communication between individuals and groups.[4] Consumption is understood not merely as a practice of using up things, energy, or time but as a means of shaping social relationships and self-understanding. In this form of social communication, certain objects can assume symbolic, cultural, and social value in historically and geographically specified conditions. The attention to social and cultural aspects of consumption had increased against the backdrop of the Cold

[4] Frank Trentmann, Introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 8-20.

War. When the main battleground of the political and ideological clash between capitalism and communism moved to the issues of living standards and social welfare, consumer goods and opportunities became symbolic and communicative weapons at the forefront of the competition over the visions of the good life, on which domestic legitimacy and international prestige hinged.[5]

Yet, socialist states were not supposed to generate consumer societies "where shoppers' desires supplanted genuine human needs and where the symbolic, expressive, cultural value of the goods and services purchased became a primary factor of individual and group identity."[6] In the socialist ideology, the citizens were expected to ground their subjectivities not on their participation in markets as consumers but rather on their rights and responsibilities as producers.[7] Consumer demands were to be disciplined to conform to the needs of rationalized production. From the view of capitalist counterparts, the shopping experiences under such preconditions have been understood as a form of state repression, where individual needs were restrained by unfunctional centralized production that caused chronic shortages of materials and commodities.[8] After the fall of the Eastern Bloc, this view seemed to be underpinned, and

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[5] Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt. Introduction to *Getting and Spending European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Susan Strasser et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 1-5.

[6] Patrick H. Patterson, *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2011) 2.

[7] *Ibid*.

[8] Ferenc Fehér, Ágnes Heller, and György Márkus, *Dictatorship over Need: An Analysis of Soviet Societies* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983) and János Kornai, *Economics of Shortage* (Amsterdam: North Holland Press, 1980)

socialist material culture has been retrospectively associated with suppressive mechanisms of the system, as Drakulić recalled.

A growing proliferation of works on consumption in Central and Eastern Europe proposes to understand the experiences of this region in the context of its own logic and mechanism of the socialist society, not defined by the perspective of a contemporary capitalist consumer society marked by constant stimulation of consumer demands and abundance to fulfill them.[9] Those studies attempt to detach the history of this region from the Cold War binaries that contrast the capitalist material culture as generating and indulging people's genuine desires and the socialist one as suppressing them.[10] They have revealed that, as in capitalist societies, the pursuit of various consumer goods, services, and experiences was crucially linked to the ideas of citizenship, classes, and gender roles in the socialist settings and became a more central concern in the socialist everyday life.[11]

The state's active involvement was crucial in creating socialist consumer minds. The state institutions and some industries were responsive to the desires of consumers, forming and stimulating expectations for products of better quality and satisfaction with shopping

[9] Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger, introduction to *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe,* eds. Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) 3-20.
[10] Susan E. Reid, "Cold War binaries and the culture of consumption in the late Soviet home," *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 8, no.1 (2016): 17-43.
[11] For example, Bren and Neuburger eds. *Communism Unwrapped…,* Susan E. Reid and David Crowley eds. *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*, (Oxford: Berg, 2000) and Scarboro Cristofer et al. eds. *The Socialist Good Life: Desire, Development, and Standards of Living in Eastern Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020)

experiences, but in differentiated forms from capitalist abundance and indulgence.[12] What should be noted is that this very association of material conditions with the evaluation of the governing system was formed and reinforced through the efforts of the socialist state to designate itself as responsible for determining and fulfilling material needs. For this very reason, when it turned out that the domestic supply was inadequate to satisfy increasingly diversified demand, the socialist material culture was recognized more than merely as a result of the failed production but also as an indication of the state's negligence of its citizens.[13] Although the gap between the increasing expectations and the actual conditions of production and distribution was indeed never bridged, the states' active commitment to the historical transformation of dominant mental attitudes toward consumption should not be overlooked for understanding the emergence of a distinctive consumer society in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Contextualization of the consumer experiences under state socialism opens a possibility of regional and periodical comparison. Germany's twentieth-century history especially provides perspectives on chronological continuities from the prewar period to the postwar and similarities between different camps of the Cold War composition in terms of the development of consumer societies.[14] Analysis of East German consumer culture points out that their

[12] Scarboro Cristofer et al. eds. *The Socialist Good Life: Desire, Development, and Standards of Living in Eastern Europe*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020)

[13] Krisztina Fehérváry, "Goods and States: The Political Logic of State-Socialist Material Culture," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no 2 (2009): 426-459.

[14] 斎藤哲,『消費生活と女性-ドイツ社会史（1920-70 年）の一側面』[Akira Saito, Consumer Life and Women – An Aspect of German Social History (1920-1970)] (Tokyo: Nihon-Keizai-Hyoron-Sha, 2007)

cultural practices of acquiring, using, and consuming goods were increasingly connected to differentiating characteristics such as gender and generation and enhanced their distinction value in a supposedly classless and egalitarian society, which is also true of all modern industrial societies.[15] Judd Stitziel's study of East German fashion projects demonstrates that in competing with each other for legitimacy and claims to represent the genuine interest and continuation of the German nation, both West and East Germany shared a vision of modernity and an ambivalence about a mass culture that stemmed from the growth of mass consumption earlier in the century. He argues that the perspective on the attempts to emulate foreign cultural forms elucidates the transnational fluidity of cultural phenomena rather than "the facile use of the concepts of Americanization, Westernization, and Sovietization whose top-down perspective often has led to one-sided models of political, economic, and cultural borrowing."[16]

In this approach, the case of Yugoslavia can be an intriguing place to observe cross-cultural interaction. In spite of the less direct state intervention and the relatively better conditions of supply in the domestic market, Yugoslav consumers had never been freed from political and economic restraints nor the frustration of unavailable goods. Sociological and anthropological research in the post-socialist period, based on the method of oral history, shed light on the

[15] Ina Merkel, "Consumer Culture in the GDR, or How the Struggle for Antimodernity Was Lost on the Battleground of Consumer Culture," In *Getting and Spending European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Susan Strasser et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 281-299.

[16] Judd Stitziel, *Fashioning Socialism: Clothing, Politics and Consumer Culture in East German*, (New York: Berg, 2005) 9.

centrality of search, negotiations, and tactics for obtaining scarce desired goods in socialist everyday life. Individual memories and testimonies have helped to understand the function of "a specific moral economy where social relations are shaped by obtaining, using, exchanging and creating the social meaning of material artifacts" under Yugoslav socialism.[17]

The rise of the notable consumer society in socialist Yugoslavia has been frequently explained in connection to the country's openness to the Western bloc and political and economic decentralization. After the break with the Eastern bloc in 1948, the country turned to economic ties with non-socialist states. Apart from the Soviet centralist model, the party invented a new Marxist concept of "workers' self-management" and advanced decentralization. In the following decades, it partly introduced a market system through several economic reforms and opened itself to the cultural influences both from the capitalist and the socialist sides. This political and economic shift allowed its citizens to be exposed to an increasing number of publications, radio and TV programs, and films, which communicated different visions of consumer abundance.[18]

Interaction with the capitalist market culture is an influential factor in understanding the formation of Yugoslav consumer practices. State openness enabled industry and trade officials

[17] Breda Luther, "Shame, Desire and Longing for the West. A Case Study in Consumption." In *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, eds. Breda Luther and Maruša Pušnik (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2010), 342-377.
[18] Radina Vučetić, *Coca-Cola Socialism: Americanization of Yugoslav Culture in the Sixties*, trans. John K. Cox. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2018)

to absorb ideas and techniques imported through, for instance, scholarly and trade literature, professional exchanges, international conferences, trade fairs, and business alliances. This direct contact with capitalist marketing and advertising creators and familiarity with their ideas stamped the theory and practice of Yugoslav commercial promotion.[19] The general populace brought back ideas and expectations of desirable shopping experiences through the opportunities of traveling and working abroad.[20] The domestic development of consumer culture cannot be grasped without taking the porousness of the Iron Curtain into account.

Even so, it does not necessarily mean that the ever-increasing desires for iconic Western styles and goods were an irresistible, erosive force to the socialist disciplined forms of consumption. The assumption of capitalist cultural influence as unquestioned, pervasive power reproduces the simplified, dichotomous picture of the socialist society, presuming the clear division of the public and private sphere, where imposed official ideology, on the one hand, was confronted by resisting popular culture, on the other hand.[21] The boundaries between formal and informal practices were more blurred, fluid, and often overlapping. The technologies and aesthetic forms crossing the Cold War divide indeed had a significant influence on the everyday practices of

[19] Patterson, *Bought and Sold*…, 49-108.
[20] On the connections with Italy, Francesca Rolandi, "Yugoslavia Looking Westward: Transnational Consumer Contact with Italy During the 1960s" In *The Cultural Life of Capitalism in Yugoslavia: (Post)Socialism and Its Other,* eds. Jelača Dijana et al. (London: Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 2017) 191-207.
[21] Breda Luther and Maruša Pušnik, "The Lure of Utopia: Socialist Everyday Spaces" In *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, eds. Breda Luther and Maruša Pušnik (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2010) 2-4.

producing, designing, marketing, retailing, and purchasing articles under state socialism. However, they were constantly confronted with skepticism and disapproval, too. Partly embracing or rejecting imported ideas and forms, domestic actors from state leadership and functionaries to ordinary citizens actively incorporated them into their visions of socialist modernity.[22]

Among a small number of studies that examine the relationship between the specific postwar historical background and the culture of consumption in Yugoslavia, an earlier work was done by Predrag Marković. He elaborates on how the changes of political and economic policies had influenced the country's everyday cultural practice after the break with the Eastern Bloc.[23] Igor Duda examines the state organization's effort to promote consumption and leisure habits among the workers, mainly focusing on the republic of Croatia. His works delineate the state endorsement of consumption and leisure time as a form of social welfare.[24] Patrick H. Patterson underlines the role of marketing and advertising specialists in creating a market culture that advanced and sustained consumer desire in Yugoslav society.[25] Their studies show the plurality

[22] Susan E. Reid and David Crowley eds. *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 2000)
[23] Predrag J. Marković, *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada, 1941–1965* [Belgrade between East and West, 1941–1965] (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 1996)
[24] Igor Duda. *Pronađeno blagostanje. Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* [Well-Being Found. Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in Croatia in the 1970s and 1980s], (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010) and *U potrazi za blagostanjem. O povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* [In Pursuit of Well-being: On History of Leisure and Consumer Society in Croatia in the 1950s and 1960s], (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005)
[25] Patrick H. Patterson, "Truth Half Told: Finding the Perfect Pitch for Advertising and Marketing in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1950-1991," *Enterprise & Society: The International Journal of Business History* 84, no. 2 (June 2003):179-225.

of actors and the interplay between them rather than a unidirectional exercise of power in forming socialist consumer desires and habits.

This research focuses on the popular press to observe its power exercise from the fashion editors and designers responsible for designing and disseminating the official sartorial practices. As research materials, this paper mainly analyzes the leading Yugoslav fashion magazine *Bazar*. It was first printed in 1964 and is still published in Serbia in the post-Yugoslav period. Women's magazines provide essential sources for examining the culture of clothing. Assuming the role of socializing women, they increasingly began introducing the latest clothes, cosmetics, hairstyles, and leisure activities and proposing a new lifestyle of women who appreciated improved material well-being after abandoning the rationing system.[26] By communicating their views on fashionable pieces and formulating collective representations, well-circulated magazines exerted influence on forming norms, customs, and self-understanding of individuals and groups. Still, it needs to be noted that their discourse is neither consistent nor monolithic. Scholars investigating British women's magazines point out that textual and visual analysis reveals multiple contradictions in the representations of femininity on the pages, and this complexity makes room for readers to negotiate interpretations.[27] Following the line of the

[26] Ana Panić, "Dressing in the Latest Fashion: Clothing between Ideology and Consumerism," In *They Never Had It Better? Modernization of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia.* eds. Ivana Dobrivojević et al. (Belgrade: Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2014) 64-66.

[27] Ros Ballaster et al. *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine* (Basingstoke London: Macmillan Press, 1991) 4.

official view, popular magazines conveyed messages mixed with unofficial practices and attitudes of editors and readers. Thus, they can serve as a window to see the variability and tentativeness of the socialist project in consumption at the level of daily representations.

The women's magazines provide readers with the pictures of ideals and dreams, not the reality. The analysis treats issues of *Bazar* published in the latter half of the 1960s when industrialization and cultural liberation in the previous decade gradually changed the official attitude toward fashion. Published in Belgrade, the state's political and economic center, *Bazar* was intended to propagandize envisaged urban sartorial practices to the people from rural areas. The focus on its coverage might obscure the actual social, economic, and regional disparities within the Yugoslav population. More detailed regional comparisons would be required in order to understand the differences by class status, age, and region reflected in actual consumer preferences and responses to goods.[28] However, this study puts more significance on the fact that the vision of modern lifestyles was circulated and shared across the regions despite the lingering gaps in the modernization process. By highlighting the endeavor to create a common Yugoslav style, it attempts to reexamine the historical relevance of the socialist consumer project to the everyday experience in Yugoslavia.

[28] On the tensions of urban-rural split and social stratification accompanied by the acceptance of the new consumer habits, Isabel Ströhle, "Of social inequalities in a socialist society. The creation of a rural underclass in Yugoslav Kosovo," In *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslav Socialism*, eds. Rory Archer et al. (London, New York: Routledge, 2016) 112-131.

Chapter 1: Sketching Socialist Abundance

After the Communists took power in Yugoslavia, they had to not only tackle the urgent problems of material poverty but also envisage a future of prosperity. They faced the pressing issues of maintaining the population and reconstructing the country in devastation resulting from conflicts with the occupying force of the Axis and from internecine warfare among competing domestic factions. Before and during the war, all the ideological camps, communism, liberalism, and fascism, struggled for alternative visions of modernity.[29] The new communist leadership thus was conscious of the need to establish their legitimacy by promising a brighter future while ensuring citizens' material needs. This chapter is devoted to the postwar ideological and economic preconditions, in which consumption increasingly became a central matter of Yugoslav social life.

1-1: Consumer Orientation of Yugoslav Socialism

The project of socialist good life was discussed even in the immediate postwar period when severe deprivation characterized the material conditions of the new Yugoslav state, as was the case throughout Europe. It was the period of central control of economic activities to manage

[29] Sabina Mihelj "The Politics of Privatization: Television Entertainment and the Yugoslav Sixties," In *The Socialist Sixties: Crossing Borders in the Second World*, eds Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013) 251.

limited resources. The first five-year plan gave priority to the development of heavy industry and put immediate improvement of living standards on the back burner.[30] The production of consumer goods in light industry was not the chief concern for the party leadership in this period. Still, already on the occasion of its adoption in the spring of 1947, the president of the Planning Commission, Andrija Hebrang, promised a better life, better nutrition, clothing and housing, enhanced health welfare, education, and cultural cultivation.[31] The communist party proclaimed that the plan for rapid industrialization was to be implemented with the goal of a new, better life for the population, at least at their word.

A significant shift in domestic economic policy did not occur at the time of the acceptance of financial aid from the capitalist states nor of the formulation of worker's self-management as an alternative model of socialism. It concurred with more general changes in political and cultural liberalization in the Eastern Bloc after the death of Stalin in 1953. Even though Yugoslav communists had already parted company with Stalinism due to the split between Tito and Stalin in 1948, the relaxed political tension in Thaw allowed Yugoslavia to spare its military budget and to invest in the light industry. In a speech in Karlovac on July 27, 1955, Tito announced a reduction in the construction of capital goods and an increase in the production of

[30] Predrag J. Marković, "Ideologija standarda Jugoslovenskog režima 1948–1965 [Yugoslav Regime's Ideology of Living Standards 1948-1965]," *Tokovi istorije: Časopis Instituta za noviju istoriju Srbije* 1, no.2 (1996): 8-9.

[31] Igor Duda, "Uvod: od nazadnosi do svemira, od projekta do zbornika[Introduction: From Backwardness to Universality, from the Project to the Collection], In *Stvaranje socijalističkoga čovjeka: Hrvatsko društvo i ideologija jugoslavenskoga socijalizma* [Making of the Socialist Man: Croatian Society and the Ideology of Yugoslav Socialism] ed. Igor Duda (Zagreb-Pula: Srednja Europa, 2017) 12-13.

consumer goods. In the same year, at the plenary session of the Executive Council of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists, he reconfirmed the need to invest in improving living standards. His aide, the party ideologue Edvard Kardelj, argued that it was no longer possible to put pressure on working people, harming the grounds of party's political legitimacy.[32] In the second five-year plan from 1957 to 1961, the improvement of living standards was placed as the third priority, and then in the seven-year plan from 1964 to 1970, it was a top priority of the development.[33]

The party further legitimated the manifestation of people's consumer desire by converting promises of prosperity into expanding consumer opportunities. In the spring of 1958, the Yugoslav League of Communists adopted the new program that guaranteed "the maximal satisfaction of personal and collective people's needs."[34] The program set out the policies of raising consumption levels to catch up with the tempo of more rapid economic development and to satisfy the consumer demand for a better supply by emphasizing the need for widening the network of shops.[35] At the same time, it noted a moral obligation to maintain the balance between the collective egalitarian principle and the pursuit of individual well-being. The discussion of the required elements and tasks for realizing a socialist personality stipulated that

[32] Marković, "Ideologija standarda…," 14-15.
[33] Ibid, 15-16.
[34] Igor Duda, "When Capitalism and Socialism Get Along Best: Tourism, Consumer Culture and the Idea of Progress in *Malo Misto*," in *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslav Socialism,* eds. Rory Archer et al. (London: Routledge, 2016) 173.
[35] Ibid,173.

a socialist citizen ought not to achieve personal interest at the expense of the common good and not be subject to egoism.[36] A sense of morality and responsibility as a member of the self-management body was underlined, while his active material concern was acknowledged as an interest of the socialist individuals. Social property and production were to be managed by "united working people as producers and consumers."[37] Desires as consumers were officially integrated into the personality and moral obligation of socialist citizens.

Reorientation toward satisfaction of consumer desire was underpinned by an extremely high rate of economic growth that the country had experienced by the middle of the 1960s. From 1952 to 1960, real GDP grew at a rate of 6.7 percent, and from 1961 to 1965, the rate was just slightly lower at 6.2 percent. For the same periods, consumption grew 4.8 percent and 4.7 percent, respectively. Although the increase in real personal income had been slow between 1952 and 1960 at a rate of 1 percent per annum, it dramatically rose during the following five years at an annual rate of 9 percent.[38] The savings deposit in 1965 was 25 times higher than in 1955.[39] The expansion of individual purchasing power kept the demand for consumer goods at a high level and made it less conditional on current income.

The implementation of economic reforms in 1965 accelerated this consumer turn. Already in

[36] Duda, "Uvod: od nazadnosi do svemira…," 6.
[37] *Program Saveza komunista Jugoslavije. Prihvaćen na Sedmom kongresu Saveza komunista Jugoslavije (22–26. travnja 1958. u Ljubljani)* [The Program of The League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Accepted at the Seventh Congress of The League of Communists of Yugoslavia] (Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1965) 124. cited in Duda, "Uvod: od nazadnosi do svemira…," 6.
[38] Patterson, *Bought and Sold…,* 33.
[39] Luthar, "Shame, Desire and Longing for the West…," 348.

1950, following the foundation of the new ideological principle of workers' self-management, the workers' council of each enterprise gained the final authority over the operations of their own enterprise. Yugoslav enterprises had the freedom to respond to the needs of the customers, although, in practice, it was not imperative for them to do so with the budget protected by state investment and bank credits.[40] Among the new, complicated set of economic legislation, the 1965 reforms substantially reduced both taxes on enterprise earnings and the state subsidies. Those changes strengthened the motivation for companies to make a profit by acting in a more competitive, market-oriented way.[41] Due to the high inflation rate at the time, administrative price control could not be abolished immediately. However, the price was gradually adjusted to the market incentives in the following years. Through the introduction of self-management and the experimentation with market mechanisms, the operation of the Yugoslav economy gravitated toward a new concept that the needs and preferences of ordinary consumers were, in theory, at least, supposed to play a major role in guiding the production of the country's enterprises.[42]

However, adopting the policies to prioritize consumer preferences was not the line of least resistance. Objection was raised not much from the inside of party organs but from the outside, especially from students and Marxist intellectuals. The remarkable incident that manifested

[40] Patterson, *Bought and Sold…*, 24-31.
[41] *Ibid*, 35-37.
[42] *Ibid*, 34.

widespread skepticism and dissatisfaction was a student strike in the summer of 1968 in Belgrade, which soon spread to other major cities in Yugoslavia. They corresponded to similar student movements in the rest of the world, but along with the requests for improvement of educational conditions in the universities and freedom of speech, students protested against the monopoly of fortune by the small number of the privileged in a society that was supposed to be classless.[43] Their claims were prompted by rising prices, increasing unemployment, and widening economic inequality as the result of the partial introduction of the market system in 1965.

The dramatic rise in living standards and increasing access to consumer opportunities facilitated the expansion of the economically advantaged group and made social disparity more visible. Fervid consumption was no longer a matter of only a small, restricted group of powerful, well-connected, and influential bureaucrats whom Milovan Djilas harshly criticized in 1957.[44] It was turning to the domain of more or less ordinary Yugoslav citizens. Patrick H. Patterson argues that the new life of plentiful pleasures and comparative material comfort seemed relevant to enough of the population that they sustained it as a realistic hope while facing serious differences in earnings and disposable income on everyday occasions.[45] In the 1960s, in the

[43] Duda, "When Capitalism and Socialism Get Along Best…," 174.
[44] Milovan Djilas, *The New Class. An Analysis of the Communist System* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1957)
[45] Patrick H. Patterson, "The New Class: Consumer Culture under Socialism and the Unmaking of the Yugoslav Dream, 1945-1991" (PhD thesis, University of Michigan 2001.) 3-14.

egalitarian-oriented society shifting towards mass consumption, an appropriate way of appreciating newly accessible opportunities became open to dispute.[46] The period is marked by the attempts to define a modern, socialist manner of consumption, not only at a level of intellectual discussions but also in broader fields, including the visual expressions of popular culture.

1-2: Right for Aesthetic Pursuit

Among the different manifestations of consumer culture, this paper deals with the narratives of women's magazines promoting idealized attire. In the socialist state, women's magazines were intended to contribute to the socialization of women, educating the readers on what was valued in society. They promoted a model of working women, emphasizing their role in reconstruction, production, and taking care of their families. At the same time, the editors encouraged readers to cultivate aesthetics, introducing clothes, hairstyles, and cosmetics to make a favorable appearance. Clothing, as a notable vehicle of self-expression, can serve both as a marker of belonging to a group and as a mirror of social distinctions. Therefore, it became a field where the balance of egalitarian principles and expressions of individual and social distinctions was highly contested.[47] Analyzing discussions of proper attire can help to

[46] Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, "Introduction: The Socialist 1960s in Global Perspective", in *The Socialist Sixties…*, eds. Gorsuch and Koenker, 10-12.
[47] Judd Stitziel, *Fashioning Socialism…*, 4.

understand how the project of forming the attributes of proper socialist citizens was working on the pages of women's magazines.

The need to care for one's outfit was advocated already in the immediate postwar period. The wartime organization Antifascist Women's Front (Antifašistički front žena, AFŽ), as the leading platform of women's emancipation, promoted new faces of emancipated, politically and socially aware women.[48] In parallel with the pictures of austere, hardworking female workers in military or factory uniforms who represented their equality with men and participation in the state building, the state media communicated another vision of their new social status. In 1946, the Central Committee of the AFŽ began to publish fashion magazines that brought information on the latest clothes, cosmetics, hairstyles, and leisure activities to the expected female readers. The very first issue of the fashion magazine *Taste* (*Ukus*) encouraged the readers to spare time to polish their external beauty: "Taste is not luxury, rather a certain sign of civilization. Once, however, only women who belonged to a narrow, so-called upper circle had 'rights' for taste. It was an unreachable privilege for many others. It is wrong to think that it is not allowed, or at least frivolous, to care about one's own external appearance. She should not be ashamed of it, and every working woman can find time for it, along with all social obligations and jobs."[49]

[48] Ivana Čuljak and Lea Vene, "Žena u borbi / Žena u modi: Odjevne prakse u poslijeratnom periodu socijalističke Jugoslavije na primjeru časopisa *Žena u borbi* i *Naša Moda* [Women in Battle / Women in Fashion: Clothing Practices in the Post-War Period in Socialist Yugoslavia in the Case of Journals *Women in Battle* and *Our Fashion*]," *Etnoantropološki problemi* 11. no.1 (2016) :159-164.
[49] "O ukusu [About Taste]," *Ukus*, August-September 1946.

It was not only the right but also the moral obligation to pay attention to her appearance. She was obliged to learn good taste and apply it to everyday practice, in her free time as well as in working hours, which meant, according to the magazine, being surrounded by beautiful and practical things most of the time.[50] Next to the drawings of dresses in a theater or a concert, there also appeared the proposals for clothing in an office, a factory, or a school. In order to be accepted as new entrants to political, economic, and social activities, socialist women were expected to change their dresses and look in accordance with their assigned places. [fig. 1, 2]

The magazine emphasized the break from the bourgeois understanding of aesthetic values. There was still a suspicion against the nature of constant changes in sartorial mode as the product of capitalist manipulation. Fashion could lead to luxury, "which had never had anything in common with good taste."[51] "All the exaggerations in one abstract term 'fashion' are proof of the lack of taste and turn women into caricatures."[52] *Taste* did not discard the need for changes in sartorial mode. They were to be made with the aim of achieving the socialist functionality of "comfort, practicality, and beauty of external appearance."[53] By emphasizing functionality to serve the needs of workers, *Taste* tried to make an ideological distinction between modern, socialist refinement and old, bourgeois luxury.

The intention to create a distinguished socialist style was clearly expressed in the publication

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.

of *Our Fashion* (*Naša moda*), another fashion magazine based in Zagreb. "Serving the wider strata of housewives, laborers, and clerks, in a word, serving working women, *Our Fashion* will be the advisor, who will provide established lines for the creation of seasonal fashion based on our possibility, following fashion life all over the world. We would not like to copy foreign models completely. We strive for our own fashion in terms of ideas and contents."[54] Here, comprehension of foreign trends was not denied and even necessitated, while the magazine condemned blind servility to them as surrender to capitalist manipulation. "Bearing in mind the fashion life abroad, never, however, listening to it slavishly, based on what we produce and based on our original fashion idea, we will attempt to create fashion that will be accessible and close to the broad strata of women of our country."[55] The magazines were still in search of what "our fashion" ought to have been. What shaped their own mode was, in reality, the limitations of material conditions at that time, but they suggested future possibilities in conceptual sketching. Those could have been the emphasis on femininity, application of the motifs of folk costumes, or practical adaptation to the demands of women's work. "There will be choices. We will not go towards standardization, but on the contrary – we will try to develop women's taste in a certain healthy direction."[56]

The idea of molding its own socialist sartorial mode had been propagated since the immediate

[54] "Moda u službi naroda [Fashion at the Service of People]," *Naša moda*, November 1946.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

postwar period. Egalitarian narratives of the socialist project initially defined the appreciation of sartorial aesthetics as the right that was granted to citizens. It was advocated as a part of civilization and was connected to women's new roles in the socio-cultural sphere that socialism envisaged. At the same time, excessive pursuit of fashionable styles was never permissible. A socialist citizen was to be familiar with international trends but not to follow them mindlessly. However, this borderline was ambiguous. Alexei Yurchak has pointed out that foreign cultural influence could be interpreted either as cultural enrichment of internationalism or imperialist corrosion of cosmopolitanism in different contexts.[57] It was difficult to assess objectively whether each aesthetic mode was a positive 'socialist' model or a negative 'bourgeois' form. There was no clue what could distinguish 'our fashion' from other styles observed abroad. This ambiguity opened a space for various interpretations, negotiations, and contentions. The following chapters thus examine the attempts to put these theoretical but still undefined principles into practice with the improved material possibilities in the 1960s.

[57] Alexei Yurchak, *Everything was forever, until it was no more: the last Soviet generation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006) 163.

Chapter 2: Tailoring Socialist Aesthetic

On the grounds of the very nature of women's magazines that define their readership in terms of gender, they have been inevitably involved in broader changes in women's social positions. The coverage has not only reflected the changes but also contributed to them by shaping and reproducing the normative model of women entangled in political campaigns, economic situations, demographic structure, or shifts in gender relationships.[58] In postwar Yugoslavia, new legislation on female rights and the industrialization of the country brought about significant changes to the social life of women. Women's magazines assumed the role of educating those who were trying to adjust themselves to the new conditions. This chapter examines the magazine's narrative of normative socialist styles and explores the intersection between female sartorial representations and their advancement in society.

2-1: Enhancement of Female Citizenship

The socialist party proclaimed the principle of gender equality and the necessity of efforts to abolish any discrimination against women on the basis of Marxism, heading toward the elimination of human exploitation. At the legal level, women were granted political, economic, and social rights as men for the first time in 1946. They had, in principle, now the right to vote,

[58] Ballaster et al. *Women's Worlds…,*109.

to receive education in any school, and to gain access to all professions without discrimination. The socialist rhetoric encouraged the female population to participate in the state's political and economic sphere for constructing socialism. It advocated the introduction of women's work in public activities as the first prerequisite for the emancipation of women.[59]

Certain limitations are noted in terms of achieving gender equality in practice. Compared to other socialist East European countries, the extent of women's participation in paid work was limited in Yugoslavia, where the pressure on female workers to enter employment was diminished as the returning soldiers were re-employed. The partial introduction of the market economy in the early 1950s practically meant abandoning the state's commitment to secure full employment. It made female workers subject to disproportional layoff when the demand for labor fell.[60] The under-representation of women in leadership bodies is also pointed out as a structural problem of social gender composition.[61] Still, the legislation of women's equality

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[59] Vida Tomšič, *Woman in the development of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia*, (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska stvarnost, 1980) 89-91.

[60] Susan L Woodward, "The Rights of Women: Ideology, Policy, and Social Change in Yugoslavia" in *Women, State and Party in Eastern Europe,* ed. Sharon L. Wolchik (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985) 245.
Statistically, whereas the proportion of unemployed female workers was more than half of total unemployment before 1956, it dropped to less than 50% from 1965 to 1973. Yet, the actual unemployment of women is less likely to be visible in the statistics, considering their tendency to withdraw from full-time domestic work after losing a job. The retreat of women from waged work was also facilitated by the new social welfare. For example, protective legislation prevented women from employment in the sector involving hard physical labor or family income allowance for children reduced the financial motive of married women for working outside.
Tea Petrin and Jane Humphries, "Women in the Self-Managed Economy of Yugoslavia," *Economic Analysis* 14, no.1 (1980): 75-83.

[61] Sabrina P. Ramet, "In Tito's time" In *Gender politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999) 97-101.

could be regarded as a striking advance in this period. It brought about significant changes in official images of women and in their social positions.

The post-war reconfiguration of women's legal status opened new possibilities for their social mobility. The new legislation enabled an unprecedented number of female students and workers to enter the fields of education and the labor market. Eight-year primary education became compulsory for both male and female children on the principle of co-education, which offered girls the opportunities for further education and careers in qualified work. During the years from 1954 to 1974, women accounted for 36.5 % of the total students who completed higher education in Yugoslav institutions.[62] The share of female workers in the total Yugoslav labor force had risen from 23.7% in 1953 to 34.7% by 1978, while there was a significant regional variation from the highest of 44% in Slovenia to the lowest of 20% in Kosovo.[63] Mass education and employment were accompanied by the migration from the countryside to the cities. In the process of rapid industrialization, the share of the female agricultural population was distinctly decreasing. According to the 1948 census, 88.9 % of the total economically active female population engaged in agriculture. The figure dropped to 55.4% in 1971.[64] Simultaneously, more and more workers relocated to the urban spaces. While 23.2% of the total

[62] *Ibid.* 96.
[63] *Ibid.* 96.
[64] Srđan Milošević, "Yugoslav Society 1918-1991 From the stagnation to the revolution", In *Yugoslavia from a Historical Perspective*, eds. Latinka Perović et al. (Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 2017) 382.

Yugoslav population had lived in urban communities in 1948, this ratio grew to 37.2 by 1971. In the 1971 census, 64 % of the newcomers in the cities came from rural and mixed localities.[65]

The relocation to the cities also redesigned the position of women in the family. They were now detached from extended patrilocal households in the villages, where a wife was often cooperatively engaged in housework and agriculture with her husband's relatives. In urban settings, she bore the responsibility of maintaining her household by herself or in partnership with her spouse. Even if a wife did not participate in paid work, the urban workplace separated her employed husband from home during the day. She found herself in a more autonomous position to manage the household, compared to the experience in the village.[66] While paid work provided women with the potential for economic independence, even unemployed wives, though financially dependent on their husband's earnings, gained more initiative in economic activities at home. They now became identified as the controllers of family expenditure and consumption.

2-2: Educational Role of Women's Magazines

The emergence of widespread, high-circulated women's magazines in post-war Yugoslavia correlated with the rise of women's social status and economic significance. Against a backdrop

[65] Vida Tomšič, *Woman in the development…,* 89.
[66] Bette S. Denich, "Urbanization and Women's Roles in Yugoslavia." *Anthropological Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (1976): 11–19.

of enhanced autonomy and the growing pressure of market competition, major media enterprises began to publish more profit-oriented weeklies or dailies, addressing the more clearly profiled target groups.[67] The number of major weekly periodicals had swelled from 10 in 1950 to 39 in 1965, accompanied by the growth of a combined circulation from 472.500 to 3,366.200 copies.[68] From the mid-1950s to the 1980s, aside from the precedents set by the wartime women's organizations, major publishers launched periodicals aimed at female readers and gained larger popularity. Urban settlers with available economic and cultural capital became a prospective target of commercialized publication.

Bazar, the focus of this study, appeared in those settings. The first publication of this kind in postwar Yugoslavia was *Svijet* with the subtitle of *Mode, cosmetics, theater, film, novel* (*Moda, kozmetika, kazalište, film, roman*). It was issued by the publisher of the leading Croatian newspaper *Vjesnik* in 1953 in Zagreb. In Belgrade, the publishing house *Duga* first began publishing *Praktična žena* in 1956, which was also temporarily printed also in Macedonian. *Bazar* was first published in 1964 by a major media combine, *Politika*, with the subtitle

[67] The 1956 Law defined publishing houses and journalistic institutions as autonomous enterprises. Further, the introduction of economic reforms in 1965 exposed them to the market mechanism of supply and demand. The publishing enterprises received greater budget control, whereas the state subsidies no longer cushioned them. In these circumstances, the major publishers established an internal economic structure in which the profit from specific interest magazines covered the cost of less commercialized newspapers.
Marko Zubak, *The Yugoslav Youth Press (1968-1980): Student Movements, Youth Subcultures and Alternative Communist Media*, (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2018) 27-32.

[68] Živorad K. Stoković, *Štampa naroda i narodnosti u SFRJ 1945–1973: građa za istoriju štampe* [Press of Nations and Ethnic Groups in SFRY 1945-1973: Material for History of Press] (Belgrade: Jugoslovenski Institut za Novinarstvo, 1975) 188.

Periodical for Women and Family (*List za ženu i porodicu*). The publisher of the official party newspaper, *Borba*, started issuing *Nada* in 1975. Those four titles were the most circulated women's magazines in Serbo-Croatian language in the socialist period.[69]

This publishing trend corresponded to a boom in commercial women's magazines that the British and American markets witnessed from the late 1950s to the 1960s. Although the number of titles in the late 1960s was less than that in the pre-war period, the readership expanded to a broader range of the population, including the working class.[70] Those foreign titles began to enter the Yugoslav publishing market and offered models of visual representation, arrangement of contents, or printing techniques for Yugoslav magazines. Zorica Mutavdžić-Knežević (1924–2011), the first editor-in-chief of *Bazar*, recalled that the editors had scrutinized pages of renowned Western fashion and lifestyle magazines such as *Elle* (France), *Harper's Bazaar* (U.S.), *Vogue* (U.S.), *Grazia* (Italy), and *Burda* (West Germany).[71] After having worked as a reporter in Tanjug (Telegrafska agencija nove Jugoslavije [Telegraphic Agency of New Yugoslavia]) and later in Radio Belgrade, she was assigned to establish the women's magazine, which was still unprecedented for the journalistic publishing house *Politika*. Even though Mutavdžić herself had already had enough experience of traveling abroad as a journalist,

[69] Neda Todorović-Uzelac, *Ženska štampa i kultura ženstvenosti* [Women's Press and Culture of Femininity] (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1987) 76-80.
[70] Rosalind Ballaster et al. *Women's World…,* 110.
[71] Zorica Mutavdžić-Knežević, *Beleške iz prošlog veka* [Notes from the Last Century] (Belgrade: Ideja, 2008) 201.

Politika obligated her to conduct a study trip to Paris for the new magazine.

Following the worldwide publishing trends, *Bazar* engaged in forging ahead with the domestic changes in the female social situation. The cover of its first issue was a photograph of the celebrated young actress Milena Dravić standing in front of the modern office building of *Politika* in Belgrade. [fig.3] The magazine featured similar, well-acknowledged figures from the cultural scenes, such as theater, fine art, music, film, sports, and TV shows, along with photos of fashion models. It informed the readers of the latest works in literature, galleries, and drama. A few reportages dealt with current economic affairs, which seemed relevant to women's social positions.[72] The contents were designed for educated readers, responding to a growing need to familiarize the female population from rural areas with urban rituals and styles. At the same time, the subtitle *Periodical for Women and Family* indicates that their social role was continuously associated with family. Not a few pages were allocated to the advice on housework and childcare. Yet, in urban family settings, domestic work was also considered a sphere to attach a sense of new autonomy to women's roles. Efficient work at home was to demonstrate her skill and knowledge. Whereas the idea of femininity was persistently linked with domesticity, the magazine promoted the images of sophisticated women who were active at home and in the public scenes.

The wide circulation of the magazine contributed to sharing the new vision of female

[72] Todorović, *Ženska štampa…*,76-80.

autonomy across the country. Approximately 100.000 copies of the first issue were circulated in all Jugoslav republics, and the number of circulations expanded in the following years.[73] Later, it could be subscribed even from abroad. The economic background of the readers varied. While some voices were planning the purchase of high-valued items in the coverage on the one hand, in the readers' column appeared letters from a girl "living in the provinces, in the house of poor parents" who did not allow her to leave home for a job in a city, on the other hand.[74] To the chief editor's surprise, despite the relatively high price among other women's magazines, *Bazar* was well received especially in Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the per capita income and the rate of female labor participation were below the Yugoslav average. Those were also the regions with a more significant percentage of the active population in agriculture.[75] It indicates that the images of desirable urban lifestyles were extensively shared, in spite of the lingering economic gaps between regions. The publication contributed to the formulation and dissemination of urban rituals and styles to a broader section.

The women's magazine retained the mission of educating the expected readers, and its contents conveyed the normative ideas of appearance, behavior, and social roles for those who newly participated in urban activities from rural areas. The first issue of *Bazar* brought the survey, which asked ten selected famous figures, professionals, and artists what they would

[73] Mutavdžić-Knežević, *Beleške iz prošlog veka…*, 201.
[74] "Vaša pisma Bazaru [Your letters to Bazar]," *Bazar*, September 15, 1965.
[75] Petrin and Humphries, "Women in the Self-Managed Economy of Yugoslavia," 76-77.

expect from the forthcoming publication. The answers showed the expectations for its instructive functions aimed at female readers, as one of the respondents clearly mentioned: "I expect that your periodical will contribute to the further development of moral and physical beauty of our women by educating young girls about proper ethics and aesthetics."[76]

This alleged role of aesthetic education allowed the new periodical to be filled with desirable images of material abundance, even if it was obviously beyond the reach of the majority of the population. The comment of a costume designer, Mira Glišić, articulated it: "In your new periodical, I would like to find those illustrative parts which develop taste and women's personal feeling for beauty. I would not flee from neither mode nor material stuff of top beauty, even luxury, as motives for inspiration which women will adapt for own imagination with help – with a bit of skill and own material possibility." Pictures full of high-quality items were legitimized as a guide, which should have offered the viewers knowledge and inspiration for cultural and aesthetic sophistication. Her remark even made room for tolerating of "luxury," the word that should have been understood negatively in the proletariat-oriented society. It was supposed to be adapted according to individual skill and material possibility.

The need for cultural education further gave justification for *Bazar*'s inclination toward foreign trends and even encouraged it to deepen the reader's knowledge of the world. The

[76] "Naša Anketa: Šta očekujete od 'Bazara' [Our Survey: What Do You Expect from Bazar]" *Bazar*, December 15, 1964, 3.

comment of Miloš Đurić, a renowned philologist in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade, emphasized the "cultural mission" of *Politika Bazar.* "Along with mode and everything else that will surely get its place in a periodical of this kind – readers of *Politika Bazar* need to get to know all women in the world in its columns: their problems, history, and culture. That means: using as many magazines from various countries as possible and translating all that is interesting – about women and for women." As if to follow his proposal, the magazine brought the reportages of women's lives abroad or translated articles from foreign periodicals.

Socialist women's magazines were not merely the readings for entertaining, pass-time purposes. They bore the task of educating the female population, who gained unprecedented opportunities for social mobility. This aim of cultural education even made it possible to encourage the readers to appreciate the images of material abundance and the influence of foreign trends. In the fashion magazine *Bazar*, the need for cultural sophistication was applied not only to the internal development of cultural knowledge and understanding but also to the care for external appearances. In order to achieve this task of women's cultural sophistication, the editors became responsible for defining and promoting proper styles for modern, socialist women, embracing the influences of rapid urbanization and cultural openness to the world.

2-3: Cultivating Proper Taste

Economic and social modernization as well as cultural liberation in the late 1950s and early 1960s brought about a change in official attitude toward fashion. In East Germany, the Institute for Clothing Culture (Institut für Bekleidungskultur) changed its name to the German Fashion Institute (Deutsches Modeinstitut) in 1957. It turned its focus from working clothes and daily wear to attire in haute couture character.[77] In the Soviet Union, both domestic and foreign fashion shows were regularly held and fashion designers from the neighboring socialist countries were assembled for annual meetings.[78] The press brought articles on fashion regularly in the coverage. Fashion-consciousness began to be tolerated and even promoted by the idea that socialist modernity "must find its own way modern or contemporary style."[79]

In Yugoslavia, even though the notion of fashion had not been totally rejected, scarcity of materials and techniques had hampered the possibility of distinctive sartorial expressions. The cultivation of desirable styles of the socialist citizens became an urgent issue as the general living standard was improving and the domestic garment industry was making progress. By moving to urban areas, people were required to acquire new knowledge and understanding of sartorial practices. The state was concerned with their sophistication of fashion in its envisaged way. In 1961, the Center for Contemporary Clothing (Centar za Savremeno Odevanje) was

[77] Judd Stitziel. *Fashioning Socialism…*57-58.
[78] Reid and Crowley, *Style and Socialism…,* 2.
[79] Ibid. 3.

founded in Belgrade with the aim of educating the population from rural areas about sartorial practices.[80] The normative role of women's magazines was also oriented to this purpose. The fashion editor of *Bazar* was Aleksandar Joksimović, who was also assigned as a designer of a nationalized factory of the fashion industry. As the first personalized Yugoslav designer of an official fashion production, he took the role of interpreting the style of Yugoslav socialist modernity.[81]

What the magazine adopted to the sartorial models for the readers was the explicit expressions of conventional elegance. The fashion pages were dominated by dresses that emphasized slim waistlines, which represented the feminine ascetical style originating in pre-war Paris. The length of the skirts was just below the knee, which highlighted the slender legs. The dresses were adorned with accessories and accompanied by gloves and handbags. Especially, wearing of huts was perceived as a shortcut to a ladylike appearance.[82] A clear division was set between clothing for work, for home, and for going out. A proper lady should have been "Always Elegant." [fig.4] Fashion pages were filled with images of graceful women enjoying their improved social status and material well-being. After working in an office in a comfortable, pretty dress, a lady was supposed to go out in an elegant evening gown with a hut, gloves, and

[80] Jelena Petrović, "Ljubav i moda: počeci i razvoj jugoslovenske modne industrije šezdesetih godina 20. veka [Love and Fashion: The Origins and Development of Yugoslav Fashion Industry in the Sixties of the Twentieth century]," *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* 11, no. 1 (2004): 90.
[81] Danijela Velimirović, *Aleksandar Joksimović: Moda i Identitet* [Aleksandar Joksimović: Fashion and Identity] (Belgrade: Utopija, 2008) 162.
[82] Djurdja Bartlett, *Fashion East: The Spectre That Haunted Socialism* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2010) 194.

jewelry. If she did not have time to change her clothes, "with a little effort and the help of details of beads, flowers, brooches, scarves and as such, a day dress can take on a dressier look."[83] Or to working women who were too busy to sew festive New Year's Eve dresses, the magazine recommended ready-made "dresses of very modern shape made of black light cloth with a combination of muslin, satin, and lace."[84][fig.5]

The return to the conventional elegant style followed a more general high fashion trend. *Bazar* constantly introduced the latest collections in Paris and brought reportages of the leading designers. On one page, the editor highly praised the works of Yves Saint Laurent, who was recognized as the successor of Christian Dior and later adopted his haute couture designs to ready-made garments: "It cannot be denied that the unity and beauty of lines, colors, and fabrics that reveal a new kind of elegance and refinement of taste."[85] Other pages featured Coco Chanel talking about the practicality of her collection that allowed women to move more actively. Trying to grasp the mainstream of high fashion, the magazine encouraged people to adopt the latest styles. In the column on the designs of Pierre Cardin, which is known for his advanced unisex style of geometric shapes and motifs, the editor persuaded the readers: "It may be a bit difficult for women to get used to and accept the new fashion dictated by Paris. In fact, they have not had a similar fashion for a long time - original and new. But despite the resistance

[83] "Od pet po podne[From Five in the Evening],"*Bazar*, January 15, 1965.
[84] "Naši predlozi za novogodišnju noć – modni crteži Aleksandra Joksimovića [Our Suggestions for New Year's Eve – Aleksandar Joksimović's Fashion Designs]," *Bazar*, December 15, 1964.
[85] "Pariski Kreator Iv Sen Loran [Parisian Designer Yves Saint Laurent] ," *Bazar*, February 1, 1965.

at the beginning, almost every woman discovered something for herself in it, because by combining knotted and cross stripes of black or white, optical effects are achieved that can beautify the appearance of every woman. Perhaps you will also become a supporter of a new way of dressing."[86] Although tailored high-quality clothes made of abundant materials and sewn by experienced sewers using time-consuming techniques, were not realistic for the great majority of the readers or their local tailors to imitate, the images of haute couture outfits performed a representational role that not only cultivated the understanding of high aesthetic standards but also spurred the desire for adaptation to international trends.

Whereas seemingly gorgeous outfits were presented throughout the coverage, the magazine insisted that desirable elegance required moderation. There was a constant message that going to excess was never permissible. Simplicity was another term that appropriated fashion that could have otherwise inclined toward unwelcomed luxury: "Simplicity is a requirement for elegance. Today, simplicity is also a distinctive feature of the style. But, for that reason, refined taste is required, because the colors need to be harmonized, and the whole outfit should be supplemented with selected details. Well, even though it seems simple, the fashion, like any fashion, requires the knowledge of measure and taste."[87] Taste was identified as the ability to discern favorable elegance from excessive luxury. A careful selection of items was required to

[86] "Pariz predlaže [Paris Suggests] ," *Bazar*, March 15, 1966.
[87] "Moderna jednostavnost [Modern Simplicity]," *Bazar*, April 15, 1966.

make a proper urban outfit and a successful balance of grandeur and modesty was highly praised as "modern." In order to be "always modern," the magazine admonished the readers to be mindful of "whether the colors were in harmony and the fabrics are, if not the same, at least similar quality."[88] By emphasizing the need for modesty and harmony, the idea of an appropriate style clearly made a distinction between items in its expressive appearance, which was assumed to convey her cultural sophistication.

The increasing emphasis on woman's physical attractiveness in the press was often discussed as a sign of the retreat of women from the serious and hard-working masculine world.[89] However, regarding sartorial styles, the emphasis on elegance and simplicity in the post-war period was not only the case for female outfits. It was also encouraged for their male partners to be "elegant at any time of the day."[90] In the pages appeared men in neatly arranged suits. A man in modern style ought to take care of the details of his clothes. The suggestion was a grey suit with silk stitches around the pocket and the edges of the jacket. He was supposed to select carefully the colors and patterns of a tie, a handkerchief, a shirt, and a belt or suspenders, which would have been otherwise identical in function. [fig.6]

Through the lens of the magazine, the values of high fashion did not clash with the narratives of women's emancipation. Although the elegance of haute couture originated from capitalist

[88] "Uvek moderno [Always Modern]," *Bazar,* February 15, 1965.
[89] Marija Đorgović et al., *Ženska Strana/ Women's Corner* (Belgrade, Muzej savremene umetnosti/Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2010) 51.
[90] "U svako doba dana elegantan [Elegant at Any Time of the Day]," *Bazar*, January 1, 1965.

practices, familiarity with international trends was legitimated as a part of cultural cultivation. By emphasizing refinement and functionality, *Bazar* presented the designs accorded with the vision of the socialist style to grant women rationality as self-sufficient worker-citizens. The refined taste was to signify their high standards of education and aesthetic understanding, while the focus on the practicality of clothing intended their diligence and efficiency at work. The stress on simplicity further indicated individual skills of appropriating those values, in harmony with their assigned places. Therefore, the pursuit of beauty, physically but associated with morals, was not understood as the product of capitalist exploitation of women but was promoted as the means of affirming their autonomy. In the form of conforming the advancement of female status in the society, the editors adopted high fashion aesthetics to the styles for the new socialist citizen.

2-4: Normative Working Women's Attire

Female concerns about outfits accompanied their participation in public activities, as the aim of cultural education by the magazine indicates. Women were required to care for their own appearance not instead of but rather along with advancement in society. An interview with clerks in the National Bank, whose work was highly regarded, demonstrates that a decent look was considered as one of their occupational obligations: "I've never stopped thinking about my

clothes, because I think that the decent appearance of the clerk at the counter is her responsibility."[91] It was also true for men, but the pressure on women was much stronger. One male worker admitted that his female colleagues were making more efforts to keep appropriate outfits. "They need more clothes and ideas to be dressed up nicely. I can wear the same suit for months and if I just change my shirt and tie – I look good. However, they have to be mindful of the eyes of those who work with them."[92] The magazine's description of his very appearance – a young man with impeccably combed hair, a white shirt, a silk tie, and a tweed jacket of contemporary design – implies that he could spend more time compared to those who had to do housework besides banking services. In their narratives, female care for personal appearance was to be balanced with their works inside and outside home.

The workers denied that they were following the latest fashion as the magazine promoted. They claimed that fashionable styles were something for the privileged because it would demand more time and money to visit expensive tailors and their dresses could not be necessarily attractive, considering full of tasks at work and at home. Still, the responses show their acceptance of the value of simplicity and appropriateness in appearance: "We're dressed up simply, as far as possible, but always take care of the color, not to look dirty and of the design

91 "Privatno ljupka – a na poslu? Službenice Narodne banke trude se da što lepše izgledaju na radom mestu [Charming in Private – and at Work? Clarks of National Bank are Making Efforts to Look as Beautiful as Possible at the Workplace],"*Bazar*, February 1, 1965.
92 Ibid.

which allows us to be seated comfortably and move hands freely."[93] The description of their attire represented the socialist notion of functionality that the socialist women's press persistently stressed, that is, comfort, practicality, and beauty of external appearance.

The article on the workers in the National Bank exemplified the role of clothing in the project of creating a socialist female citizen. The female clerks were depicted as having seriousness, competence at work, self-respect, modesty, and decent charms. However, the models of a new socialist citizen in fact retained the norms of the prewar elites. In an examination of a "new type of women" in East Germany, Judd Stitziel pointed out the continuity from the envisaged pictures of working women in bourgeois and communist circles during the interwar period in Germany and Austria. All the visions shared the positive characteristics of new women: their active participation in the sphere of production and public life, self-confidence, financial independence, acceptance of modern technology, and adaptation of moderate fashions. At the same time, their attire needed to avoid highlighting excessive masculinity, cheapness of mass consumption, and showiness of extreme fashions.[94] Those attributes were also in common with the representation of the female bank clerks. The magazine highly praised their seriousness and competence in work, but by emphasizing their concerns about clothing, it assured that women's new role and legal equality with men in the society did not necessarily deprive them of

[93] Ibid.
[94] Stitziel, *Fashioning Socialism…*, 58-59.

conventional ideals of feminine beauty.

The improvement of women's status and their advancement in society made the socialist ideologues recognize the need to educate women on the normative ideas of appearance, behavior, and social roles as new entrants to public life. In this attempt, women's magazines took on the task of guiding the predominantly female readership in aesthetic cultivation. Applying the principles of egalitarianism and cultural enlightenment, their narratives formed the idea of socialist ensembles characterized by elegance and modesty. It made a distinction between functionally identical items. This differentiation between what was "proper" and what was not simultaneously communicated and reinforced the understanding of sartorial styles as a means of representation and cultural distinction. It composed both the right and obligation of socialist working women to manage her representational appearance that signified her approval of conventional values of practicality and feminine beauty.

When it was common to tailor clothes by hand, the magazine's instructions and advice on appropriate attire were directed at women as makers of their own and family dresses. Each issue of the fashion magazine was accompanied by paper patterns of dresses, which encouraged the readers to reproduce featured models on the pages. However, as the industrial production of garments progressed, it became imperative for domestic designers and the garment industry to embody the proposed socialist styles in mass production. A remark of a female bank clerk suggested the responsibility of the domestic industry for fabricating aesthetic styles: "I'll be

honest: we choose appropriate clothes for the office without thinking about whether we'll look good in them. It would be different if clothing stores offered us cheap and beautiful models."[95] The position of women was now turning from making to choosing garments with critical aesthetic standards. The third chapter then discusses the struggles of designing Yugoslav styles and distributing them in mass-produced forms to increasingly fashion-conscious citizens.

[95] "Privatno ljupka – a na poslu?...," *Bazar*, February 1, 1965.

Chapter 3: Manufacturing Socialist Fabric

When the communist party promised a better life for the population through rapid industrialization, industrialized production was supposed to satisfy the rational needs of socialist citizens. Mass production of clothing was a significant indicator of the state's economic and cultural levels as well as its commitment to living standards. The domestic garment industry became responsible for providing apparel that would not only meet high aesthetic standards but also be accessible to everyone. Yugoslav designers were assigned to coordinate the ideology, the population needs, and production policy. The third chapter investigates their striving to establishing a distinct national style suitable for the citizens and a yawning gulf between their aspirations and the actual production capacity.

3-1: Search for Yugoslav Style

The 1960s witnessed a worldwide sartorial shift from tailored clothes to ready-to-wear products. In the late 1940s and the 1950s, leading haute couture designers in Paris set about mass-marketed production based on licensing agreements. Their tailored designs were transferred to ready-made products with their names. In the next decade, this practice spread to other haute couture houses.[96] Fashion trends originating from high fashion aesthetics became

[96] 坂本 佳鶴恵,『女性雑誌とファッションの歴史社会学：ビジュアル・ファッション誌の成立』[Kazue Sakamoto, Historical Sociology of Women's Magazines and Fashion: The Formation of Visual-

popularized in more affordable forms. This entry of leading designers into the ready-to-wear market raised the value of ready-made clothing, which had been previously regarded as cheap but low-quality.[97] Shoppers began to ask mass-produced apparel for better quality, scrutinizing designs, colors, cuts, and fabrics.

Democratization of fashion through mass production was a relevant concern to both the capitalist and socialist states against the backdrop of the Cold War competition. In 1959, the Soviets organized exhibitions of their scientific, technological, and cultural achievements in New York, which the American National Exhibition followed in Moscow. These events clearly signified that the competition in technology was extended to the field of material culture and lifestyle.[98] Fashion shows were held in both exhibitions, bearing significant political implications in the choice of elaborate styles of outfits. The American fashion shows chose to present everyday mass-produced clothes dressed by professional fashion models as well as children, teenagers, grandparents, and whole families.[99] They propagandized that sophisticated outfits were not just for an exclusive circle of elites but also within the reach of the average Americans. Clothing, as one of the basic consumer goods and also as an expressive tool, became a stage for demonstrating the state's economic prowess, cultural sophistication, and potentiality

Fashion Magazines](Tokyo: Shinyou-sha, 2007) 156-161.

[97] Bruno du Roselle, *La Mode*, trans. Aiko Nishimura (Tokyo: Heibon-sha, 1995) 357-373.

[98] Susan. E Reid. "Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev," *Slavic Review* 61, no.2 (2002) 223-228.

[99] Bartlett, *Fashion East…,* 138-141.

to serve the interest of its citizens. The socialist states faced a question about the appropriate expression of alternative, socialist versions of modernity in the realm of mass-produced fashion.[100]

In Yugoslavia, the development of domestic ready-to-wear production slowly began in the mid-1950s when the official economic policy turned priority from the construction of heavy industry to the enhancement of light industry. The textile and garment industries were especially important for the party leadership in terms of increasing exports of final products and offering employment opportunities, predominantly for women.[101] The progress was remarkable, considering the lack of the basis of ready-made clothing production from the pre-war period. According to official statistics, the production of cotton, wool, and artificial silk fabrics increased more than twofold between 1955 and 1965. The amount of produced ready-made clothing, which had grown from 2.1 km^2 in 1946 to 9.8 km^2 in 1955, expanded to 39 km^2 in 1965 and 92 km^2 in 1975. While footwear was produced in 30 million pairs in 1955, the figure swelled to 61 million pairs in 1965 and 179 million pairs in 1975.[102] The textile industry grew to represent a vital economic sector in Yugoslavia, and in the 1970s, it covered approximately 12% of total manufacturing.[103] Yugoslavia became acknowledged as one of the world's leading

[100] Ibid, 144-150. Reid and Crowley eds. *Style and Socialism…*, 1-4.
[101] Chiara Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry in the Balkans: The Rise and Fall of the Yugoslav Textile Sector* (London: I.B. TAURIS, 2020) 31.
[102] *Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije 1918-1988* [Statistical yearbook of Yugoslavia 1918-1988] (Belgrade: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1989) 261.
[103] Chiara Bonfiglioli, "Gender, Labour and Precarity in the South East European Periphery: The Case of Textile Workers in Štip," *Contemporary Southeastern Europe* 1, no.2 (2014) 7.

producers of textiles and wearing apparel, footwear, and, even though on a lower scale, leather and fur products in the 1980s.[104]

The industrial progress was promoted through the popular media. On *Bazar*, reports of fashion fairs held in Yugoslav cities to exhibit the latest collection of domestic manufacturers regularly appeared. Each collection was photographed with their respective local landmarks in the background, emphasizing the regionality of the manufacturers. Products from a textile plant and a ready-made clothing store near Novi Pazar, a city in the southwestern part of Serbia, were presented in front of the Sopoćani Monastery. [fig.7] Knitwear from Zlatibor, famous for the mountain resort, was pictured with a local lake and forest. Fashion models dressed in the works of a Belgrade clothing manufacturer were standing at the riverbank, looking out over the other side of the city.[105] The magazine further proudly described the presence of domestic products both in foreign and home markets: "Centrotekstil is our founder of export of textile and leather garments, knitwear, and shoes. Like here, in the last ten years, conditions have been established for domestic industry to enhance the export of these items."[106] It was not just a matter of technological development but also of aesthetic competence. In the same issue of the article about Centrotekstil, the Belgrade ready-to-wear brand "Franjo Kluz" was reported to enjoy a

[104] Doris Hanzl-Weiß, "Enlargement and the Textiles, Clothing and Footwear Industry," *The World Economy* 27, no.6 (2004), 932.
[105] "Zlatiborske pletilje i moda [Zlatibor knitwear and fashion]," "Za jesen i zimu Moda pod zidinama Sopoćana [For autumn and winter Fashion under the walls of the Sopoćani]," "'Kluz' za jesen, zimu, proleće ['Kluz' for autumn, winter and spring]," *Bazar*, October 15, 1965.
[106] "Izvoznici na sajamskim štandovima [Exporters at the exhibition stands]," *Bazar*, October 15, 1965.

reputation at home and abroad because of "simplicity, elegance with the use of beautiful color and fabrics,"[107]

The emphasis on the regionality of production was intended to communicate a sense of national prestige based on the industrial development of the country. The progress of the domestic garment industry was trumpeted in the context of the Cold War competition to show national competence in production capacity and artistic sophistication. At the interior level, this association of products with local settings helped citizens to appropriate otherwise anonymous and alien mass-produced objects. By presenting each as unique, with the specified origin, tailored to the individual needs and desires of the buyers, spatial representation of goods in the media was arranged to reduce the sense of impersonality and alienation of the manufacturers and thus to make them more familiar to the readers.[108] This promotion informed the population of desirable items in the market, with the expectation that those products would belong to them.

The narratives of technical and artistic progress of the domestic garment industry stimulated the discussion over the creation of a specific Yugoslav way of dress: "In our conditions, we would be able to create also Yugoslav fashion - to be more original and complete."[109] The project of "Yugoslav style" marked the sartorial scene of the 1960s in the country when the National Salon was established to renovate traditional sartorial forms and disseminate modern

[107] "'Kluz' za jesen, zimu, proleće ['Kluz' for autumn, winter, and spring]," *Bazar*, October 15, 1965.
[108] Fehervary, "Goods and States…", 436-437.
[109] "Pisma Bazaru [Letters to Bazar]", *Bazar*, June 1, 1966.

modes.[110] Domestic designers were facing the difficult task of creating their "own style" under the influence of high fashion aesthetics and popularizing it in accessible forms.

As a fashion editor of *Bazar* and an official designer of national garment factories, Aleksandar Joksimović played a leading role in the attempts to embody the concept of the Yugoslav style. He tried to achieve it by interweaving ethnic motifs with the latest haute couture models. In the coverage of *Bazar*, he brought drawings and photos of his designs, which applied the motif of folk costumes to contemporary elegant dresses. [fig. 8] In March 1967, Joksimović presented his collection *Simonida*. Whereas it showed the influence of the geometric works of Pierre Cardin, he expressed national characteristics through a specific line of sleeves and decoration inspired by the medieval wardrobe of Byzantine lords and rulers. There were also elements from stone friezes taken from walls of Serbian Orthodox monasteries in Kosovo.[111][fig. 9]

What was identified as "Yugoslavness" in his works was the openness of the state to the world and cultural continuity from medieval times. The acceptance of current high fashion trends was demonstrated as a sign of the state's openness and modernity. The adoption of the current international mode represented liberality and progressiveness to emphasize the distance from systems characterized by strictness and uniformity,.[112] At the same time, in order to make a

[110] Danijela Velimirović, "Kulturna biografija grandiozne mode: Priča o kolekciji Vitraž Aleksandra Joksimovića [Cultural Biography of Grandiose Mode: A Story of Aleksandar Joksimović's Collection *Vitraž*]," *Etonoantropološki problemi* 1, no.2 (2006) 93.
[111] Velimirović, *Aleksandar Joksimović…,*163.
[112] Velimirović, "Kulturna biografija grandiozne mode…," 94.

clear distinction from a slavish imitation of foreign trends, "the artist tried to apply the ornamentation, line, and elegance of medieval costume to contemporary clothes, without damaging dignified beauty and simplicity."[113] The official design reintroduced motifs from the medieval upper circles that granted it the authenticity of historical tradition. By employing motifs from folk costumes, it placed the originally foreign formulas on the line of more familiar, local cultural customs and, at the same time, attached the value of socialist refinement to them.

The form of combining ethnic motifs and haute couture designs itself was nothing new nor unique. Similar attempts could also be observed in other Soviet-bloc countries, sharing a common dilemma of establishing a national style.[114] Socialist fashion designers hoped to create a distinct, alternative way of dress and yet admitted the dominant, transnational influence of haute couture.[115] The projects of the socialist style were not a complete rejection nor a mere imitation of the capitalist practices. Instead, it was an endeavor to incorporate the current international mode into the domestic context and to make them an essential component of the socialist expression of modernity.

3-2: Limitations of Socialist Fashion

The Yugoslav fashion project demonstrated that the authorities attached significance to

[113] "*Simonida* Aleksandra Joksimovića [Aleksandar Joksimović's Simonida]," *Bazar*, April 1, 1967.
[114] Bartlett, *Fashion East…*, 230-235.
[115] Stitziel, *Fashioning Socialism…*, 60-63.

realizing aesthetics in their distinct way. However, it soon turned out that the Yugoslav style was impossible to come into practice. As a national aesthetic standard, it needed to meet high-quality requirements, but at the same time, it was supposed to be accessible to everyone. Haute couture models were employed to guide the citizens' taste and provide the basis for the mass-produced models in the socialist project of creating a national style, even though they were initially designed for upper-class customers in capitalist societies. Therefore, the proposed Yugoslav style based on high fashion aesthetics remained only within the reach of the highly privileged, which visibly caused tensions in the egalitarian-oriented society.

In fact, the government put efforts into accomplishing this difficult ideological task to make high-quality clothes functional and affordable. It tried to prevent the garment prices from exceeding the purchasing power in Yugoslavia with administrative regulations. This endeavor even brought about the twisted situation that the selling price was set lower than the cost of production.[116] The Center for Contemporary Clothing in Belgrade was assigned to improve the aesthetic quality of ready-made products. Its Market Department aimed to diversify the offer in the distribution network by researching the needs and wishes of shoppers in certain areas. The designers offered dress patterns to domestic factories, carefully reacting to international trends.[117] Nevertheless, the manufacturers proved incapable of realizing them in mass

[116] Ana Panić, "Dressing in the Latest Fashion: Clothing between Ideology and Consumerism," In *They Never Had It Better? Modernization of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia.* eds. Ivana Dobrivojević et al. (Belgrade: Museum of Yugoslav History, 2014) 65.

[117] Danijela Velimirović, "Kad Kupovina Nije Razonoda: Ženstvenost, Moda i Potrošnja u FNRJ (1952-

production. Well-informed of high aesthetics at home and abroad and the socialist promise of equal distribution, complaints from the Yugoslav citizens about the qualities, designs, and variety of domestic products did not cease. The gap between the citizens' expectations and the actual production capacity of the domestic industry was never bridged.

While *Bazar* propagandized the progress of the domestic garment industry and promoted its products, it also constantly lamented the lack of desirable goods in the market. A regular column, "Izlog Bazara (Showcase of Bazar)," was originally arranged to help the readers find necessary items in domestic stores but sometimes even gave up making recommendations from the selections in the country: "Unfortunately, any tasteful, simple, and beautiful underwear cannot be found in our shops, despite the wide selection at first glance. Neither can the lingerie models we selected and displayed on these pages be purchased in our stores. Maybe just similar combinations."[118] Here, the matter was not absolute scarcity of clothing. Domestic stores had already offered "the wide selection" of underwear on the shelves, but what mattered to the editors and the readers was the quality of the items and lack of "tasteful," "simple," and "beautiful" underwear. They were making choices according to criteria, shaped and permeated through the descriptions and visual images allegedly aimed at aesthetic education.

"Tasteful," "simple," and "beautiful" pieces of clothing were now identified as necessary items,

1961) [When Shopping Is Not a Pleasure: Femininity, Fashion and Consumption in FPRY (1951-1961)]," ed. Irfan Hošić, *Pažnja!: Odjeća, Umjetnost, Identitet*, (Bihać: Tehnički Fakultet, 2014) 39.

[118] "Izlog Bazara [Showcase of Bazar]," *Bazar*, May 1, 1965.

to which some did not belong even though they could supposedly serve the same practical function. The distinctions of good taste also made a border between what was desirable and what was not. When the domestic products could not meet the standards, the narratives turned into spreading the perception that there were things but nothing to buy in the local market. This differentiation was also observed in other socialist countries under the relatively strict planned economy. A study of Soviet consumption by Susan E. Reid has shown a qualitative shift from consumption driven by essential needs to the choice of desired goods in the long 1960s-70s, the period of intensive modernization and rapid transformation in the everyday material environment. Claiming that their purchase of goods was driven by necessity, Soviet citizens were actually making choices according to their own aesthetic values, desires, and ideas of self. Reid points out that the socialist media played an essential role in shaping the aesthetic or semiotic distinctions between commodities by widely circulating influential images of a desirable modern lifestyle, even under the guise of advice rather than commercial advertising.[119] Similarly, having more room for the involvement of commercial purposes than in the Soviet press, Yugoslav women's magazines contributed to raising the standards for the choice of goods under the pretext of cultural education. The magazine proclaimed changes in the standard of needs and satisfaction:

[119] Susan E. Reid, "Cold War binaries…," 17-43.

> "The time had passed when all that was brought to the market, regardless of its quality, easily found shoppers. Our trade and industry know or should have known this. However, even today, many of our modern equipped factories lag behind the needs and desires of contemporary consumers. We pose a question to our manufacturers and traders why they neglect the appearance and the quality of items, with which we are served in everyday life. Today, it cannot be excused by „objective" difficulties anymore. Also, no one can persuade us that, in our conditions, a predominant part of authority lies on the industry and the trade and that a shopper is powerless to influence production with their taste and thinking."[120]

Even if the manufacturers had managed to offer products that would meet specific criteria, the problem of equal distribution would have never been solved. In examining the socialist fashion project in East Germany, Judd Stitziel has described a contradiction in the official sartorial orientation toward haute couture. In the party's dominant perception, the socialist personality was supposed to be cultivated through "a process of trickle-down cultural dissemination" in which aesthetic inspiration from the top of the fashion pyramid spread downward to the broader geometrical and socio-economic segments of the population and was reproduced in simplified,

[120] "Kupci i Trgovci [Shoppers and Retailers]", *Bazar*, September 1, 1965.

mass-produced forms.[121] However, this idea justified the hierarchical structure of cultural dominance that seems antithetical to their egalitarian claims in practice by celebrating haute couture as a peak of aesthetics. Therefore, the promotion of high culture inevitably provoked controversy over the manifestation of social class distinctions.[122]

Idealized images of garments in the magazine were supposed to be reproduced and delivered to broader strata to serve not just as a presentation of imaginations and dreams. Nevertheless, the actual appearance and assortment of items depended on industry and trade officials' economic concerns and tastes, which did not necessarily follow propagated images. Thus, it was a common situation that suggested models never appear in the domestic market. A report of a fashion fair in Ljubljana praising collections of domestic designers and tailors was accompanied by a disappointing fact: "It is unknown what will arrive in our stores from displays at the fair…Therefore, even with the best will, *Bazar* cannot promise our readers that everything that was beautiful, new, and in the spirit of fashion at the fair 'Mode 65' will be able to be purchased in stores as well."[123] While the media increased demand for the production and distribution of aestheticized ready-made clothing, presented styles were available nowhere or only in a limited number of exclusive stores in cities. This disparity between proposals in display and limitations in actual shopping experience caused severe discontent and frustration

[121] Stitziel, *Fashioning Socialism…*, 58.
[122] *Ibid*. 58-60.
[123] "Na sajmu *Moda 65* u Ljubljani *Bazar* bi izabrao za vas [At the fair *Mode 65* in Ljubljana *Bazar* would select for you]", *Bazar,* February 15. 1965.

among consumer readers.

3-3: Formulation of Consumer Citizenship

The editors turned criticisms to the manufacturers who could not produce and deliver the proposed styles of apparel. Avoiding direct criticisms against the state's economic system itself, they blamed the lack of understanding and skills of individual producers, retailers, traders, or even staff in stores: "Whether something will be produced or not – depends on, thus, the personal taste, better to say the poor taste of those who decide it. In fact, many manufacturers are neither familiar with the market nor trying to know it. Criteria for production are unreliable ideas of non-specialists or 'fashionable' understanding to copy old-fashioned models from abroad."[124] The problems of insufficiency of desirable goods were constantly discussed in the coverage. In 1968, the editorial board of *Bazar* published feature articles on mock trials to accuse retailers and producers of ready-made clothing. Fashion editors played the role of the plaintiff while managers and representatives of leading domestic boutiques were placed on the stand of the defendant. The accusations indexed the dissatisfactions of consumers with domestic apparel, that is, slow response to fashion trends, poor quality of materials, high price of ready-made products, and lack of suitable sizes.[125]

[124] "Kupci i Trgovci [Shoppers and Retailers]", *Bazar*, September 1, 1965.

[125] "Optužena konfekcija Porota mladih gnevnih žena [Accused clothing manufacturer The jury of young

The discussion revealed a lack of coordination among designers, planners, manufacturers, retailers, sellers, and advertisers. Even if skilled designers created models that were presented at fashion fairs and gained popularity among audiences, stores did not immediately set about production. A representative of Kluz, a leading clothing factory in Belgrade, argued that they were producing for a wide circle, not for a narrow circle of people who followed fashion trends. However, Aleksandar Joksimović expressed his frustration with unrealized production: "You underestimate the level of your customers. Today, millions of fashion magazines are printed and imported at home. Each magazine is read by an average of four women. The best example is the BEKO boutique, which, despite its limited assortment, is full of products and has a higher daily turnover than the monthly turnover of the previous store in the same place. I am familiar with our industry and claim that Petar Krnetić, a designer in 'Kluz,' for example, decides the least about the production policy. It is done exclusively by traders."[126]

Their arguments shared the principle of supplying clothing meeting the needs of a wide range of the population, but the balance of the multiple "needs" was highly contested. The domestic garment industry was obliged to produce aesthetic, high-quality clothes in accordance with the socialist taste. At the same time, those models needed to be provided at accessible prices, in all possible sizes, and in adequate quantities for the masses. Even though the BEKO boutique was

irate women]," *Bazar*, March 30, 1968.

[126] Ibid.

taken as an exceptional case of selling fashionable apparel, the editors were unsatisfied with the fact that the goods displayed in the boutique were not sold in their other stores in cities.[127] It was not enough for socialist designers to create sophisticated styles; they also had to demonstrate that those models served as daily necessities for citizens to comply with the idea of rational production and consumption in an egalitarian-oriented society. Therefore, the author of the articles underlined that their discussions were not coming from frivolities of an exclusive, fashion-conscious circle but were based on the reasonable needs of ordinary women: "For us, it is not so important whether the clothing follows the latest fashion or not, but whether the products that we can buy in the store are modern, suitable, of good quality and affordable for the average woman, who does not run after fashion, but for a woman to be decently dressed."

Nevertheless, the Yugoslav production and retail systems were not coordinated to fulfill those requiring ideological tasks. Manufacturers complained of their difficulty in delivering seasonable apparel in a wide variety when the ordered materials frequently arrived with severe delay, in different colors, patterns, quality, and in a reduced number of sizes.[128] Even though the economic reform in 1965 reinforced the incentive for responding to the market demand, the operations of Yugoslav factories were still conditioned mainly by their internal policies to handle state administrative measures. Cushioned against budget shortfalls by government

[127] Ibid.

[128] "Optužena trgovina Tražimo makaze koje će preseći začarani krug konfekcija- trgovina - potrošač [Accused retail trade We are looking for scissors which will cut the vicious circle of clothing manufacturer -trader- consumer]," *Bazar*, April 13, 1968.

investment and bank credits, the nationalized factories had fewer economic imperatives to improve uncompetitive performance.[129] In addition, under the system of worker control, the workers' council tended to prefer using a portion of its profits to increase their immediate salaries rather than investing in plant and equipment for the prospect over the long term.[130] The state investment indeed facilitated the development of the domestic garment industry, but factories constructed with the prospects of large-scale manufacture frequently suffered from the lack of raw materials and turned out to be inflexible to diversified production.[131]

The failed production and distribution of expected products, however, was not understood solely as a defect in the production system but was condemned in ethical terms. A plaintiff in the mock trial started his accusations against the representatives of the fashion industry with words related to people's dignity: "They are guilty of dehumanizing their goods, producing not for people but for warehouses. I accuse our clothing industry of being slow to respond to fashion changes on average. At fairs, it tries to 'throw dust in our eyes' with beautiful collections, and then timidly examines the market, relying on the opinion of conservative retailers who are always ready to order goods that did well last year, not realizing that they are old-fashioned today. What a closed circle! I accuse our clothing industry of uniformizing consumers and thus deteriorating their lives." Here, slow response to the latest fashion was blamed for

[129] Patterson, *Bought and Sold*, 30-31.
[130] *Ibid.* 34.
[131] 山崎洋、「経済」、柴宜弘（編）『もっと知りたいユーゴスラヴィア』[Hiroshi Yamazaki, "Economics" in *Yugoslavia to know better*, ed. Nobuhiro Shiba], (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1991) 34-35.

"dehumanizing goods," "uniformizing consumers," and "deteriorating lives."

The association between material quality and morality was framed in public discourses through the state project of disciplining the citizens' needs. Official rhetoric attempted to attribute socialist values of rationality and equality to material form, which consequently involved everyday engagement with material worlds in understanding citizenship in socialist states.[132] Appreciation of high aesthetic standards had been promoted as a right and a moral obligation embedded in the project of creating a new socialist citizen. Therefore, the demand for better quality and appearance could be claimed as a part of "proper" needs that domestic industry was obliged to satisfy, and nonfulfillment of this obligation meant malicious intent, negligence, or simple incompetence of producers.

Those accusations show a contradictory relationship between production and consumption in a socialist society. In contrast to capitalist consumer-oriented production, state socialist manufacture was based on an object-centered approach, where the popular needs were to conform to the rationalized demand from the production side.[133] Citizens' individual desires were supposed to be directed to a collective goal if they had cultivated proper taste. Hence, the magazine could promote the appreciation of high aesthetic standards and their incorporation into everyday practices. Fashion functionaries did not need to make socialist style detached

[132] Fehérváry, "Goods and States…," 445-446.
[133] Ibid. 447.

from external influence but rather put efforts to assimilate it into domestic forms, supposing that acknowledgment of universal cultural values would not clash with the principle of rationality and equality. However, the high-culture orientation, in effect, stimulated desires for diversity and distinctiveness in styles based on the existing cultural hierarchy that cost too much for the domestic industry to realize equally for the masses. Consequently, the official efforts to shape a socialist taste contributed to the reversed situation of production, where the production side could never satisfy citizens' increasing expectations for better material conditions.

The contradiction of the socialist fashion persistently came under suspicion. Major criticisms were raised not from above but from below. *Bazar*'s readers expressed frustration caused by the magazine's presentation of exclusive and distinctive designs that would never be accessible to the majority of the population, especially those living outside urban areas: "The models that *Bazar* recommended to us could be mostly satisfying for all the readers. If there were not one "but." It seems to me that you are not taking enough care of those with more modest pockets. The recommended textiles are either unavailable in local stores or too expensive. Today, only a few women can afford such a luxury for themselves."[134] In response to this letter, the editors maintained that they were primarily considering whether the models could be sewn from the fabrics available in domestic stores. They just made an excuse that fine backgrounds and wearers in the photos would make the items look more luxurious than the actual ones but did

[134] "Pisma Bazaru [Letters to Bazar]," *Bazar*, July 1. 1965.

not admit that its promotion of high fashion would contradict socialism's egalitarian principles.

The magazine tried to legitimate its haute couture orientation by answering readers' skepticism, but the disparity between the presented styles and actual availability in the domestic market was indisputable. Its readers' column published a letter from a university student who again pointed out that *Bazar*'s proposals were unrealistic for a large part of the inhabitants as workers with an average low monthly income:

> "If an average Yugoslav woman finds in your issue of March 13 three models that she would like to have for her wardrobe – I am ready to apologize to you publicly. A while ago, I came across an English magazine where I saw extraordinary models. Can't it serve as an ideal example for you? Are there no materials in 1000 or 2000 old dinars in our stores, rather than only expensive ones like you recommend in your "Izlog (Showcase)"? I am a student, a worker's daughter. I set aside 200 dinars for Bazar from my own not-so-large pocket money, ending up every time repeatedly making sure that you pay little respect to a worker. In the end, I would like to ask you to publish this letter – if you are brave enough to do it at least!"[135]

[135] "Pisma Bazaru [Letters to Bazar]," *Bazar*, April 15. 1966.

Although the editors replied confidently that their proposals would match the taste of readers, they could not deny that those models did not remedy social inequality but instead made it more visible: “The fact is that in our society, not everyone has the same income. The models we bring are made not only from expensive fabrics, although we sometimes display such in our ‘Izlog’ just to show all that is sold in our places and what the prices are. It is a matter of taste whether someone likes English, French, or Italian fashion, which are dominant in the world. We use all sources and bring the latest models.”[136] The magazine admitted that not all the models were designed for everyone and failed to testify that the idealized socialist style served the prime body of the population, workers, due to the limitation of actual accessibility in stores. Putting its legitimacy on the reference to foreign trends and not on the dedication to citizens, the editors could not demonstrate the cultural superiority or alternativeness of socialist fashion.

Meanwhile, a significant transformation of cultural hierarchy was underway in the sixties. The market was expanding for young people from the working class who increasingly gained disposable income and favored ready-made clothing made from cheap and colorful materials. The emphasis was moved from high-quality fabrics, long-favored designs, and durability of apparel to disposable clothes that could follow dizzying restyles in trends flexibly.[137] It signified the shift of a fashion epicenter from haute couture designed for only a highly restricted

[136] Ibid.

[137] 小関隆『イギリス 1960 年代：ビートルズからサッチャーへ』[Koseki, Takashi. 1960s Britain: From the Beatles to Margaret Thatcher] (Tokyo: Chuokoron-Shinsha, 2021) 42-54.

group of the rich to ready-made clothing for the masses. Trends that had previously diffused from the top of the social hierarchy began to flow from the bottom up. The readers of *Bazar* perceived those changes sensitively and even found mass-consumed clothing more suitable for themselves in the worker-oriented society: "Why do we sometimes seek help from foreign magazines? Because we will find in them everything and for everyone: how to look in your home, in the office, at work, in society."[138] As a differentiation between cheaper garments and fancy pieces of clothing developed in global fashion trends, the official orientation became estranged from popular tastes despite the efforts of fashion functionaries to sustain the authority of high fashion. In the subsequent decades, the increasingly diversified mass fashion had gradually drowned out the project of establishing an original, coherent Yugoslav style in the coverage of *Bazar*.

[138] "Pisma Bazaru [Letters to Bazar]," *Bazar*, May 25. 1968.

Conclusion:

The desire for self-expression through the consumption of clothing was not simply a subject of oppression under state socialism in postwar Europe. It became an intricate matter for the very reason that the state ideology acknowledged it as an interest of socialist individuals and addressed the need to navigate it in the direction of a collective goal. The sartorial appearance, thus, turned to be a field of vigorous attempts to define a modern, socialist manner of consumption balancing the egalitarian principles and expressions of individual and social distinctions. On the pages of *Bazar*, an idealized picture of a new entrant in the political and economic sphere was not, in Drakulić's words, "a robust woman who didn't look much different from a man."[139] While accepting her own economic and social autonomy, she was expected to cultivate her aesthetic understanding and adapt her cultural sophistication into daily moderate forms, not threatening conventional ideals of feminine beauty. An appreciation of high aesthetic standards was, thus, embedded in the project of creating a new socialist woman. In order to realize this vision in fashion, Yugoslav designers attempted to outline their alternative style for every socialist citizen, interweaving the international values of high fashion with domestic contexts.

Socialist fashion needed to meet high-quality standards to represent national prestige, but at

[139] Drakulić, *How We Survived Communism…*, p. 23.

the same time it was supposed to serve the mass population and grant equal cultural citizenship to everyone. However, by employing haute couture models to guide popular taste, the fashion functionaries, in effect, justified the aesthetic hierarchy in cultural dissemination that caused an ideological contradiction in the egalitarian-oriented society. In practice, the distance from the top aesthetics inevitably manifested social distinctions. Although the idealized styles should have been accessible in mass-produced forms, the actual Yugoslav production and retail system did not operate well to fulfill these ideological tasks and failed to deliver them in satisfying quality and quantity. This disparity between proposals in display and limitations in the actual shopping experience was never bridged, which provoked severe discontent and frustration among consumer readers.

Nevertheless, the magazine continued raising the expectations for better quality and appearance of produced goods under the name of cultural education to cultivate the citizens' tastes in a proper, rational direction. The realization of the socialist fashion style was claimed as a right and a moral obligation for women and was supposed to conform to the vision of socialist modernity. Therefore, when a major place of fashion production was shifting from individual households and tailors to factories in the envisaged modernization process, the domestic industry was obliged to offer desirable products to meet the needs. When manufacturers were incapable of implementing their obligation, the editors criticized them in explicitly ethical terms while not problematizing the increased demands from the readers. In

the magazine's narrative, the needs and desires of contemporary consumers were assumed to be equivalent to a reasonable request of socialist citizens.

Although the high aesthetic value and affordability of the envisioned socialist mode were never simultaneously accomplished, the dissatisfaction from consumers shows that its vision had been shared, generating expectations among the population to a perceptible extent. Through the efforts to define socialist fashion, once condemned bourgeois style was domesticated and authorized as acceptably socialist. The official openness to learning international modes allowed socialist citizens to be exposed to or retain capitalist hierarchal cultural values. It set the ground for cross-cultural contracts and nurtured the desire for consumer opportunities abroad.[140] The state's commitment to satisfying needs and desires turned consumption into a site where citizens could articulate their approval or rejection of the production policy and management. The official orientation in sartorial practices contributed to shaping citizens' critical attitudes toward material goods and environments.

This interaction between the official discipline and popular responses challenges a dichotomous image of a socialist society where the state ideology and everyday practices were assumed to be sharply separated. In the postwar period, in the line of social transformation from the prewar period, the political and ideological struggle shifted to the fields of living standards and social welfare. Against the backdrop of the Cold War competition, everyday culture,

[140] Luther, "Shame, Desire and Longing for the West…," 342-377.

including consumption, turned out to be a place to demonstrate the state's economic prowess, cultural sophistication, and potential to serve the interests of its citizens. Public and private spheres increasingly began to overlap on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The states took the responsibility of caring for their citizens as well as disciplining their way of living, while individuals could express their state assessment through daily matters. Therefore, clothing, previously considered a part of a private realm, became a subject of political concern. In respect of disciplining citizenry, the socialist fashion functionaries tried to create a distinct, alternative model. Still, they shared aesthetic values and a vision of modernity with their capitalist counterparts.

However, in the socialist society, the democratization of fashion was not carried out successfully as promised. It was unachievable to reconcile the retained hierarchy of aesthetics with their egalitarian principle. Regarding a gulf between the vision and practices, this study needs a closer examination of the production and distribution processes. The production side did not necessarily work according to the ideological propositions. The decline of socialist fashion can be explored further by inquiring into the manufacturers' own logic involved in practical difficulties, political imperatives, and often conflicting interests.[141] Also, the designers at the Center for Contemporary Clothing in Belgrade were assigned to coordinate the ideological tasks, the demand from the production side, and the needs and wishes of the

[141] Stitziel, *Fashioning Socialism…*, 27-48.

population. They sketched idealized socialist style, offered paper patterns for dress to factories, and educated the population about sartorial practices while researching their needs. The scrutiny of their endeavor will provide a more vivid picture of the promising but problematic project of socialist modernity. A further study of their project leads to illuminating commonalities and specificities of Yugoslav socialism. It can help to understand their experiences as one particular segment of modernity in the trajectory of the twentieth century.

Appendix:

Figure 1: "Three Easy Dresses for Afternoon," *Ukus* (no.1, 1946)

Figure 2: "For Working in an Office, Factory and School," *Ukus* (no.2, 1946)

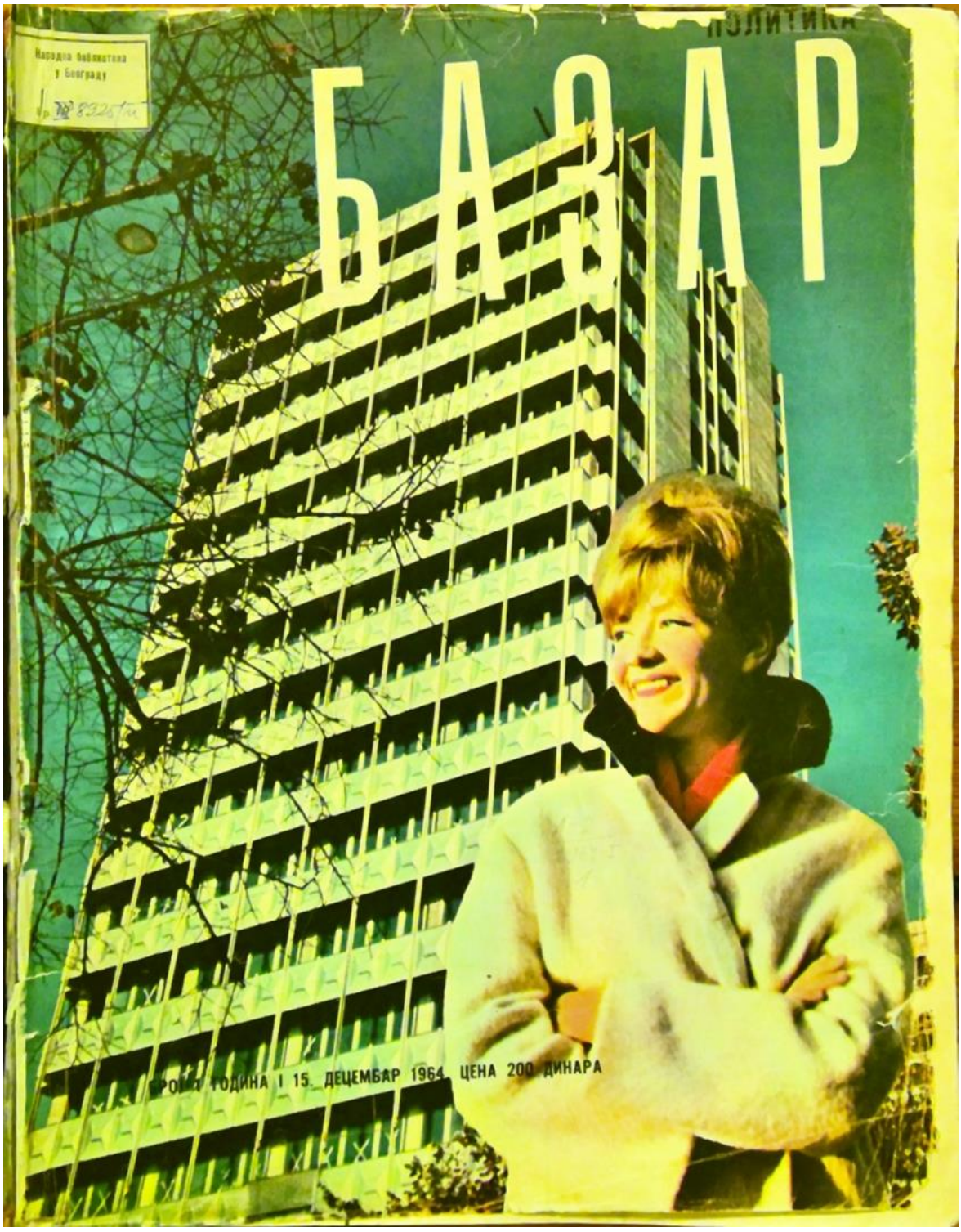

Figure 3: Front Cover, *Bazar* (December 1,1964)

Figure 4: "Always Elegant," *Bazar* (January 15, 1965)

Figure 5: "Our Suggestions for New Year's Eve," ***Bazar*** **(December 1,1964)**

Figure 6: "Elegant at Any Time of the Day," *Bazar* (January 1, 1965)

Figure 7: "Fashion under the Wall of the Sopoćani Monastery," *Bazar* (October 15, 1965)

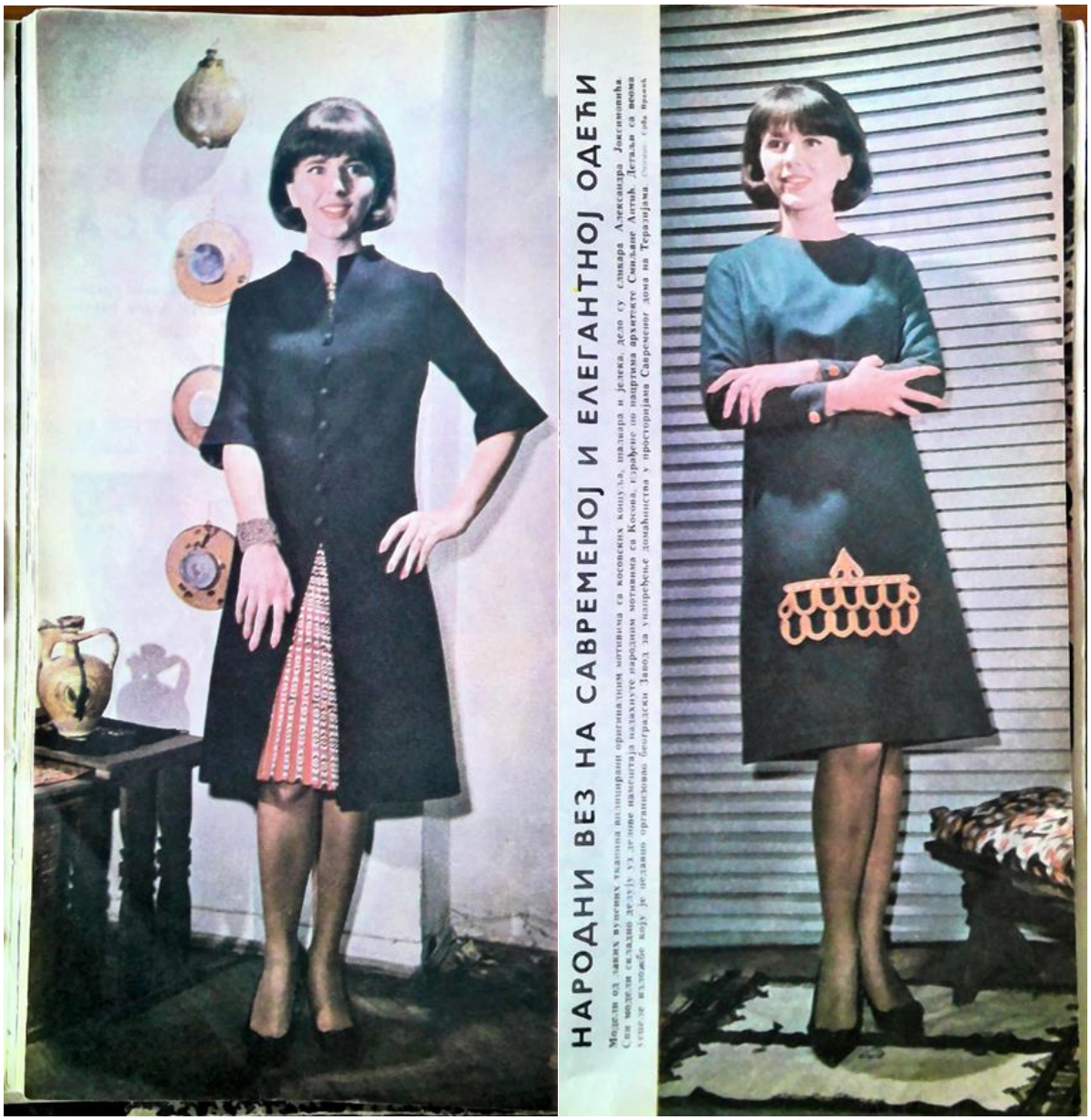

Figure 8: "Folk Embroidery on Modern and Elegant Clothes," *Bazar* (January 1, 1965)

»СИМОНИДА« АЛЕКСАНДРА ЈОКСИМОВИЋА

Недавно је Београдска галерија фресака оживела новом лепотом. Тридесетак дневних, поподневних и вечерњих хаљина сачињавале су колекцију „Симонида" креатора Александра Јоксимовића — инспирисану бојама и обликом одеће са фресака.

Уметник се трудио да орнаментику, линију, елеганцију, средњовековног костима примени на савремену одећу, а да при том не наруши њихову достојанствену лепоту и једноставност.

На нашим фотографијама су модели — начињени од чисте свиле и танког штофа и украшени везом. Ципеле и шешири употпуњавају ову колекцију „високе моде," једну од ретких код нас. Моделе је реализовао „Национални салон" у Београду.

Figure 9: "Aleksandar Joksimović's Simonida," *Bazar* (April 1, 1967)

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